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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART VI

*GRENFELL AND HUNT*



Archaeol  
Egy

Vol. 9

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

iii (GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH)  
(Graeco-Roman Memoirs)

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
PART VI

*EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES*

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## PREFACE

OF the papyri included in this volume, the two long classical texts containing the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides (852) and the new commentary on Thucydides II (853) formed part of the large find of literary MSS. which was made on Jan. 13, 1906, in the circumstances described in the *Times* of May 24, 1906, and the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1905-6, p. 10. The other literary papyri were chiefly discovered during the same season, but some were found in 1897 or 1902. The non-literary documents, which largely belong to the third and fourth centuries, come, with a few exceptions, from the finds of 1897.

In editing the new classical texts we have for the first time been without the support of the late Professor F. Blass, to whom our previous publications have owed so much; but for 852 and 853 we have been fortunate in obtaining the generous aid of Professors U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and J. B. Bury, who have very materially furthered the reconstruction of those texts, while Mr. Gilbert Murray has also contributed many most valuable suggestions and criticisms upon 852. To these three scholars in particular, and to some others whose occasional assistance is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri, we here offer our sincerest thanks. Lastly, we would express our obligations to the accomplished Proof-reader of the University Press, whose care, in this book as in its predecessors, has removed many small blemishes from our pages.

The next volume of the Graeco-Roman Branch will be Part VII of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, to be issued, we hope, in the course of 1909. We expect to include in it a detailed description of the site and excavations with a plan, and a *résumé* of the topographical information which the papyri have so far yielded concerning Oxyrhynchus and the Oxyrhynchite nome.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.  
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
SEPTEMBER, 1908.



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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE general method followed in this volume is the same as that in Parts I-V. As before, some of the more important new literary texts (852-3, 855) are printed in a dual form, a literal transcript being accompanied by a reconstruction in modern style. In other cases, and in the fragments of extant authors, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, capital initials in proper names, expansion of abbreviations, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Non-literary documents, including the magical text (886) in the 'Miscellaneous' section, are given in modern form with accentuation and punctuation. Abbreviations and symbols are resolved; additions and corrections are usually incorporated in the text and their occurrence is recorded in the critical apparatus, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected if they seemed likely to give rise to any difficulty. Iota adscript has been printed when so written, otherwise iota subscript is employed. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion in the original. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots underneath them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in this volume and Parts I-V, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used in referring to papyrological publications are practically those adopted in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, viz.:—

P. Amh. = The Amherst Papyri (Greek), Vols. I-II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.

*Archiv* = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

B. G. U. = Aeg. Urkunden aus den K. Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.

P. Brit. Mus. = Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vols. I-II, by F. G. Kenyon; Vol. III, by F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell.

- C. P. Herm. = Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.  
 C. P. R. = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri, Vol. I, by C. Wessely.  
 P. Cairo = Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Fay. = Fayûm Towns and their Papyri, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth.  
 P. Flor. = Papiri Fiorentini, Vol. I, by G. Vitelli.  
 P. Gen. = Les Papyrus de Genève, Vol. I, by J. Nicole.  
 P. Grenf. = Greek Papyri, Series I, by B. P. Grenfell, and Series II, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Hibeh = The Hibeh Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Leipzig = Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig, Vol. I, by L. Mitteis.  
 P. Leyden = Papyri Gracci Musci Antiquarii Lugduni-Batavi, by C. Leemans.  
 P. Magd. = Papyrus de Magdola, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xxvi. pp. 95-128, xxvii. pp. 174-205, by P. Jouguet and G. Lefebvre.  
 P. Oxy. = The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Parts I-V, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt.  
 P. Par. = Les Papyrus grecs du Musée du Louvre, *Notices et Extraits*, t. xviii. 2, by W. Brunet de Presle and E. Egger.  
 P. Reinach = Papyrus grecs et démotiques, by Th. Reinach, W. Spiegelberg, and S. de Ricci.  
 Rev. Laws = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by B. P. Grenfell, with an Introduction by J. P. Mahaffy.  
 P. Strassb. = Griechische Papyrus der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Strassburg im Elsass, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, by F. Preisigke.  
 P. Tebt. = The Tebtunis Papyri, Part I, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly; and Part II, by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed.  
 Wilcken, *Ost.* = Griechische Ostraka, by U. Wilcken.

## I. THEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

### 845. PSALMS lxviii and lxx.

12.5 × 18.2 cm.

Late fourth or fifth century.

This fragment from a papyrus book contains parts of Ps. lxviii and lxx, written in a large and clear cursive hand probably of the period from 350 to 450. The book was of a large size, the page when complete measuring about 22 cm. across. No lection signs occur beyond the diaeresis; the usual contractions of *θεός* and *κύριος* are used, but *οὐρανοί* and *μητρός* are written in full. For the two Psalms here represented the chief uncial MSS. are **Σ**, B, and R (the Verona Psalter, attributed to the sixth century), but the papyrus does not agree consistently with any of these authorities. It seems to have been rather nearer to **Σ** than to B, and, as would be expected in an Egyptian text, supports none of the peculiar readings of R.

Verso lxviii. 30-7.

το μ[ου] αινεσω το ονομα του θ̄ν μετ ωδης μεγαλυνω αυτον εν αι  
νεσε[ι] και αρεσ[ει] τω θ̄[ω] ῡ[περ] μο̄σχ[ον] νεον κερατα εκφεροντα και  
οπλ̄ας ῑ[δ]ε̄τ[ω]σαν πτωχοι και ευφρανθ̄[η]τ̄ω[σαν] [εκξητησατε  
τον θ̄ν και εκξησεται η ψυχη ῡμων οτι [ιση]κοῡσ[εν] των  
5 πενητων κ̄ς και τους πεπεδημενους [αυτου ουκ εξουδε  
νωσει αινεσατωσαν αυτον οι ουρανοι κα[ι] η γη θαλασσα και παν  
τα τα ερποντα εν αυτοῑς οτι ο θ̄[ς] σωσει την Σιων και οικο  
δομηθη[σονται] ῑ [αι πολεις της Ιουδαιας και κατοικησουσιν εκει  
και κλη[ρονομησουσιν] αυτην και το σπερμα των δουλων αυτου  
10 [κ]αθε[ξουσιν] αυτην

Recto lxx. 3-8.

[τοπον οχυρον του σωσαι με οτι] στερ[ε]ωμα μου κ[α]ι κατα  
 [φυγη μου ει συ ο θς μου] ρυ[σαι] με εκ χειρος αμαρτωλου  
 [εκ χειρος παρανομο]υντος και αδικουντος οτι συ ει ὑπο  
 [μονη μο]υ κ̅ε μοι κ̅ε ελπις μου εκ νεοτητος μου επι σε  
 15 [επεστ]ηριχθην απο γαστρος εκ κοιλιας μητρος μου συ μου  
 [ει σκεπαστη]ς εν σοι η ὑπομονησις μου δια παντος ωσει  
 [τερας εγενη]θην τοις πολλοις κ[α]ι σοι βοηθος και κραταιος  
 [πληρωθητω το στομα μου α]ν[ε]ως οπως ὑμνησω

1. It is doubtful whether *το* at the beginning of this line is the final syllable of *αντελαβετο* or the article before *ονομα*. The latter division would make the line rather short, but it could be sufficiently lengthened by the insertion of *μου* after *θ[εο]υ* with **N<sup>c.a</sup>**. The vestige of the letter after *το* suits *μ* better than *ο*, but is too slight to decide the point, and some traces of ink later on in this line are also indecisive.

2. *τω θ[ε]ω*: or perhaps *τω κ[υρι]ω*, which would be a new reading, though the cursive 188 has *τον κυριον*. *εκφεροντα* was perhaps omitted, as in **N\***. Its insertion produces a very long line, while on the other hand its omission leaves the supplement a little shorter than would be expected.

3. *εκζητησατε*: *ζητησατε* R. Cf. note on l. 4.

4. *θ[εο]υ*: *κυριον* R.

*εκζησεται η ψυχη υμων*: *ζησεται η ψυχη ημων* (*υμων* **N<sup>c.a</sup>**) **N\***R, *ζησεσθε* B. The *εκ* is a repetition from *εκζητησατε*, or the scribe may have transferred the preposition from one verb to the other; cf. the omission of *εκ* with *ζητησατε* in R.

5. *κ[υρι]ος*: *ο κυριος* BNR.

*εξουδενωσει*: so **N\***R; *εξουδενωσεν* B**N<sup>c.a</sup>**.

7. *ερποντα εν αυτοις*: so B**N<sup>c.a</sup>**R; *περατα της γης* **N\***.

12. The length of the lacuna indicates that the papyrus had *μου* after *θ[εο]ς* with **NR**; B omits.

13. *υπο[μονη]*: so the cursives 27, 285; *η υπομ.* BNR. Cf. the omission of *η* before *ελπις* in l. 14. It is unlikely that *και* stood before *εκ* as in R.

14. *κ[υρι]ε μου*: om. *μου* BNR; cf. the addition of *μου* in l. 12.

*κ[υρι]ε ελπις*: *κυριε η ελπις* R; *κυριος η ελπις* B**N**.

15. *[επεστ]ηριχθην . . . σκεπαστη]ς*. The papyrus agrees with B**N**; R has *επεριφην εκ ματρος εκ κ. της μ. μου συ ει μοι υπερασπιστης μου*. *ο* of *κοιλιας* is corrected from *υ*.

16. *υπομονησις* (*υ* seems to be corrected) = *υπομνησις*, which is the reading of **N** and the Sahidic version; *υμνησις* BR. *ω* of *ωσει* is corrected.

17. *σοι*: l. *συ*. **N<sup>c.a</sup>**R add *μου* after *βοηθος*.

*και κραταιος*: om. *και* BNR; *και κραταιωμά μου* Arm. Ed., Psalt. Aethiop.

18. R adds *κυριε* after *αινεσεως*: *οπως υμνησω (την δοξαν σου)* was originally omitted in **N**, but added by the second corrector.

## 846. AMOS ii.

16.4 × 12.6 cm.

Sixth century.

The upper portion of a leaf from a papyrus codex, preserving part of the second chapter of the book of Amos in the Septuagint version. Six lines are lost at the bottom of the verso, and the size of the complete page can be estimated at about 26.5 × 15.5 cm. The large and heavy uncial script, round and upright, in brown ink, and resembling the hand of P. Amh. 190, is probably of the sixth century. At the ends of the longer lines the writing becomes very small. Two kinds of stops, the high and middle, occur, as well as some of the usual contractions. The text is fairly correct, and so far as it goes coincides for the most part with that of the Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Marchalianus, with which we give a collation. The only variant of interest is in verse 7, where a reading peculiar to a few cursives occurs.

## Verso ii. 6-8.

τα ενεκεν ὑποδημα[ων  
[τ]α πατουντα επι τον [χουν  
της γης· και εκονδυλιζον  
εις κεφαλας πτωχω[ν  
5 και οδον ταπινων ε[ξεκλι  
[ν]αν και υἱος και πα[τρ] [αυτου  
[ισ]επορευοντο προς την αυτη  
πα[ρι]δισκην οπως [βεβηλω  
[σ]ουσιν το ον[ο]μα τ[ου] θυ[ου] αυ  
10 [τω]ν· και τα ἱματια [αυτων  
[δ]εσμενοντες σχ[οινο]ις  
[π]αραπετασματα επ[οιουν  
[ε]χομενα του θυσ[ιασ]τη  
ριου και οινον εκ σ[υ]κοφαν  
15 τιων επινο[ν] εν τω οικω  
του θυ[ου] αυτων  
· · · · ·

## Recto ii. 9-12.

α[ν]του ὑποκαθθεν· και ε[γ]ω  
[αν]ηγαγον ὑμ[α]ς εκ γης [Αι]  
[γυ]πτου και περιηγαγον ὑ  
20 [μα]ς εν τη ερημω τεσσ[ε]  
[ρακ]οντα ετη του κατακ[λη  
[ρονο]μησαι την γην τω[ν]  
[Αμμ]οραιων· και ελαβο[ν] εκ  
[των] υἱων υμων εις προ  
25 [φητα]ς· και εκ των νεαν[ι]  
[σκα]ν υμων εις αγι[ασμ]ον  
μη ουκ εστ[ι]ν ταυτα υἱοι  
[Ιηλ] λεγει κ[ς] και εποτ[ι]ζε  
[τε] το[υ]ς ηγιασμενου[ς] [οι  
30 [νον] κ[α]ι [οι]ς προφηταις  
[ενε]τελλεσθ[ε] [[μ]] λεγοντες  
[ου] μη προφητευσητε·  
· · · · ·

7. [ισ]επορευοντο: or [ει]σ(ε)πορευοντο. The supplement at the end of the line is rather long, and perhaps την was omitted.

8. [βεβηλωσ]ουσιν: so the cursives 86, 153, 198 (Holmes); βεβηλωσιν B, Swete, βεβηλωσσωσι(ν) A<sup>n</sup>Q, &c.

20. τεσσο[ερακ]οντα: so AQ; μ' B.

23. [Αμμ]ορραιων: Αμορραιων MSS. There is room for at least three letters in the lacuna; Αμο]ορραιων cannot be read.

ελαβον: Q<sup>a</sup> has ανελαβον.

28. A stop is probably lost after κ(υρι)ς.

#### 847. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL ii.

16.2 × 14.6 cm. Fourth century. Plate VI (recto).

This leaf from a vellum MS. of St. John's Gospel is sufficiently early in date to be of decided value. The rather large calligraphic script is more closely related to the sloping oval type of the third and fourth centuries than to the squarer heavier style which subsequently became common for biblical texts and of which 848 and 851 are examples. Especially noticeable are the small *ο* and *ω* placed high in the line of writing; the *ω* is also remarkably shallow—shallower for instance, than that in 665 (cf. P. Oxy. IV, Plate I). We have little hesitation in referring the MS. to the fourth century, and it may well be as old as any of the great biblical codices. Stops in the middle position are freely used; a few other dots which occur seem to be accidental. The usual contractions of *πατρός* and *Ἰησοῦς* are used, the latter word appearing both as *Ιης* (l. 9) and *Ις* (l. 30); *μήτηρ*, on the other hand, is written out at length (l. 4).

The leaf is practically entire, and preserves a dozen verses from chap. ii of the Gospel. Compared with the three principal MSS., the Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus (C and D are both defective here), the text is much nearest to that of the Vaticanus, with which it agrees four times against the other two, whereas there is no coincidence with *Σ* against AB, one with A against *Σ*B, and only two with *Σ*A against B. Readings unsupported by any of the three are found in verse 12, *ταῦτα* for *τοῦτο*, and verse 15, where *ὥς* is added before *φραγέλλιον*, variants for which the new MS. is much the earliest authority.

##### Recto ii. 11-16.

αυτου και επιστευσαν εις αυ  
τον οι μαθηται αυτου· μετα  
ταυτα κατεβη εις Καφαρνα  
ουμ· αυτος και η μητηρ αυτου·  
5 και οι αδελφοι· και οι μαθη  
ται αυτου· και εκει εμειναν

##### Verso ii. 16-22.

20 περιστερας πωλουσιν ειπεν·  
αρατε ταυτα εντευθεν· μη  
ποιειτε τον οικον του *πρς*  
μου οικον εμποριου· εμνη  
σθησαν οι μαθηται αυτου· ο  
25 τι γεγραμμενος εστιν· ο *ζηλος*

- ου πολλας ημερας· και εγγυς  
ην το πασχα των Ἰουδαιων· και  
[ανε]βη εις Ιεροσολυμα ο Ἰη̅ς  
10 [και ευ]ρεν εν τω ἱερῳ τους πω  
[λου]ντας βοας και προβατα·  
[κα]ι περιστερας· και τους κερ  
μ[ατ]ιστας καθημενους [και  
ποιησας ως φραγελλιον [εκ σ]χοι  
15 νιων παντας εξεβαλεν ε]κ'  
του ἱερου· τα τε προβατα και τους  
βοας και των κολλυβιστων εξε  
χεν τα κερματα· και τας τρα  
πεξ[α]ς ανετρεψεν· και τοις τας  
του οικου σου· καταφαγεται με  
απεκριθησαν ουν οι Ἰουδαιοι  
και ειπαν αυτω· τι σημ[ειον] δει  
κνυεις ημιν· οτι ταυ[τα] ποιεις  
30 απεκριθη Ἰς και ειπεν αυ[τοις]  
λυσατε τον ναον τουτον [και  
[εν τ]ρισιν ημεραις εγερῶ [αυτον  
[ειπ]αν ουν οι Ἰουδαιοι· μ και εξ ε  
τε[σι]ν ωκοδομηθη ο ναος ου  
35 τος[·] και συ εν τρισιν ημεραις  
εγερεις αυτον· εκεινος δε ελε  
γεν περι του ναου του σωματος  
αυτου· οτε ουν ηγερθη εκ νεκ

1-2. εις αυτον originally stood after αυτον in **N**.

3. ταυτα: so **M**, the cursive 124, &c.; τουτο **NAB**, **W**(estcott)-**H**(ort), **T**(extus) **R**(eceptus). Καφαρναουμ: so **NB**, **W-H**: Καπερναουμ **A**, **T-R**.

4. A curved mark above the ρ of μητηρ is presumably accidental.

5. The MS. agrees with **B** in omitting αυτου after αδελφου (so **W-H**); **NA** add αυτου (so **T-R**). **N** omits και οι μαθηται αυτου.

6. εμειναν: εμεινεν **A**.

7. και εγγυς: εγγυς δε **N**.

9. ο Ιη(σου)ς: so **NB**, **W-H**, **T-R**; **A** has ο Ι(ησου)ς εις Ιεροσολυμα Ι(ησου)ς.

11. **N** originally read και τα προβατα και βοας.

14. ως is found before φραγελλιον also in **GLX**, some cursives, &c.; om. ως **NAB**, **W-H**, **T-R**. **N** originally had εποιησεν . . . και παντας in place of the participial construction.

16. τε and τους are omitted in **N**.

18. τα κερματα: so **B**, **W-H**; το κερμα **NA**, **T-R**.

19. ανετρεψεν: so **B**, **W-H** in text; ανεστρεψεν **A**, **T-R**, **W-H** mg., κατεστρεψεν **N**.

21. μη: και μη **A**.

23. εμνησθησαν: so **NB**, **W-H**; εμν. δε **A**, **T-R**.

25. γεγραμμενος is an error for γεγραμμενον. In **B** εστιν precedes γεγρ.

26. καταφαγεται: so **NAB**, **W-H**; κατεφαγε **T-R** with some cursives and patristic citations.

28. ειπαν: so **B**, **W-H**; ειπον **NA**, **T-R**. The same variation occurs at l. 33.

30. Ιη(σου)ς: so **AB**, **W-H**; ο Ι. **N**, **T-R**.

32. [εν]: so **NA**, **W-H** in brackets, **T-R**; om. **B**. To read [και] in place of [εν] would leave l. 31 too short.

33. μ και εξ: the use of figures instead of words is unusual in early uncial MSS., though sometimes found in **B** and elsewhere; cf. e. g. 2. recto 9 sqq., 846. 20, note.

34. ωκοδομηθη: so **A**, **T-R**; οικοδομηθη **NB\***, **W-H**.

35. εν is omitted in **N**.

38. αυτου: om. **N**.

## 848. REVELATION xvi.

3.1 × 9 cm. Fifth century. Plate I (verso).

Fragment of a leaf from a vellum codex, containing a few verses from Rev. xvi. The book was of remarkably small size, for only 11 lines are lost between the last line of the recto and the first of the verso, whence it follows that there were only 17 lines in the complete page; the inscribed surface would thus have been about 10 cm. in height. The bold upright uncials are similar in style to those of the Codex Alexandrinus, though rather heavier; they may be referred to the fifth century. Stops in both the high and middle position occur. The text agrees, so far as it goes, with that of the Codex Alexandrinus.

Recto xvi. 17-8.

Verso xvi. 19-20.

· · · · ·	· · · · ·
[του ναο]υ απο του	λη εμνη[σθη ενω
θρονου λεγουσα·	πιον του θυ· δου
γεγονεν και εγε	ναι αυτη το ποτη
νοντο αστραπαι	10 ριον του οινου
5 και φωναι και βρῶ	του θυμου της
ται· κ[αι σ]εισμος εγ[ε	[ο]ργης αυτ[ο]υ και
· · · · ·	· · · · ·

1. [του ναο]υ: so **SA**, W(estcott)-H(ort); του ναου του ουρανου B &c., T(extus) R(eceptus). ουρανου, if uncontracted, would occupy the same space as του ναου, and it is therefore possible that [ουρανο]υ should be read here.

απο του θρονου is omitted in **S** and του θεου substituted.

4-5. The MS. agrees with A (so W-H). **S** inadvertently has βρονται και before αστραπαι as well as και βρονται after φωναι. φ. και βρ. και αστρ. T-R with a number of cursives.

8. δουναι: του δουναι **S**.

9-12. το, του, and αυτου are omitted in **S**.

## 849. ACTS OF PETER.

9.8 × 9 cm. Early fourth century. Plate I (recto).

A single leaf from a vellum codex of the *Acts of Peter* in Greek, the two pages being numbered 167 and 168 respectively. These so-called 'Gnostic' *Acts of Peter*, distinct from the so-called 'Catholic' *Acts*, are partially preserved in more than one shape. There is firstly the Latin Codex Vercellensis of the

seventh century, which contains an account of the acts of Peter at Rome in connexion with Simon Magus and of his martyrdom. Secondly, there are two Greek MSS. (of the ninth to eleventh centuries) containing only the martyrdom; dependent upon this recension are the Slavonic, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions. Thirdly, another Latin version of the martyrdom, ascribed to Bishop Linus and extant in a large number of MSS., is independent of the version in the Codex Vercellensis, which is shorter and written in much worse Latin. These three texts were edited by Lipsius in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, I. pp. 1-22 and 45-103. Recently a fragment of a different portion of the *Acts* dealing with an incident during Peter's sojourn at Jerusalem has been published by C. Schmidt from a fourth or fifth century Coptic MS. at Berlin (*Die alten Petrusakten in Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. xxiv. Heft 1). The date and character of these *Acts of Peter*, and the history of the text in its different forms have been the subject of much discussion; and the discovery of a fragment of what is no doubt the Greek original is a new factor of considerable importance. Our fragment belongs to the portion of the *Acts* concerned with Simon Magus found only in the Codex Vercellensis, and corresponds to p. 73, ll. 16-27 of Lipsius' edition.

The leaf is practically perfect, but the ink is much obliterated in the last five lines of the verso. The handwriting is a medium-sized upright uncial of a common third to fourth century type. Had the material used been papyrus, we should have been more disposed to assign it to the late third than to the fourth century, but since vellum was not commonly used in Egypt until the fourth century, it is safer to attribute the fragment to the period from Diocletian to Constantine. The papyri with which it was found were rather mixed in point of date, ranging from the third century to the fifth. The usual contraction of  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$  and its cases is employed, but  $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho$  is uncontracted.  $\nu$  at the end of a line is sometimes indicated by a stroke above the preceding letter. There are no stops, breathings, or accents, but a coronis is employed to fill up a space at the end of l. 14. The scribe was not very careful;  $\theta(\epsilon\omicron)\nu$  for  $\theta(\epsilon)\hat{\omega}$  occurs in l. 8 and  $\alpha\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  for  $\hat{\alpha}\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$  in l. 9, while in ll. 1-2 it is clear that the text is seriously corrupt; cf. note *ad loc.* Apart, however, from this difficulty at the beginning, the agreement between the Greek of our fragment and the Latin of the Codex Vercellensis is on the whole very close. The Greek sometimes tends to be fuller than the Latin, there being two instances (cf. notes on ll. 6-7 and 19) where the Latin omits words or phrases found in the Greek: at other times the Latin is longer; cf. notes on ll. 14, 22, and 26.  $\sigma\epsilon . . . \pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$  in ll. 20-1 is wrongly rendered *confidens in te*, but as a rule the Latin is a singularly literal interpretation; cf. e.g. *libenter habet* for  $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$  in ll. 16-7, and the close resemblance in the

order of the words throughout. That our fragment represents the Greek text from which the Codex Vercellensis was translated admits of little doubt.

For the question of the relation of the two Latin versions and the Greek μαρτύριον to the Greek original of the *Acts of Peter* that conclusion is of cardinal importance. Lipsius had supposed that the Greek original was altogether lost, and that the longer Latin version found in the *martyrium* ascribed to Bishop Linus, so far as it went, represented the original more faithfully than the shorter Latin version found in the Codex Vercellensis, while he regarded the Greek text of the μαρτύριον as a retranslation from the shorter Latin version. Against this complicated hypothesis Zahn (*Gesch. d. NTKanons*, ii. pp. 832 sqq.) put forward the simpler explanation that the extant Greek μαρτύριον was part of the original *Acts of Peter*, that the Codex Vercellensis was a translation of it, the longer Latin version being an independent translation made at a later date with numerous elaborations, and a much less faithful representation of the original. The correctness of Zahn's explanation, which has been generally accepted (cf. Harnack, *Chron. d. altchr. Lit.*, ii. 1, p. 551), is thoroughly vindicated by the new discovery. Though the longer Latin version of that portion of the *Acts* to which our fragment belongs is not extant (whether the longer Latin version ever contained more than the *martyrium* is very doubtful), a comparison of the divergences in the two Latin versions of the *martyrium* shows unquestionably that the shorter and not the longer one is the form supported by our fragment. The rejection of the claims of the longer Latin version to be regarded as more authentic than the shorter also removes the principal reason for supposing the Greek text of the μαρτύριον to be a retranslation from the Latin, and this theory may now be finally abandoned. Since the Greek μαρτύριον agrees on the whole very closely with the conclusion of the Codex Vercellensis, Zahn is clearly right in accepting the former as belonging to the Greek original. Its relation to this shorter Latin version is very similar to that of our fragment to the corresponding portion of the Codex Vercellensis. The Greek tends to be rather fuller than the Latin, which however sometimes instead of abbreviating paraphrases the Greek at greater length and generally follows it closely. So far as the style of our fragment can be judged, it is quite in keeping with that of the μαρτύριον. The construction, for instance, ὁρώτων . . . συνεπάθουν in ll. 4-5 finds a parallel in the μαρτύριον, p. 82. 24-5 καὶ καταπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐκλ(υθ)εῖς συστή.

Did the MS. to which our fragment belongs begin at the point where the Codex Vercellensis commences, or did it also comprise an account of earlier doings of Peter, including perhaps the events at Jerusalem described in C. Schmidt's fragment, which apparently belongs to the period before Peter came to Rome? The two pages of our fragment, nos. 167 and 168 of the MS., correspond to 12

lines of Lipsius' edition of the Codex Vercellensis. The previous 166 pages therefore ought to correspond to approximately 996 lines of his edition. As a matter of fact the preceding portion of the Codex Vercellensis occupies 908 lines, and when allowance is made for the circumstance that, judging by the μαρτύριον, the tendency of the Latin to abbreviate the original is less marked than usual in our fragment, there is every probability that the beginning of this MS. coincided with the beginning of the Codex Vercellensis, and that the acts of Peter at Jerusalem formed no part of it. This conclusion is not necessarily fatal to C. Schmidt's view that his fragments form part of the same work as the Codex Vercellensis, for from an early period the various apocryphal Acts tended to break up into distinct sections, if indeed these sections were originally combined. That the *Acts of Paul* comprised the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, the forged correspondence with the Corinthians, and the *Martyrium Pauli*, which were previously known as distinct documents, has only recently been made clear through C. Schmidt's discovery of the Coptic fragments of the Acts as a whole. Similarly of the *Acts of John* various sections have been preserved in different forms, but with considerable lacunae in or between them, in one of which is no doubt to be placed the new fragment in the present volume (850), itself containing the beginning of a distinct section with a sub-title of its own. But since the composition of the *Acts of Peter* is referred by the principal critics to A.D. 160-170 (Zahn), 200-210 (C. Schmidt), 200-220 (Harnack), our fragment was written little, if at all, later than a century afterwards; and the apparent absence in so early a MS. of any section corresponding with C. Schmidt's fragment certainly provides an argument in favour of G. Ficker, who (*Die Petrusakten*, pp. 6-7, *Neutest. Apokryphen*, ed. E. Hennecke, pp. 383-4) is disposed to regard that fragment as either not belonging to the *Acts of Peter* as such, or as later than the Acts of the Codex Vercellensis, and thinks that these Acts were intended to follow immediately after the *Acts of the Apostles*. On the other hand the subscription in the Coptic MS. Παῖσις Πέτρον certainly provides strong *prima facie* evidence that it belonged to the same work as the Codex Vercellensis, and, as C. Schmidt reminds us, in the stichometry of Nicephorus the *Acts of Peter* is credited with 2750 στίχοι (i. e. it was about the same length as Leviticus or St. Luke's Gospel), a number which is too large to be accounted for by the Greek original of the Codex Vercellensis alone.

On the disputed questions of the date of the composition of the *Acts of Peter* and their supposed Gnostic or 'vulgärchristliche' origin (cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, ii. 2. pp. 170-2) the new fragment has no direct bearing, but its appearance is useful in tending to clear the ground by a dispersal of the suspicions of having been tampered with which have hitherto attached to the Codex Vercellensis and

the Greek *μαρτύριον* (cf. Harnack's later view that the *Acts of Peter* are a compilation in *Texte und Unters.* Bd. xx. Heft 3, pp. 100 sqq., and C. Schmidt's criticism of this in his *Petrusakten*). For, putting aside the question whether C. Schmidt's Coptic fragment was an integral part of the *Acts* or not, there is now no longer any reason to doubt the substantial fidelity of the shorter Latin version, or to suppose that it and the *μαρτύριον* represent, as far as they go, anything else than the *Acts of Peter* in their original form.

## Verso.

ρξζ

δι εμου μη μελλησαντες  
 [ ]αυτου κατεχοντων ει α  
 [ ]ρα αληθως απεθανεν και  
 ορωντων οτι αληθως νε  
 5 κρος εστιν συνεπαθουν  
 τη γραιδι λεγοντες ει αρα  
 βουλει μητερ και θαρρεις  
 τω Πετρου θῡ αραντες  
 αυτον ημεις αποιοισομεθα  
 10 εκει ῑνα αυτον εχειρας  
 αποδω σοι τρυτων δε οῡ  
 τως λαλουντων ο πραιφε  
 κτος ατενιζων τω Πετρω  
 . . . . . ς̄ ιδου Πετρε 𐤀

## Recto.

ρξη

15 ο παις μου νεκρος κειται  
 ον και ο βασιλευς ηδεως  
 εχει και ουκ εφεισαμην  
 αυτου καιτοι γε ετερους  
 εχων μετ εμαυτου νεανισ  
 20 κους αλλα σε μαλλον και τῷ  
 δια σου θῡν πειρασαι θελων  
 ει αρα αληθεις εστε τουτῷ  
 ηβουληθην αποθανειν και  
 ο Πετρος εφη οῡ πειραζεται  
 25 θς̄ ουδε δοκιμαζεται Αгриπ  
 πα αλλα φιλουμενος και  
 παρακαλουμενος ακουει  
 των αξιων επει δε̄ νυν̄

‘... (the youths having examined his nostrils to see) whether he was indeed really dead, and seeing that he was in truth a corpse, consoled the old woman saying, “If indeed you wish, mother, and trust in the God of Peter, we will lift him up and carry him thither, in order that Peter may raise him and restore him to you.” While they were thus speaking, the praefect looking intently at Peter (said), “Behold, Peter, my servant lies dead, who was a favourite of the king himself, and I did not spare him although I have with me other youths; but because I desired to try you and the God whom you preach, whether ye are indeed true, I wished him to die.” And Peter said, “God is not to be tried or proved, Agrippa, but when He is loved and entreated He hearkens to those who are worthy. But since now . . .”’

Codex Vercellensis (Lipsius, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, p. 73).

*iuvenes autem qui uenerunt naves pueri considerarant si uere mortuus esset. uidentes autem quoniam mortuus est consolabantur matrem ipsius dicentes: Si uere credis in deo Petri tollentes eum perferimus ad Petrum ut eum suscitans restituat tibi. haec dicentibus iubenibus*

*praefectus autem in foro intuens Petrum dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus iacet quem et imperator libenter habet et non illi peperci; utique habebam alios conplures iuvenes; sed confidens in te et in dominum tuum quem praedicas, si uere certi et ueri esis: ideo hunc uolui mori. Petrus autem dixit: Non templatur deus neque ex(is)timatur, sed dilectissimus ex animo colendus exaudiet qui digni sunt. Sed quoniam nunc . . .*

1-2. Line 1 is not only far removed from the equivalent of the Latin at this point (something like τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων προσελθόντων καὶ τὰς ῥίνας would be expected), but is obviously quite inappropriate. δι' ἐμου is unintelligible, while the case of μελλήσαντες is in contradiction to κατεχόντων . . . ὁρωντων in ll. 2-4, and though in itself the nominative would yield a better construction than the genitive, a parallel for this kind of genitive absolute is cited from another part of the *Acts of Peter* in introd. Nor can αὐτου κατεχόντων in l. 2 be right, for a participle meaning 'examined' is necessary in view of the following clause εἰ ἀρα ἀληθῶς ἀπέθανεν. By altering κατεχόντων to κατ(ε)ιδόντων l. 2 may be retained, but δι' ἐμου μη μελλήσαντες is almost hopeless to emend. μη μελλήσαντων might be read and connected with *qui uenerunt* (cf. *continuo surrexerunt* four lines previously, and, for μή instead of οὐ in this phrase, *Acts of John*, ed. Bonnet, p. 191. 23 μὴ μελλήσασα), but δι' ἐμου would remain unaccounted for, and it would still be necessary to suppose the omission of καὶ τὰς ῥίνας before αὐτου. It seems more probable that δι' ἐμου μη μελλήσαντες has come in by mistake from some other passage. δι' ἐμοῦ presumably occurred where the Latin has *faciens per me* a few lines after the passage preserved in our fragment, and perhaps again two lines later where *per meam uocem* is found. μὴ μελλήσαντες, however, does not suggest itself as an equivalent for any Latin expression on p. 73 of Lipsius' edition, except *continuo* in l. 11 where δι' ἐμοῦ would be out of place.

2. [ ] αὐτου: there is a hole which occupies the place where the first letter of this line and of l. 3 would have come, if these lines began evenly with ll. 1 and 4-14, and it is therefore possible that a letter is lost before αὐτου and ρα respectively. But this hypothesis is not satisfactory in l. 2, where αὐτου is preferable to e.g. [τ]αὐτου or [σ]αὐτου, and leads to much difficulty in l. 3; for though the ρ of ρα is very faint the α is practically certain (χ is the only alternative), and that ἀρα is the word meant is shown clearly by ll. 6 and 22. Hence if [α]ρα is read in l. 3, the α at the end of l. 2 becomes superfluous. We prefer to suppose that the hole was there when the leaf was written upon, and that the scribe therefore began ll. 2-3 further to the right than l. 1. ἄρα ἀληθῶς is rendered by only one word in the Latin, *uere*; cf. l. 22 where in rendering ἄρα ἀληθείς the Latin is redundant.

6-7. For τῇ γράδει the Latin has *matrem ipsius*, omitting to translate βουλεὶ μητὲρ καὶ.

8. θὺ is a mistake for θῶ.

9. ἀποησομέθα: l. ἀποισόμεθα.

10. ἐκεῖ: *ad Petrum* Lat., which is clearer.

12. πραιφέκτος: for this form cf. ch. 12 of the μαρτύριον (p. 100. 16, ed. Lipsius) τῷ πραιφέκτῳ Ἀγρίππῃ. The Latin has *haec dicentibus iubentibus praefectus autem in foro*, putting *autem* too late. The addition of *in foro*, however, makes the passage clearer, since the preceding lines refer to what took place at the house of the old woman.

13. ἀτενίζων: cf. ἀτενίσας in chs. 55 and 56 of the *Martyrium Petri et Pauli* (ed. Lipsius, pp. 164. 21, 166. 6), which is supposed to be based on the older *Acts of Peter* (cf. Harnack, *Chron. d. altchr. Lit.*, ii. 2, p. 177).

14. The Latin has *dixit: Quid dicis, Petre? ecce puer mortuus, &c.*, and we should expect at the beginning of this line εἴφ' ἵφης; for which there is not room. The doubtful s might be ε, i.e. the termination of εἶπε, which is, however, insufficient by itself. The leaf is torn at this point, and the ink very much obliterated, so that decipherment is impossible.

15. μου is omitted in the Latin.

16. βασιλεὺς = *imperator*, as frequently in the *Martyrium Petri et Pauli*.

18. καίτοι γε ἑτέρους: the point of this is that the boy chosen to die was the favourite servant, and that Agrippa might have chosen one of his other attendants.

19. In place of μετ' ἐμᾶντων the Latin has *conplures*.

20-1. τὸν διὰ σου θεόν = *dominum tuum quem praedicas*. The addition of a participle such as κηρυττόμενον would be an improvement, but is not necessary. πειρασαὶ θελῶν is mistranslated by the Latin *confidens in*, which does not suit the following clause *si uere certi*, &c.

22. εἰ ἀρα ἀληθεὺς: the Latin is redundant, *si uere certi et ueri*. In ll. 2-3 on the other hand ἀρα ἀληθῶς is rendered by one word *uere*.

25. Ἀγρίππα is omitted in the Latin.

26-7. φιλούμενος καὶ παρακαλούμενος: this is clearer than the Latin *dilectissimus ex animo colendus*.

## 850. ACTS OF JOHN.

12.1 x 10.7 cm. Fourth century. Plate I (recto).

The upper portion (apparently) of a leaf from a codex of the *Acts of John*, containing a mutilated account of two incidents, neither of which occurs in the extant portions of that work. The handwriting is a good-sized, irregular and rather inelegant uncial of the fourth century. Stops (middle and low points) are freely employed, as well as occasional breathings. The ordinary theological contractions of θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and κύριος occur. The recto has in one or two lines at the top of the page the sub-title of the section of the *Acts*. This sub-title is unfortunately incomplete, and no light is thrown upon it by the actual contents of the fragment; but the mention of Andronicus supplies a point of contact with the extant portions of the *Acts of John*, in which that individual is mentioned several times as a στρατηγός of Ephesus who, at first a sceptic, afterwards became one of the apostle's chief disciples in that city. The following incident is of a type familiar in apocryphal Acts. The apostle goes to visit the brethren apparently at a village near Ephesus, and on the way has to cross a bridge, where his passage is barred by a demon in the form of a soldier, who threatens violence. The military aspect assumed by the demon recalls a similar story in the *Martyrium Matthaei*, which is not impossibly here copying the *Acts of John*; cf. l. 26, note. Rebuked by St. John, the demon vanishes, and on reaching his destination the apostle exhorts the brethren to worship and joins with them in prayer (ll. 22-36). The verso (ll. 1-19) is concerned with a quite different episode which is much more obscure. The scene is a church (cf. l. 16), and apparently a person called Zeuxis (l. 13) had just tried to hang himself but had been miraculously saved by St. John (ll. 5-6), who in ll. 4-13 offers up a thanksgiving of a character for which there are numerous parallels in the extant *Acts of John*. Afterwards

some question seems to arise concerning the partaking of the Eucharist (ll. 13-5), and the proconsul (sc. of Ephesus) intervenes, perhaps bringing a letter from the Emperor (ll. 15-8), but the circumstances are obscure. Whether the page on the recto precedes that on the verso or vice versa there is no external evidence to show; but since the description of the incident on the verso implies a considerable amount of space devoted to the earlier part of the Zeuxis story, we prefer to suppose that the verso precedes the recto, for the missing lower half of the recto does not seem to allow sufficient room for the beginning of the Zeuxis story, which is obviously quite unconnected with the incident concerning the demon in the form of a soldier. The verso therefore presumably belongs to the conclusion of one section of the *Acts of John*, and the recto to the beginning of the next. The tendency of the various apocryphal Acts to split up into independent parts has already been noted (cf. p. 9) in regard to the *Acts of Peter*, and in the *Acts of John* is especially marked; the fullest edition (Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, i. pp. 151-216) is made up of five separate sections derived from different MSS., and not only separated from each other by gaps of uncertain length, but also exhibiting in some places evidence of internal omissions. There is no difficulty in finding a place for the new fragment. The references to Andronicus and the proconsul clearly indicate Ephesus as the background. Andronicus is mentioned, obviously for the first time, in c. 31 of the extant *Acts*, where he appears as an unbeliever, but in c. 37 he has already become a disciple, and the account of his conversion probably occurred in one or more lost chapters which originally intervened between cc. 31 and 37, although these both belong to the continuous section of the *Acts* (cc. 18-86) found in the Codex Patmensis. Andronicus also occurs in the following section found only in the Codex Vindobonensis (cc. 87-105), so that our fragment must be inserted at some point later than c. 31 and before c. 106, where begins the account of the μετέστασις with which the work concluded. Two periods of residence at Ephesus are ascribed to the apostle in these chapters, the first covering cc. 31-55, at which point St. John leaves for Smyrna and there is a gap in which several chapters are lost. His return to Ephesus is narrated in c. 62, and throughout the rest of the *Acts* Ephesus remains the scene. Excluding therefore cc. 55-62 with those lost between cc. 55 and 58, all of which dealt with events away from Ephesus, the most suitable points for the insertion of our fragment are (1) c. 37 before the sentence beginning οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου, where there is a change of subject, and a lacuna is in any case probable owing to the inconsistency of c. 37 with c. 31 concerning Andronicus; (2) the gap between cc. 86 and 87; (3) the gap between cc. 105 and 106. But though in these three places the lacunae are evident, there are other points between

cc. 31-55 and 62-86 (cc. 87-105 form one long speech) where the existence of lacunae is possible, so that there is much freedom of choice. If the title in ll. 20 and 21 refers, as is possible, to the separation of Andronicus from his wife Drusiane, alluded to in c. 63 (ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κεχωρισμένης αὐτῆς διὰ θεοσέβειαν), our fragment must have preceded that chapter, and the general resemblance between the situation in ll. 22 sqq. and that in c. 48 (especially in the version found in the Codex Parisiacus; cf. ll. 22-3, note) also suggests that our fragment belongs to the earlier rather than to the later portions of the *Acts of John*.

The composition of the original *Acts of John* is assigned by all critics to the second century, but how far back in that century the work is to be placed depends largely upon the disputed question whether it was used by Clement of Alexandria, as has been supposed by Zahn and others, but not by Harnack (*Chron. d. altchr. Lit.*, ii. 1, p. 542, ii. 2, p. 174). As is usual with apocryphal Acts preserved in comparatively late MSS., there is some uncertainty as to the extent to which the existing portions accurately represent the original or have been subjected to editing. So far as it goes, our fragment, which on account of its antiquity no doubt belongs to the original *Acts of John*, agrees closely both in its general form and contents with the previously extant portions, and therefore tends to support the view that these have not undergone any serious amount of revision; cf. the similar conclusion to which we attained in connexion with the *Acts of Peter* (pp. 9-10). The use of the first person plural in reference to Leucius, the supposed narrator of the *Acts of John*, which often occurs in the narrative portions of the *Acts* dealing with Ephesus, is not found in ll. 22 sqq. where it might perhaps be expected; but no importance is to be attached to this circumstance, for e. g. in the story in cc. 48 sqq. the use of the first person is equally absent. Formerly the *Acts of John* were treated as pronouncedly Gnostic, but this inference has recently been disputed by C. Schmidt, who is followed by Harnack (*op. cit.*, ii. 2, p. 173) in regarding them as 'vulgärchristlich, aber von ausserordentlich starker modalistischer und doketischer Färbung'. It is unfortunate that the passage in our fragment which would be most likely to show its author's theological point of view, the prayer in ll. 5-13, is far from complete. While most of the phrases are, so far as can be judged, of a conventional character, the expression ὁ τὰ [μ]ηδενὶ γνώριμα . . .] γνωρίζων in ll. 7-8 has a somewhat Gnostic ring.

The beginnings and ends of lines are lost on both pages of the fragment, but it is clear from the fairly certain restorations of the lacunae between ll. 22-3, 26-7, 29-30, and 31-2 that the lines on the recto contained about 41 letters, and l. 27 which projects proves that at least 5 letters are lost at the beginnings



- νης ἀμ]α πλειοσιν ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς [. . . . . ἐβουλε  
το περ]αινειν γεφυραν ὕψ ην π[ο]ταμός ἐρρεεν [. . . .  
25 και πο]ρευομένου [τ]ου Ἰωάννου πρὸς τ[ου]ς ἀδελφ[ους]  
. . . . .]ρ τις [π]ροσεισιν αὐτῷ σχηματι στρατιωτ[ου] ημφι  
ἐ]σμενος. και εἰς οψ[ι]ν αὐτου στας εφη. Ἰωάννη εἰ σ[. . . .  
. . . εἰς] χειρα[ς] ἐλευσι ταχιστα· και ὁ Ἰωάννης οἶ[. . . . .  
εφη σ]βεσι σου ο  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  τὴν ἀπειλὴν [κα]ι τὴν ὀργὴν κ[αι] τὴν  
30 πλημμ]ελίαν και ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀφανὴς ἐγενετο ἀ[πελ  
θοντο]ς οὖν του Ἰ[ω]άννου πρ[ο]ς οὓς ἀπηε[ι] και ευρ[ο]ντος  
αὐτο]ς συνηθροισμένους εἶπεν. ἀ[ναστα]ντες ἀ[δελ  
φοι μου] κλινώμεν γόνατα πρὸς τον  $\overline{\kappa\psi}$  [κ]αι του μεγ[αλου] ἐχ  
θρου ἀ]ορατον ενεργημα καταργησαν[τα . . .]τ[η]σα[. . . . .  
35 . . . αὐ]τοῖς ἐκλινεν γόνατα ἀμα αὐ[τοῖς] . . .]πεν[. . . . .  
. . . . .]των θς ἐφ[

‘John . . . (spake) to Zeuxis, “Rise up and lift . . . ; thou who didst compel me to turn from his purpose one who was intending to hang himself, who turnest the hearts that are in despair to thyself, who makest known the things that are known to none . . . , who weepst for the afflicted . . . , who raisest the dead . . . of the weak, O Jesus, the comforter of the . . . We praise thee and worship thee and give thanks to thee for all thy bounty and the present dispensation and service.” And he (gave) the eucharist to Zeuxis alone, (and then) offered it to those who wished to receive it, but . . . did not dare to do so. The proconsul . . . (coming) into the middle of the church saith to John: “O servant of the unnameable one, . . . brought letters from Caesar . . .”

‘The separation (?) ; Andronicus and his wife.

‘After a few days had passed, John went forth with several brethren to . . . , and wished to cross a bridge under which a . . . river was flowing. And as John was on his way to the brethren, a certain . . . , clothed in the fashion of a soldier, approached him, and standing before his face said, “John, if thou (advancest) thou shalt straightway engage me in combat.” And John . . . said, “The Lord shall quench thy threat and thy wrath and thy offence,” and behold the other vanished. John then having come to those whom he was visiting and found them gathered together, spake, “Let us rise up, my brethren, and bow our knees before the Lord who has made of none effect the unseen activity of even the great (enemy?)” . . . he bowed his knees with them . . .’

4. Probably *εἶπε* is to be supplied before *Ζευξί]δι* (for whom cf. l. 13) and *ἀναστας*, *ἀρας* . . . is the beginning of the speech, although there is no stop after *Ζευξί]δι*; cf. however l. 30, note.

5. After [. . .] is a low stop, as after *σε* in l. 7 and *ημφι]σμενος* in l. 27. If *με* before *μετα* . . . [ is not due to dittography, we may restore *μετατ[ρέπειν]* (or *μετασ[τρέφειν]* *Ζευξί]δα* *εὐνοον[τα]*). The letter after *μετα* is quite uncertain. For similar invocations in the *Acts of John* see pp. 187–93 of Bonnet’s edition.

6. ο both before τα here and before τους in l. 9 probably had a breathing which is lost in a lacuna.

7. The line may be completed γνω[ιμα δια if ]νος in l. 8 is a genitive; ι or μ could be read there in place of the doubtful ν.

9. The supposed ω at the beginning of the line is extremely doubtful, and it would be possible to read e. g. σ. In that case, if the lines on the verso were 3 or 4 letters shorter than those on the recto (cf. introd. p. 15), we might read τεθλιμ[με|νου]ς here, with δο[ξαζο]μεν in place of ευχαρι[στου]μεν in ll. 11-2, omitting both σου in l. 12 and the supposed lacuna between απεγνω[σμενα and επιστρ[εφ]ων in ll. 6-7. The reduction of the corresponding lacunae elsewhere by 3 or 4 letters would, however, present some difficulty in ll. 13-4, where a verb is necessary; and we prefer to adhere to the length of lines indicated by the recto.

και is possible after ανιστων in place of μ . ., but less suitable.

10. ανιστων is not satisfactory since the word occurred in the previous line. Ιη(σο)ν is no doubt vocative.

11-3. Cf. e. g. *Acts of John* (*AJ*), p. 189. 23-4, and 193. 2 sqq., and for οικονομία p. 188. 2.

14. εκοινωνησε, which would be expected (cf. *AJ*, p. 193. 14, &c.), is too long for the lacuna after ευχαριστίας. ε[δωκε] might be read; but then if επε[δωκε]ν in the next line is right (cf. *AJ*, p. 208. 11) these two sentences do not connect well together.

The supposed stop after λαβειν may be the beginning of a letter, e. g. τ. The letter at the end of the line is represented by the lower half of a vertical stroke; [ο]ι [δε] is possible.

15. Perhaps ατ[ενισσαντε]ς. The supposed apostrophe after ουκ is very doubtful. For the ἀνθρώπος of Ephesus cf. *AJ*, p. 167. 28 and 851. 2, note.

16. ]ων suggests a participle like ελθ]ων, but the following letters constitute a difficulty, the arrangement of the fibres, which are twisted, being not quite certain. Of the supposed κ the merest vestige remains, but δε [κα]τα is unsuitable.

17. ]ον may be read in place of ]ων. At the end of the line the supposed rough breathing is more to the left than usual, but it is not satisfactory to regard it as part of a mark of abbreviation, i. e. θ[υ]. ἀκατονόμαστος does not occur elsewhere in the apocryphal Acts.

20-1. Prof. C. Schmidt well compares the similar sub-titles in the Coptic *Acta Pauli*. ἀλλαγή = 'posting-stage', which is unsuitable here, occurs in *AJ*, p. 154. 7. Of the compounds ἀπαλλαγή seems most likely, and if the words in l. 22 had been in the genitive it would be easy to connect this heading with the allusion to the separation of Andronicus and his wife Drusiane in *AJ*, p. 181. 25. The presence of the nominative there renders this explanation more difficult, unless indeed we restore ὅπως ἀπη]λλαγή. The double dots after ]λλαγή are not certain. That ἀπα]λλαγή refers to the death of St. John is very improbable, for the section of the *Acts of John* dealing with that subject is extant, under the sub-title of μετάστασις or ἀνάπανσις (*AJ*, p. 203). With regard to the reading η γ[υνη], the γ is almost certain, ρ being the only alternative and less suitable; but ηγ[ ] might of course be the beginning of e. g. another proper name. The prominence of Drusiane, however, as well as Andronicus in the *Acts of John* makes η γ[υνη] very probable, even if l. 20 has no connexion with l. 21 and belongs, as is possible, to the preceding section, not to the sub-title at all.

22-3. Cf. *AJ* p. 175. 24-5 (Codex Parisiacus) μετὰ οὖν ἡμέρας τινας κατὰ θείαν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τινὶ κώμῃ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. πρὸς [ἐπισκεψιν] (with a shorter verb than ἐβουλετο) is possible in l. 23, but a place-name or equivalent expression is more likely. The parallel passage in the Codex Patmensis is τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ὅταν θεασάμενος ὁ Ἰωάννης μίλια τρία ἕξω πυλῶν περιπατήσαι οὐκ ἠμέλησεν ἀλλ' ὕρθρου ἀναστὰς ἅμα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐβάδιξε.

24. The lacuna at the end may be filled either by a short epithet of π[ο]ταμος, e. g. μέγας or βάθυσ, or else by reading και with a compound of πο]ρευομένου. The doubtful ν of ερρεεν might be μ.

26. Cf. *Martyrium Matthaei* (Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, ii. 1, p. 232. 15-6) ὁ δὲ δαίμων ὁ ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ σχήματι δέφθεις πρότερον τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν μετασχηματισθεὶς ἐν σχήματι στρατιώτου ἔστη κ.τ.λ. Since the *Martyrium Matthaei* was composed much later than the *Acts of John*, the coincidence may be due to imitation by the author of the former work. δαίμων would be expected at the beginning of this line, for it is clearly an evil spirit who appears; but the traces of the last letter are inconsistent with ν and suggest ρ, though δαμ]ω(ν) might be read.

28. ορ]γισθις might be read at the end of the line. The supposed ο might be σ but not ε, so that ειλ]πεν is inadmissible.

30. There is no stop or blank space after εγενετο, and α possibly represents α[ντω, with απο]βαντο]s for the next word. Cf. note on l. 4.

33-4. The second letter of κ(υριω)ν is rather more like ν, but the accusative seems to be required by the sense. ν or π can be read after με in place of γ. The word no doubt refers to the powers of evil; with ενεργημα in l. 34 cf. *AJ*, p. 187. 24 ἐνέργειαν κακωτικὴν, 200. 14 δαίμονες, ἐνέργειαι, ἀπειλαί. For καταργησαν]τα cf. *AJ*, p. 192. 24 καταργήθητι, and *Acta Philippi*, ed. Bonnet, 40. 7 καταργηθήσεται πάντα ἡ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ δύναμις. The doubtful τ before ησα can be γ, and διη]γησα]μενος is possible. The word is probably a participle in any case.

35. ἀδελ]φοῖς cannot be read, and the τ is nearly certain. With regard to αυ]τοις, the repetition of this word is not very satisfactory, but ἀδ]ελφοῖς is inadmissible there also. The next word may be ειλ]πεν [δε, but τ can be read for π.

#### 851. APOCRYPHAL ACTS.

5.3 × 18 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

The following small fragment of a papyrus codex, which clearly contained the Acts of some apostle or saint, we have not succeeded in identifying with any of the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* edited by Lipsius and Bonnet. It consists of the lower portion of a leaf, written with brown ink in a large round calligraphic uncial hand which is certainly not later than the sixth century and may belong to the fifth. θεός is contracted as usual, but not ἀνθρωπος, nor perhaps κύριος. The recto begins just after the commencement of a new chapter which is indicated by a paragraphus and by a vertical wavy line in the margin, apparently the bottom of a flourish. If our restoration ηγε]μων in l. 1 (cf. l. 5) is correct, a praefect is apparently giving orders for some one to be exposed to wild beasts. The verso contains part of a protest made to the praefect, defending some one (no doubt the apostle concerned in these Acts) from the charge of being a magician. Whether the recto or the verso comes first is quite uncertain. Some points of connexion with the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, in which a similar scene occurs, suggest that the fragment may belong either to a different version of those Acts or to one of the lost sections of the *Acts of Paul* (cf. p. 9), but it does not correspond to any of the new Coptic fragments of that work.

Recto.

Verso.

<p>Σ <u>ειπεν</u> <u>ως</u> <u>βουλη</u> <u>π[οι]ει</u> <u>ο</u> <u>[δε]</u> <u>ηγε</u>  <u>μων</u> <u>ειπεν</u> <u>προς</u> <u>τους</u> <u>αρχικυ</u>  <u>νηγους</u> <u>αγετε</u> <u>μοι</u> <u>ωδε</u> <u>ζωη</u><u>θαν</u></p>	<p>[.....]. [.....]... ρε[. .  5 [κυ]ριε [ηγ]εμων ουτος δ αν  θρωπος ουκ εστιν μαγος  αλλα ταχα ο θς αυτου μεγας εστιν</p>
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'... said "Do as you wish". The praefect said to the chief huntsmen, "Bring to me here . . .

"O lord praefect, this man is not a magician, but perhaps his god is great . . ."

2. *αρχικυνηγους*: this word does not seem to occur in Lipsius and Bonnet's *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, but cf. *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, ed. Lipsius, p. 257. 4 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐδίδου τὰ κυνήγια. ἡγεμόν (cf. l. 5) is also the word used in those Acts for the Roman governor, while *πραίφεκτος* is used in the *Acts of Peter* and *ἀνθύπατος* in the *Acts of John*.

3. The letter after ζω, if not ν, must be μ or possibly π, and the next letter seems to be a round one, but much narrower than the scribe's θ or ο elsewhere. Possibly he began to write ζωντα and corrected it to ζωσαν, but though the supposed ν may have been crossed through the next letter is not like σ or τ corrected into σ. Or perhaps a proper name is intended. ζωγριαν cannot be read.

5-6. Cf. *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, p. 249. 1-2 ὁ δὲ ὄχλος προσαχθέντος πάλιν τοῦ Παύλου περισσοτέρως ἐβόα, μάγος ἐστίν, αἶρε αὐτόν.

## II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS.

### 852. EURIPIDES, *Hypsipyle*.

Height 37.1 cm. Late second or early third century.  
 Plates II and III (Fr. 1. ii-iii,  
 Fr. 60. i-ii).

The following fragments, which constitute the most important addition to the remains of Greek tragedy hitherto made by Egyptian papyri, belong, like 841-4 in our previous volume and 853 in this, to the first large group of literary texts found in 1906. The style and contents of 852 were sufficiently definite to enable us at the time of the first announcement of the discovery to identify the play as the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, and this identification has subsequently been confirmed by the recognition of at least two coincidences with citations from that drama by ancient authorities.

In common with the other manuscripts from this find, the papyrus was recovered in an extremely mutilated condition. The most considerable piece was the central portion of Fr. 1 containing parts of two consecutive columns; but the majority of the fragments, originally numbering over 200, were comparatively small in size. On the whole they have hardly fitted together so well as might have been expected. Particularly difficult to deal with in this respect are the pieces numbered 6-17 and 20-56, which formed a small group found subsequently at some little distance from the rest, and distinguished by being of a darker colour and badly worm-eaten. Another characteristic shared by 852 with 841-2 and 853 is that the literary text is on the verso of a non-literary document,—in this instance a money account, of which a description is given under 985. Though of course very useful for purposes of confirmation, this document on the recto, which follows no regular formula, is in too large a hand to be of much assistance towards the combination of small fragments; moreover the recto of a number of the fragments is uninscribed. The account is of a decidedly early date, and may be safely placed within the first century; but it was apparently not till a good many years later that the verso came to be used for this copy of the *Hypsipyle*, which we should judge to be little anterior to A.D. 200. It is written in a sloping uncial hand similar in kind to that of 842 (the new historian), and no doubt of about the same period. ξ is always of the cursive shape, with a tail, and other cursive forms occasionally make their appearance, particularly at the ends of lines, e.g. *vs* of *οικουvs* in Fr. 58. 8, *μεν* of *λεξομεν* in Fr. 60. 59. The size of the letters and the spacing show considerable variations in different parts of the MS.; there is a marked contrast for instance in this respect between Fr. 1. ii and Fr. 60. ii (cf. Plates II. and III). Hence inequalities occur in the number of lines contained in the columns, which are remarkably tall: there was a difference of seven lines between Cols. i and ii of Fr. 60, numbering 62 and 55 lines respectively; Col. ii of Fr. 64 has only 54 lines, while the first seven columns of the play averaged about 60 lines, as is shown by the occurrence in the seventh column of the figure 400, the verse opposite to which this numeral is placed being succeeded by at least 15 lines before the column ended. This marginal numeration of verses by hundreds is not infrequent in papyri; cf. e.g. 841 (Pindar's *Paeans*), and note on Fr. 25. There are frequent variations of the point in the column at which the lines were commenced, the object usually being to mark the distinction between iambs and lyrics or strophic divisions within the latter. Accents, breathings, and marks of elision and quantity are fairly frequent throughout, but lectional signs, as might be expected, are rather commoner in the lyrical parts than elsewhere. The system of accentuation is similar in character to that of 223, 841 and other

papyri of this period; it should be noted that for convenience of printing we place the circumflex on the second vowel of a diphthong, though in the original it usually covers the two letters. A line curving upwards is occasionally placed below compound words, as in 841 and the Bacchylides papyrus. Punctuation, which is rare, is commonly effected by a high stop, usually placed well above the line; a low stop occurs in Fr. 68. 7. To what extent these various signs are due to the original scribe is uncertain; but he evidently wrote some of them and the majority may well come from his pen. The same writer was also doubtless responsible for the names of the *dramatis personae* which occasionally appear in the margin (cf. 211, 855, &c.), for the stichometrical figures already mentioned, and for the paragraphi, which are employed both to denote changes of speaker and to mark strophic divisions. But it is equally clear that a number of the frequent alterations and additions made in the text are due to another hand, which we have as usual attempted to distinguish by the use of a thicker type; it is however often very difficult to feel confidence in assigning the authorship of minor corrections, and doubtful cases have as a rule been credited to the original writer. Occasionally a variant or an explanatory note is inserted in the margin. But in spite of the numerous modifications the text is left in a by no means satisfactory condition, and in several passages emendation is necessary. The fault no doubt sometimes lay with the archetype, but it is impossible to acquit our copyist of much carelessness. His orthography is very fair: *ει* and *ι* are unusually correctly written, but iota adscript is frequently omitted, and some mistakes of accentuation occur. With regard to the use of the Doric *a* in the lyrical parts there is little consistency, and here we as a rule follow the spelling of the papyrus.

The fragments are scattered widely over the play, and though much of the plot is now clear, some essential points unfortunately remain in doubt. Hypsipyle's story is told by several ancient authorities, but none of the versions is found to agree very closely with the treatment of Euripides. Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, the son of Dionysus and king of Lemnos, in a massacre of the men of the island by the women concealed and saved her father, whom she succeeded in the government of Lemnos. The deception was eventually discovered, and Hypsipyle, who had meanwhile become the mother of two sons by Jason on his way to Colchis in quest of the golden fleece, was sold as a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea, and put in charge of his infant son. It was with her subsequent adventures at Nemea that the plot of Euripides' drama was concerned. The following is the account of the scholiast to Clement of Alexandria, p. 105 sqq.:—*ὅτε οἱ ἐπὶ Θήβας σὺν Ἀδράστῳ καὶ Πολυνείκει ἐστρατεύοντο, παρέβαλον εἰς τὴν Νεμέαν τόπος δὲ οὗτος τοῦ Ἀργούς. ζητοῦντες δὲ ὑδρεύσασθαι συνέ-*

τυχον Ὑψιπύλῃ τῇ Θόαςτος θυγατρὶ τρεφούσῃ παιδίον Ὀφέλτην καλούμενον Εὐφήγου (l. Εὐφήτου?) καὶ Εὐρυδίκης. ἡ δὲ ἀποθεμένη τὸ παιδίον ἀπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς ὑδρεύσασθαι βουλομένη. δράκων δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ περιπεσὼν τῷ παιδίῳ ἀνείλεν αὐτό. ἡ δὲ ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐθρήνει, Ἀμφιάραος δὲ ὁ μάντις εἰς ὧν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος τοῖς Ἑλλήσι θάνατον προεμαντεύσατο καὶ τὸν παῖδα Ἀρχέμορον ἐκάλεσεν. Ἄδραστος δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Ὑψιπύλην ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἀγῶνα συνεστήσατο. If Λυκούργου be substituted for Εὐφήγου and in the last sentence Ἀμφιάραος for Ἄδραστος and Εὐρυδίκην for Ὑψιπύλην, the outline so far as it goes will be accurate, but it omits entirely the two sons of Hypsipyle who, as we now know, played a part in the plot of Euripides. Apollodorus iii. 6. 4 is slightly less detailed: he adds however that the serpent was slain and gives Lycurgus as the name of the king of Nemea. Four separate accounts are prefixed to the scholia on Pindar's *Nemca*. The first of these brings in Hypsipyle's sons, though with marked divergences from Euripides: ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ κατὰ ζήτησιν οἱ παῖδες Θόας καὶ Εὐνέως παρέβαλον ἐν Νεμέᾳ. Εὐρυδίκης δὲ τῆς Λυκούργου γυναικὸς βουλομένης διὰ τὸν Ὀφέλτου θάνατον ἀνελεῖν τὴν Ὑψιπύλην διὰ τοῦτό τε ἔν τινι τόπῳ λαθραῖα κατακλειςάσης, Ἀμφιάραος μαντευσάμενος δείκνυσσι τοῖς παισὶ τὴν Ὑψιπύλην. ἡ δὲ τοῦτο εὐτυχήσασα παρεκάλει τοὺς ἥρωας τοῖς παισὶν (συν)αγωνίσασθαι. There was evidently no question of the concealment of Hypsipyle by the queen in Euripides' play, nor any intercourse between the former and the seven chieftains after her recognition by her sons. The brief account of Hyginus c. 74 is very similar to those of Apollodorus and the scholiast on Clement. In only one extant work is the story of Hypsipyle at Nemea treated at length, namely the *Thebais* of Statius, which might have been expected to reflect the version of Euripides and was largely drawn upon by Hartung in connexion with the *Hypsipyle* in his *Euripides Restitutus*, ii. pp. 430 sqq. Statius, however, whom as Hartung thought *esse Euripide usum auctore manifestum est*, turns out to have been by no means a safe guide. Apart from minor variations in detail, which need not be emphasized here, there are fundamental discrepancies in structure. After the death of the child (*Theb.* v. 505 sqq.) Statius represents the Argive army as proceeding with Hypsipyle to the palace of Lycurgus. The procession is met by the king, who proposes to take vengeance for Hypsipyle's negligence, but is restrained by the chieftains. In the confusion which results the sons of Hypsipyle, who had been hospitably received at the palace, go to the assistance of Lycurgus and are so led to discover their mother's identity. Then follows the institution of the Nemean games at the instigation of Amphiarus. As will be seen, it was certainly not from Euripides that Statius derived the ground-plan of this part of his poem. In the fragments of the tragedy Lycurgus is conspicuous by his absence, his place being taken by the queen Eurydice who in Statius is a minor figure, while the only representative of

the Argive army is Amphiaras accompanied by a few attendants, and his appeal on Hypsipyle's behalf is exclusively to right, not might (Fr. 60. 40).

Let us now turn to the actual remains of the play. First in order stand the three verses quoted in Aristoph. *Frogs* 1211-3 from the prologue (Nauck Fr. 752) Διόνυσος, ὃς θύροισι . . . πηδᾶ κ.τ.λ. Welcker, *Griech. Trag.* ii. pp. 557-8, and Hartung, *Eurip. Rest.* ii. p. 431, are very positive that the prologue was spoken by Dionysus and have therefore to suppose that the lines cited by Aristophanes were preceded by one or two other verses. This however is on the one hand inconsistent with the use of the third person πηδᾶ, and on the other with the express testimony of the scholiast, which there is no reason to doubt, that the passage was Ὑψιπύλης ἡ ἀρχή. The opening is strictly parallel to others in the prologues of Euripides, e.g. those of the *Ion* or the *Iphig. in Tauris*, where the speaker begins by giving his or her genealogy. In the present case accordingly the speaker was tracing descent from Dionysus, and the only persons who can here come in question are Hypsipyle herself or one of her two sons Euneos and Thoas. In the first column of Fr. 1 of the papyrus, which, as the stichometry indicates, was the third column of the play, the sons in the guise of travellers seeking hospitality for the night appear in colloquy with a woman, whose congratulations to the mother of the strangers would almost suffice to identify her as Hypsipyle herself; hence the initial ῥῆσις would be quite appropriate in the mouth of any one of the three persons who are available. If the speaker of it is, as we suppose, Hypsipyle, the arrangement is similar to that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Hypsipyle recounts her history and circumstances, and then enters the palace, perhaps for the purpose of fetching the child Archemorus; Euneos and Thoas arrive, and after some conversation, in which their identity and mission (they were looking for their lost mother: *causa viae genetrrix* as Statius, *Theb.* v. 715, says; cf. Schol. *Nem.* quoted on p. 22) are explained, knock at the door of the palace; Hypsipyle opens it and the dialogue of Fr. 1. Col. i follows. If on the other hand Euneos or Thoas made the opening speech, Hypsipyle would not have appeared until the travellers proceeded to knock at the door. This view is simpler, but possibly too simple; it hardly accounts so well for the 120 lines of the first two columns, apart from the consideration that the heroine of the piece is perhaps more suitable as the *προλογίζουσα*.

The papyrus breaks off in the middle of the conversation of Hypsipyle with the strangers, who presumably gained admittance, in spite of the absence of the king Lycurgus (Fr. 1. i. 11); in these two details Statius is in agreement with Euripides (cf. *Theb.* v. 640, 715). Hypsipyle then sings a monody to her nursing, of which the conclusion is preserved in the first 14 lines of Fr. 1. ii. This is the song, as the reference in l. 8 to κρόταλα indicates, to which allusion is made

in *Frogs* 1305 sqq. ποῦ 'στιν ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις αὕτη κροτοῦσα ; δεῦρο Μοῦσ' Εὐριπίδου : cf. Phot. *Lex.* p. 180. 12 κροταλίζειν οὐ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κροτεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ κροτάλου. τῆς κροταλίσσας, ὡς Εὐριπίδης(ν) φησὶν ὁ κωμικὸς περὶ τῆς Ὑψιπύλλης λέγων. Nauck, Fr. 769, takes the word κροταλίσσας as having occurred in the text of the play, but that is not at all likely ; the verse of the papyrus sufficiently accounts for Photius' note. The parodos of the chorus, consisting of Nemean women friendly to Hypsipyle (cf. Fr. 1. ii. 15 φίλα, Frs. 20-1. 1 φ[ίλτα]ται, 14 φίλας), follows, the choral ode consisting of a strophe and antistrophe (largely composed of glyconic verses), each of which is succeeded by a lyrical response from Hypsipyle. In the strophe (Fr. 1. ii. 15-40) the chorus asks if the captive's thoughts are still busy with her island home while such stirring events as the march of the army of Adrastus against Thebes are in progress. Hypsipyle replies (Fr. 1. iii. 1-17) that she cares for none of these things ; her heart is with the ships of the Agonists. The chorus offers consolation by recalling the adventures of other heroines who had left their homes and suggests that Hypsipyle's prospects are brighter than were theirs (Fr. 1. iii. 18-43). Hypsipyle refuses to take comfort, and can only look forward to the release of death (Fr. 1. iv. 1-9). She then perceives some strangers approaching (Fr. 1. iv. 10-14), and Amphiarus enters with a small retinue (Fr. 1. iv. 15). He addresses Hypsipyle, and asks to be shown the way to running water, which was needed for the purpose of a sacrifice on behalf of the army on crossing the frontier (cf. note on Fr. 1. iv. 35). A long dialogue ensues in which Amphiarus explains who he is, what was the object of the expedition, and how he himself came to be concerned in it, while Hypsipyle in her turn discloses her identity and antecedents (Fr. 1. iv. 53-v with Frs. 3-5). Finally she consents to comply with Amphiarus' request (Nauck, Fr. 753 δαίξω μὲν Ἀργεῖοισιν Ἀχελφῶν ῥόον), and goes off with him, carrying the child with her. Thus ends the first ἐπεισόδιον, and the chorus occupied the interval with an ode, to which Frs. 6-9 are likely to belong ; there is a reference in Fr. 6. 1 to χέρνιβα, and the description in Frs. 8-9 of the quarrel between Polynices and Tydeus which led up to the expedition of Adrastus would be a very suitable subject at this point. Meanwhile Hypsipyle, perhaps with the motive attributed to her by Statius *ne tarda Pelasgis dux foret* (iv. 778), had left the child lying unguarded on the ground, to find on her return that he had fallen a victim to a snake ; cf. the fragmentary description of the accident by Amphiarus in Fr. 60. 67 sqq.

At this point the course of events becomes obscured, and clearness is reached only at Frs. 20-1, where Hypsipyle is found in conversation with the chorus, fearful of the vengeance of the child's parents and considering means of flight. In what way is the lacuna to be filled? How was the misadventure made known to the chorus and in the palace? The usual tragic means in such a case

was the report of a messenger, and as a matter of fact in Fr. 18 there are the remains of a few lines which certainly refer to the serpent, and might well come from such a report. The objection to this view is the subsequent occurrence of a description of the scene by Amphiaraus when pleading with Eurydice. On this ground Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, to whom with Prof. J. B. Bury and Mr. Gilbert Murray we owe a number of most valuable suggestions and criticisms, would reject the intervention of a messenger, and refer Fr. 18 to the first dialogue between Amphiaraus and Hypsipyle, supposing the serpent to be a well-known object to whose existence Hypsipyle might allude in speaking of the spring. This no doubt is a quite tenable explanation, and the serpent is actually so treated by Statius; cf. v. 505 *nemoris sacer horror Achaei*, 511-2 *Inachio sanctum dixere Tonanti agricolae*, and 579 sqq. On the other hand some description of the disaster seems essential at this point, if only for the enlightenment of the audience; moreover to credit Hypsipyle with so clear a previous knowledge of the risk would considerably increase her culpability in leaving her charge unprotected, while to the parallel from Statius a counterweight may be found in his reference to a messenger: *et iam sacrifici subitus per tecta Lycurgi nuntius implebat lacrimis* (v. 638-9). Hence, whether a regular messenger was employed by Euripides or not, we should prefer to regard Fr. 18 as part of a *post factum* narrative. But there is an obvious alternative to a regular messenger: possibly the narrator was Hypsipyle herself. At the conclusion of the stasimon she may have returned alone from her ill-fated expedition, and in answer to interrogations from the chorus briefly stated what had occurred; to the lyrical portion of such a scene we should refer Frs. 10-13; cf. the scholiast on Clement quoted above, ἡ δὲ ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐθρήνει. The question would then arise, how was the news to reach queen Eurydice? A hint towards the solution of this problem is perhaps to be found in the rather mysterious remark of Hypsipyle when being led off to death, *κενὰ δ' ἐπηδέσθην ἄρα*, 'to no purpose then was my compunction' (Fr. 60. 21). These words appear to imply that shame had prevented her from a certain action; and we can find no interpretation more suitable than that first suggested by Mr. Murray, that Hypsipyle's feelings of honour led her to abandon the project of flight discussed in Frs. 20-1. If that is right, then she might naturally be supposed to have gone a step further, and voluntarily to have surrendered herself. Of course this explanation of Fr. 60. 21 is quite compatible with the hypothesis of a messenger; but the latter expedient becomes rather superfluous, and the awkwardness of a second description of Archemorus' fate would be far slighter if the first had been a more or less incoherent account by the distracted Hypsipyle, and not a formal report of another independent eyewitness.

Our supposition of a voluntary surrender seems to harmonize with the mutilated fragment in which Eurydice first occurs among the *dramatis personae*. In Fr. 22 the speakers are an unnamed person who appears to be pleading the cause of Hypsipyle, the chorus, and Eurydice. The chorus praise the first speaker's nobility or generosity (γενν[αί] ἐλ[ε]ξας), and Eurydice follows with an angry accusation of using specious words (l. 11 τί ταῦτ[α] κομψ[ά] . . .). If the first speaker is Hypsipyle and she had courageously thrown herself upon the queen's mercy, γενναῖος would be the natural epithet for the chorus to apply to her, while her scruples and excuses would no less naturally appear to the indignant mother as mere κομψότης. Frs. 23-31 may for the most part well belong to the same scene as Fr. 22; in the case of three of them stichometrical figures show that they come from the central portion of the play (ll. 600-800), though somewhat widely dispersed.

Postponing for the moment the question of what further scenes may have here intervened, we pass on to Fr. 60, where sure ground is again reached. Hypsipyle is now being led off to her doom. She makes a final appeal to Eurydice, acknowledging indeed that she had unwillingly caused the child's death, but indignantly repudiating the charge of malicious negligence made against her by the queen (cf. ll. 35-6 φησὶ δ' ἥδ' ἐκουσίως κτανεῖν με παῖδα καπιβουλεύσαι δόμοις, and Nauck Fr. 758). It is of no avail, and her position seems hopeless when at the critical moment Amphiaras suddenly interposes. He had foreseen, he says, Hypsipyle's fate, and comes with the object of preventing it, not by force, but by persuasion. The queen, who here meets Amphiaras for the first time, consents to hear him. He proceeds to tell her (ll. 55-111) how he had induced Hypsipyle to show the way to the spring, and describes the accident with the deductions which he drew from it concerning the fate of the expedition against Thebes. He offers philosophical consolation, and concludes with the practical proposal that the army should give her son burial and institute a festival (the Nemean games) to perpetuate both his name and hers. Of Eurydice's reply only the first few lines are preserved, but their tone suggests that she had been convinced and was prepared to give way (ll. 112-7). Another gap here occurs, but that it is of no very large extent seems to follow from the fact that in Fr. 64. Col. ii Amphiaras is still found upon the stage. He has now done the further service of bringing about a recognition between Hypsipyle and her sons, and this accomplished he leaves them to mutual explanations in which the adventures of both parties are reviewed, Hypsipyle speaking mainly in lyrical measures and the sons more calmly in iambs. The 1600th line is marked in the course of this column, and that the end of the play is imminent is also clear from the occurrence in the margin of the column following of the name of the god

Dionysus as a speaker. Col. i of this fragment has almost entirely disappeared, but it must have been largely if not entirely occupied by the scene of anagnorisis, and therefore one or more columns are required between Fr. 60. ii and Fr. 64. i for Eurydice's decision and exit, and the development by Amphiarus of the preliminaries, whatever they were, to the recognition. Stichometrical data point to a loss of three columns, to which probably should be assigned Frs. 61-3 (cf. Fr. 61. 4-6, Fr. 62. 3, Fr. 63. 6). A suitable place can also be found for the lyrical fragments 57-9 in the choral ode immediately preceding the long act which we have now reconstructed. In these fragments, of which the connexion is evident and the language recalls that of the parodos in the *Bacchae*, the chorus sings the praises of Dionysus. The topic at this juncture would be especially appropriate: the god is invoked to come to the assistance of his descendant in her extremity, and his actual appearance in the concluding scene is fittingly presaged. In one of these fragments (57. 15; cf. note *ad loc.*) the figure 1100 probably occurs, which though consistent with the position assigned to them involves a final act of unusual length, if it be inferred from the presence of Amphiarus (cf. p. 26) that Frs. 60 and 64 belong to a single act. The longest *ἐξοδος* in the extant plays of Euripides, that of the *Ion*, is under 400 lines, whereas the *ἐξοδος* here would reach nearly 600. Hence it is likely that a short choral ode, like e.g. that in *Electra* 1147-64, divided the exit of Eurydice and the recognition of Hypsipyle's sons, though not necessarily effecting a real break in the action. The large lyrical element in the two columns of Fr. 64 is a further reason for reducing the part of the chorus in this section.

Euripides' plot may thus be followed with sufficient clearness by means of the surviving fragments both in its earlier stages and its final dénouement; but there is an intermediate link which remains wrapped in obscurity. It would in any case have been not a little singular if Hypsipyle's sons who, as has been seen, appeared both at the outset and at the end of the play, were kept entirely out of the action during the rest of it. Secondly, an interval of some 200 lines between about ll. 900 and 1100 at present remains quite unaccounted for, and it is difficult to see how this can be filled without bringing in the sons in some way. Now on this point we have some external evidence to take into consideration, primarily that of the epigram in Anth. Pal. iii. 10:—

Φαῖνε, Θόαν, Βάκχοιο φυτόν τόδε· ματέρα γάρ σου  
 ῥύσῃ τοῦ θανάτου; οἰκέτιν Ὑψιπύλαν,  
 ἃ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρυδίκας ἔτλη χόλον, ἦμος ἀπούρας  
 ὕδρος, ὃ γὰρ γενέτας, ὤλεσεν Ἀρχέμορον.  
 στεῖχε δὲ καὶ σὺ λιπὼν Ἀσωπίδος ἄγχεα κούρας (?)  
 γειναμένην ἄξων Λῆμνον ἐς ἠγαθέην.

To which the following explanation is prefixed :—ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ δύσιν πλευρῷ ἐστὶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ δεκάτου πίνακος Εὐνεὸς γεγλυμμένος καὶ Θόας, οὓς ἐγέννησεν Ὑψιπύλη, ἀναγνωριζόμενοι τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τὴν χρυσὴν δεικνύντες ἄμπελον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦ γένους σύμβολον, καὶ ῥυόμενοι αὐτὴν τῆς διὰ τὸν Ἀρχεμόρου θάνατον παρ' Εὐρυδίκης τιμωρίας. According to this Euneos and Thoas rescued Hypsipyle ; but in Euripides her preserver, properly so called, was certainly Amphiaraus. There thus appear to be two distinct traditions ; and it is even possible, as Wilamowitz suggests, to follow these to their source. There was at Athens a class of musicians called Εὐνεῖδαι who traced their descent from Euneos the son of Hypsipyle ; cf. e.g. Hesych. γένος ἀπὸ Εὐνήου (*sic*) κεκλημένον, τοῦ Ἰάσονος υἱοῦ, οἷον γένος ὀρχηστῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν : . . . οἱ δέ, γένος τι Ἀθήνησι κιθαριστῶν, Photius γένος Ἀθήνησι μουσικόν, ἀπὸ Εὐνεω τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ Ὑψιπύλης. γένος ἐστὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἦσαν δὲ κιθαρῳδοί, πρὸς τὰς ἱεροῦργίας παρέχοντες τὴν χρεῖαν. Attic legend therefore brought Euneos to Athens, and would accordingly be likely to glorify him by giving him and his brother the credit of saving Hypsipyle. A clear reflection of this form of the legend is to be found in Euripides in Fr. 64. 98, where one of the sons (obviously Euneos) says that Orpheus had taught him the lyre. These considerations provide a clue, as Wilamowitz points out, to the tenour of the speech of Dionysus, whose appearance when the crisis was over would otherwise have remained rather unaccountable ; the god no doubt directed Euneos to go to Athens<sup>1</sup>. It is quite in accordance with this inference to find from *C. I. A.* iii. 274 that Dionysus Melpomenos was the object of the family cult of the Euneidae. The other and probably older legend, which represented Hypsipyle as owing her preservation to Amphiaraus, is likely to have been derived from Theban epic tradition. Euripides contrived to combine both versions of the story ; but what part he assigned to the sons between their arrival at the palace and their recognition is a problem which still awaits solution. Hartung, *Eurip. Rest.* ii. pp. 431 and 437-8, proposing in *Arist. Poet.* c. 14 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλῃ ὁ υἱὸς τὴν μητέρα ἐκδιδόναι μέλλων ἀνεγνώρισεν to read Ὑψιπύλη in place of Ἑλλῃ (Valckenaer had conjectured Ἀντιόπη), thought that Euneos and Thoas were constituted Hypsipyle's judges and condemned her to death, a view supported, as he believed, by an amphora published by Gerhard in 1837, which represents Hypsipyle and Amphiaraus standing before Eurydice, with Euneos and Thoas on the side next Hypsipyle and the two chieftains Parthenopaeus and Capaneus next to Amphiaraus ; above the two former appears Dionysus, above the other pair Zeus and Nemea. But this evidence is of very doubtful value. In the passage

<sup>1</sup> He went on to Lemnos afterwards, at any rate according to Homer *II* 467 sqq., where he is represented as sending cargoes of Lemnian wine to the Greek army—a most appropriate gift from a descendant of Dionysus. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* iii. 10. 5-6 quoted above.

from the *Poetics* Ἑλλη (though otherwise unknown) is retained by the best modern editors; and it is now clear that Ὑψιπύλη would not really be suitable, for it was not the sons' recognition but the intervention of Amphiarus that saved Hypsipyle; the recognition came afterwards. As for the amphora, the artist's object seems to have been to include the principal figures associated in the legend rather than to depict a single scene of it; at any rate it is evident that Hypsipyle, her two sons, Eurydice, Amphiarus, Parthenopaeus, and Capaneus cannot all have been brought on the stage together by Euripides. There is apparently no road this way; and we have searched vainly for a clue in the papyrus. One or two mutilated passages indeed in the central group of fragments may be interpreted as remains of a scene in which the sons appear, the most significant being Frs. 34-5. There Hypsipyle is alluded to by the periphrasis ὁμοῖς ἢ τροφῶς? τέκνου, which in Wilamowitz's opinion implies that the speaker was unacquainted with her name. The only characters to whom such ignorance would be natural are Euneos and Thoas; and perhaps the latter name is to be recognized in Fr. 33. 7, while π[έ]λας θυῶν in l. 2 of the same fragment may be a reference to their encounter with Hypsipyle in the prologos. But these fragments are too ambiguous to carry much weight, and they hardly bring us any nearer to the answer to the question how the sons were brought into connexion with the main action. If, as we have supposed, Hypsipyle did not carry out her idea of flight, they cannot have assisted her in it—although perhaps it was of the travellers whom she had befriended that she was thinking in her question to the chorus (Frs. 20-1. 15), 'What if I found some one to convey me out of the country?' Possibly there is a substratum of truth in Hartung's theory, and Eurydice in the absence of her husband turned to the two strangers for advice or support in her condemnation of the culprit. Or possibly—and this we think more likely—they may have gone to seek the assistance of Amphiarus, although the natural inference from his words in Fr. 60. 37-8 is that his opportune arrival was spontaneous. This last suggestion would have the further advantage of bringing the young men into contact with Amphiarus, and so give him an opportunity to discover their identity. Indeed it is difficult to perceive how otherwise he can have become aware of their presence at all—unless by a very remarkable display of his powers of divination.

It will be convenient here to summarize briefly our conception of the dramatic structure.

Prologos. Speech of Hypsipyle, describing her history and present circumstances, after which she retires on some pretext into the palace. Arrival of Euneos and Thoas, who hold an explanatory conversation; they then knock and Hypsipyle emerges with the child Archemorus. She inquires their business,

and they enter. Hypsipyle left alone sings to the child. ll. 1—about 200. Nauck Fr. 752, Fr. 1. i-ii. 14, Fr. 2.

Parodos of Chorus of Nemean women. Strophe and antistrophe, each followed by lyrical response from Hypsipyle. About ll. 200—310. Fr. 1. ii. 15—iv. 9.

1st Epeisodion. Arrival of Amphiaraus, who converses with Hypsipyle and persuades her to conduct him to a stream of water. They go out together. About ll. 310—430. Fr. 1. iv. 10—v, Frs. 3—5, Nauck Fr. 753.

1st Stasimon. The chorus refer to the quarrel of Polynices and Tydeus at Argos, and their marriage with the daughters of Adrastus. About ll. 430—500. Fr. 7—9.

2nd Epeisodion. Hypsipyle returns in great grief after the death of Archemorus. She laments his fate, and questioned by the chorus gives some description of what had occurred. Becoming calmer she considers plans of flight, but finally resolves to give herself up to Eurydice (?). About ll. 500—650. Frs. 10—13, Nauck Fr. 754—5, Frs. 20—1.

2nd Stasimon. About ll. 650—700.

3rd Epeisodion. Hypsipyle and Eurydice; Hypsipyle is condemned to death. About ll. 700—850. Frs. 22—32, Nauck Frs. 758, 760.

3rd Stasimon. About ll. 850—900.

4th Epeisodion. Euneos and Thoas take an uncertain part in the action. They were probably confronted with Eurydice, and perhaps subsequently induced either by an appeal from Hypsipyle or by natural generosity to go and seek assistance from Amphiaraus. About ll. 900—1080. Frs. 33—5.

4th Stasimon. The chorus sing the praises of Dionysus and call on him for succour. About ll. 1080—1150. Frs. 57—9.

5th Epeisodion. Hypsipyle is led out to meet her doom. Arrival of Amphiaraus, who persuades Eurydice of Hypsipyle's real innocence. Exit Eurydice. About ll. 1150—1350. Fr. 60. i-ii.

5th Stasimon. About ll. 1350—75.

Exodos. Amphiaraus brings about the recognition between Hypsipyle and Euneos and Thoas, and then leaves the mother and sons together. Dionysus, the ancestor of the family, appears *ex machina*, and sends Euneos to Athens. About ll. 1375—1720. Frs. 61—64, Nauck Frs. 756, 761, 762, Fr. *ap. Lydus*.

With regard to the number of the actors, though the characters in the play are only six, they would require four ἀγωνισταί to represent them if the papyrus is followed in the ascription of Fr. 64. 68—70 to the two sons of Hypsipyle—whether they speak simultaneously or one after the other; cf. note *ad loc.* If the number is to be reduced to the ordinary three, one of the sons must be a mute.

It is clear from internal evidence that Euneos is the speaker in Fr. 64. 101 (cf. p. 28), while the papyrus assigns Fr. 1. i. 7 sqq. to Thoas; but the former may have been the *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* in one scene, the latter in the other.

The *Hypsipyle* was one of the latest of Euripides' plays, being brought out not long before Aristophanes' *Frogs*, as stated by the scholiast on l. 53 of that comedy τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων καὶ καλῶν, Ὑψιπύλης, Φοινισσῶν, Ἀντιόπης: the *Frogs* was produced in 405 B. C., Euripides having died the year before. This statement of date is borne out by indications traceable in the character of the lyrical odes (cf. notes on Fr. 1. ii. 15 sqq.), as well as by the repeated parodies of the *Hypsipyle* in the *Frogs* (cf. e.g. notes on Fr. 1. ii. 8-10, Fr. 7. 4), which are more natural if the play be supposed to be fresh in the memory of Aristophanes' audience. From the conjunction of the three names in the above-mentioned note of the scholiast it has been inferred by some critics, e.g. Hartung and Meineke, that the *Hypsipyle*, *Phoenissae*, and *Antiope* belonged to the same tetralogy; but this is quite uncertain. The remark that they were 'fine' tragedies probably reflects the popular verdict, which in the case of the *Hypsipyle* has been endorsed, on the strength of the scanty evidence before them, by modern critics: '*drama eximium*,' Valckenaer, *Diatr.* p. 211, '*fabula venustissima rerum varietate distincta*,' Hartung, *op. cit.* ii. p. 411. We now know that there was not quite so much *varietas* as Hartung imagined, but the remains happily brought to light at Oxyrhynchus sufficiently justify his epithet '*venusta*'. If none of the new fragments reveals Euripides in his sublimest poetic flights, they maintain a high level of excellence, and need not fear comparison with much of his extant work; while the fact that the dramatization of this part of the *Hypsipyle* legend appears to be essentially a Euripidean creation renders the recovery of at any rate the bulk of his plot, with upwards of 300 verses either complete or capable of suitable restoration, a matter of especial satisfaction.

In arranging the fragments of the papyrus we have placed them so far as possible in what we conceive to have been their original order. The small group, which, as already explained (p. 20), was found separately, and both from the stichometrical numeration and internal evidence appears to represent the central portion of the play, has been kept together (Frs. 6-17, 20-56); the other minor fragments, the contents of which give no sufficient clue to their position, are placed at the end. Finally on pp. 80-83 we print the previously known citations from the play, and attempt to assign them their place among the fragments of the papyrus.

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

. . . . .  
 γρα[ 24 letters ]ξοισ  
 ἡξέ[. . . . .]σπ[. . . . .]θυρμα[.]α  
 ἄσων[.]δὺρμωνεκαλη[. . .]ρενας  
 υμεισεκρουσάτ'ωνεἰνια[. . .]σ  
 5 ὠμακαριασφῶν ἡτεκο[. . .]τισποτ'ην  
 τίτῳ[.]δεμελαθρωνδε[. . .]νοιπροσηλθετον  
 θοασ στεγ[.]σκεχρήμεθ' [.]ν[. . .]χθῆναιγυναι  
 ειδν[. . .]τον . [.]ννύκτε[. . .]αίμιν  
 εχο[.]νδὸ[.]ωνδεῖτ[.]πο[. . .]λν[.]ηροῖδο[  
 10 εσο[.]εσθατοῖσδετὸδεσὸν ὥσεχειμ[.]ει  
 [.] . . .]ποτοσμ[.] . . .]ικ[.]σαρσένωνκν[.]ι  
 [ 17 letters ] . [.]δωμ[.]τα  
 . . . . .

Fr. 2.

. . .  
 [.]μ[.]  
 λυκουρ[  
 γυνηδ[  
 5 θοασ ουκενξέ[  
 προσδ'α[  
 ηκιστ[  
 ξενο[  
 αειδε[  
 αλλειν[  
 10 . . [.]ῶνεδ[  
 . . .

Fr. 1.

Col. ii.

Plate II.

. . . . .  
 [.] . . . . .] . . . οσσι  
 [.] . . . . .] οσιδεσθαι  
 [.] . . . . .] . . ρχονωσ<sup>τ</sup>ενοπρου

Fr. 1.

Col. i.

('Tψ.) . . . . .

γρα[ 24 letters ]εοις

ἡξέ[ι . . . . .]σπ . [ . . . . . ἄ]θύρμα[τ]α

ἂ σῶν [ὁ]δυρμῶν ἐκγαλη[νιῇ φ]ρένας.

ὕμεις ἐκρούσατ', ὦ νεανία[ι, πύλα]ς;

5

ὦ μακαρία σφῶν ἢ τεκοῦσ', ἥ τις ποτ' ἦν.

τί τῶ[ν]δε μελάνθρων δε[ό]μενοι προσήλθετον;

Θόας. στέγ[η]ς κεχρήμεθ' [ἐ]ν[τ]ὸς ἄ]χθῆναι, γύναι,

εἰ δν[να]τὸν ἡ[μῖ]ν νύκτ' ἐ[ναυλίσ]αι μίαν.

ἔχο[με]ν δ' ὅ[σ]ων δεῖ τ[ί] πο[τε] λυ[π]ηροὶ δό[μοι]ς

10

ἔσθ[μ]εσθα τοῖσδε; τὸ δὲ σὸν ὥς ἔχει μ[εν]εῖ.

('Tψ.) [ἀ]δέσ[πο]τος μ[ὲν] οἱ[κ]ο[ς] ἀρσένων κυ[ρε]ῖ

[ 17 letters ] . [ . . ] δώμ[α]τα

Fr. 2.

('Tψ.) [ . . ]μ . [

Λυκοῦρ[γος

γυνή] δ[ὲ

Εὐρυδίκη

Θόας. οὐκ ἐν ξέ[νων]ωσι

5

πρὸς δ' α[

('Tψ.) ἡκιστ[α

ξένο[

ἀεὶ δὲ [

ἀλλ' εἰς ν[

10

.. [.]ῶν ἐδ[

Fr. 1.

Col. ii.

Plate II.

('Tψ.)

[ . . . . . ] . . οσοι

στρ. α'

[ . . . . . ]ος ἰδέσθαι

[ . . . . . ] . . ρχον ὥς ἐνόπτρου

D

- [. . . . .] ρφαῆτιν' αυγαν  
 5 [. . . . .] ἀνξήματοσον  
 [. .] μνησωμαιτεκνονεν  
 ωποισηθεραπειαισ  
 ἴδουκτύποσδ'δεκροτάλων<sup>ν</sup>  
 ✓ / ουτάδ[<sup>■</sup>α]πήνασουτάδεκερκίδος  
 10 ιστοτόνουπαραμυθιαλημνια  
 μουσαμελειμέ<sup>κρ</sup>[<sup>κ</sup>λ]ε[.]εινὸτιδειςυπνον  
 ηχαρινηθεραπευματαπρόσφορα  
 [.]αιδιπρεπεινεαρωι  
 ταδεμελωδοσανδῶ  
 15 ]τισύπαραπροθυροισφιλα  
 ποτεραδωματοσεισοδουσ  
 σάιρεισηδροσονεπιπέδωι  
 βαλλεισδιάτεδύλα  
 ἡτᾱναργωτᾱδιασοῦ  
 20 στόματοσαεικληζόμεναν  
 πεντηκόντερον<sup>α</sup>[.]δεις  
 ἡτοχρυσ<sup>εο</sup>μαλλον  
 ἱερονδεροσοπεριδρυος  
 ὕζοισομμαδρακοντοσ  
 25 φρουρεῖμναμοσύναδεσοι  
 τασα<sup>λημν</sup>γχιάλιοι[<sup>ν</sup>ησ]ου  
 τᾱναιγαιοσελι[.]σων  
 κυμοτύποσᾱχει  
 δεῦροτανλειμῶνανέμει[. . . . .]  
 30 ἀπάγειχαλκειο[.]σοπλο[. . . . .]  
 αργεῖονπ[.]διονπα[  
 επιτοτᾱ[.]κιθάραςέρνυμα[  
 τᾱσαμφιονίασέργον[  
 ω[.]πόδασα[.]ασ[.]σ[  
 35 ο[.]εκαλεσεμενο[

- [. . λευκ]οφαῖ τιν' αὐγὰν  
 5 6 [. . . . .] αὔξημα τὸ σὸν  
 7 [. .] μνήσωμαι, τέκνον, εὐ-  
 8 ωποῖς ἢ θεραπείαις.  
 9 ἰδοὺ κτύπος ὅδε κροτάλων· ἄν(ω).  
 11 οὐ τὰδε πῆνας οὐ τὰδε κερκίδος  
 10 12 ἱστοτόνου παραμύθια Λήμνια,  
 13 Μοῦσα, μέλει με κρέκειν, ὅ·τι·δ' εἰς ὕπνον  
 14 ἢ χάριν ἢ θεραπεύματα πρόσφορα  
 15 [π]αιδὶ πρέπει νεαρῶ  
 16 τὰδε μελωδὸς αὐδῶ.

- Χο(ρός)] 15 1 τί σὺ παρὰ προθύροις, φίλα; στρ. β'  
 2 πότε·ρα δώματος εἰσόδους  
 3 σαίρεις ἢ δρόσον ἐπὶ πέδῳ  
 4 βάλλεις οἷά τε δούλα,  
 5 ἢ τὰν Ἀργὼ τὰν διὰ σοῦ  
 20 6 στόματος ἀεὶ κληζομένην  
 7 πεντηκόντ(ο)ρον ἄδεις,  
 8 ἢ τὸ χρυσεόμαλλον  
 9 ἱερὸν δέρος ὃ περὶ δρυὸς  
 10 ὅζοις ὄμμα δράκοντος  
 25 11 φρουρεῖ, μναμοσύνα δέ σοι  
 12 τᾶς ἀγχιάλιοι Λήμνου  
 13 τὰν Αἰγαῖος ἐλί[σ]σων  
 14 κυμο(κ)τύπος ἀχεί,  
 15 δεῦρ' ὅτ' ἂν λειμῶνα Νέμει[ον]  
 30 16 ἀπάγει χαλκῆξί·ο[ι]σ(ιν) ὄπλο[ις]  
 17 Ἀργεῖον π[ε]δίον πα[ρεῖς]  
 18 ἐπὶ τὸ τᾶ[ς] κιθάρας ἔρυμα,  
 19 τᾶς Ἀμφιονίας ἔργον [χερὸς]  
 20 ὠ[κυ]πόδας Ἀ[δρ]ασ[το]ς [Ἀρη] θοόν;  
 35 21 ὁ [δ'] ἐκάλεσε μένο[ς] . . .

ποικίλασ<sup>π</sup>[[υ]]εματα[  
 τόξάτεχρύσια[  
 κα[.]μὸνδὸβᾶ<sup>μ</sup>μονε[  
 αειρομενοιχθ[  
 40 [ . . . . . ]οτ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. i.

Col. iii.

Plate II.

. . . . .  
 [ . . . . . ]ρα[.]  
 [ . . . . . ]ρακιαν  
 [ . . . . ]σ[.]μενησορουσα<sup>σ</sup>  
 εποιδμαγαληνειας  
 5 πρυμνησιαναψαι  
 τονᾶτουποταμουπαρ  
 θενοσάι<sup>γιν'</sup>[[ιν]]ετεκωσεν<sup>ν</sup>  
 πηλέαμεσωδεπαρίστωι  
 ᾱσιᾶσελεγεινῆιον  
 10 θρησσ'εβοακίθαρισορφέως  
 μακροπολωνπιτυλων  
 ερετῆισικελευσματαμελπομεναν  
 τοτεμενταχυπλουν  
 τοτεδ'ειλατινασαναπανμαπλατα[. .]  
 15 τ[.]δεμοιταδεθυμοσῖδεινῖεται  
 δαναωνδεπονουσ  
 ετεροσαναβοατω  
 ὕ<sup>υ</sup> παρασοφωνεκλυονλογο[.]σ  
 ποτερονωσεπικυματων  
 20 πολινκαιπατριουσδομου[  
 φοινικαστυριαπαισ  
 ευρωπαλιποῦς'απεβα<sup>ε</sup>  
 διοτροφονκρητανῖεραν  
 κουρητωντροφονανδρων

- 22 ποικίλα σάματα [. . .  
 23 τόξα τε χρύσ(ε)α [. . .  
 24 κα[ῖ] μονοβάμονε[ς] . . .  
 25 ἀειρόμενοι χθ[ῖ]ον  
 40 26 [. . . . .]οτ[

. . . . .

Fr. I.

Col. iii.

Plate II.

(Υψ.)

[. . . . .]ραι[.]

ἀντιστρ. α'

[. . . . . Θ]ρακίαν

[. . . . .]σ[.]μενης ὀρούσας

ἐπ' οἶδμα γαληνεΐας

5 πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι,

6 τὸν ἅ τοῦ ποταμο(ῖο) παρ-

7 θένος Αἴγιν' ἐτέκνωσε{ν} Πη-

8 λέα, μέσῳ δὲ παρ' ἰστῶ

9 Ἀσιὰς ἔλεγ(ο)ν ἰήιον

10 10 Θρηῖσ' ἐβόα κίθαρις Ὀρφέως,

11 μακροπόλων πιτύλων ἐρέτησι κε-

12 λεύσματα μελπομένα{ν}, τότε μὲν ταχύ-

13 πλουν τότε δ' εἰλατίνας ἀνάπανμα πλά-

15 14 τα[ς.] τ[ά]δε μοι τάδε θυμὸς (ὑ)δεῖν ἴε-

15 ται, Δαναῶν δὲ πόνους

16 ἕτερος ἀναβοάτω.

Χο(ρός).

1 παρὰ σοφῶν ἔκλυον λόγο[υ]ς

ἀντιστρ. β'

2 π(ρ)ότερον ὥς ἐπὶ κυμάτων

20 3 πόλιν καὶ πατρίους δόμου[ς]

4 Φοινίκας Τυρία παῖς

5 Εὐρώπα λιποῦσ' ἐπέβα

6 Διοτρόφον Κρήταν ἱερὰν

7 Κουρήτων τροφὸν ἀνδρῶν,



- 25 8 ἃ τέκνων ἀρότοις[ι]ν  
 9 τρισσοῖς ἔλιπεν κρά[τος]  
 10 χώρας τ' ὄλβιον ἀρχάν.  
 11 Ἀργείαν θ' ἐτέραν κλύω  
 12 [οἷσ]τρω βασίλειαν Ἴω  
 30 13 [πάτ]ρας ἀμφὶς ἀμεῖψαι  
 14 [κερ]ασφόρον ἄταν.  
 15 [ταῦ]τ' ἂν θεὸς εἰς φροντίδα θῇ σοι  
 16 [. . . .'] . [.]ς δῆ, φίλα, τὸ μέσον·  
 17 [. . . . .] ἀπολείψει  
 35 18 [. . . . .] πατέρως πατέρα  
 19 [. . . . .] τεχει σέθεν  
 20 [. . . . .] ὠκύπορο[ς] μετανίσσεται  
 21 [. . . . .] γενεα[. . . .]  
 22 [. . . . .] ιοσ[  
 40 23 [. . . . .] ὠσ . [  
 24 [. . . . .] σφιλ[  
 25 [. . . . .] . [  
 26 [. . . . .] . ο . [  
 . . . . .

Fr. 1.

Col. iv with Fr. 3.

- (Ψ.) νεμον ἄγαγέ ποτε . [  
 κυ(ν)αγόν τε Π(ρ)όκριν  
 τὰν πόσις ἔκτα  
 κατεθρήνησεν αἰοδαῖς.  
 5 θάνατος ἔλαχε τάδ' ἐμὰ πάθε[α.  
 τίς ἂν ἦ γόος ἢ μέλος ἢ κιθάρας  
 ἐπὶ δάκρυσι μούσ' ἀνοδυρομένα  
 μετὰ Καλλιόπας  
 ἐπὶ πόνους ἂν ἔλθοι ;  
 10 (Xo.) ὦ Ζεῦ Νεμέας τῆσδ' ἄλσος ἔχων  
 τίνος ἐμπορίας τούσδ' ἐγγυὲς ὀρῶ

πελάτασ<sup>ι</sup> ξενοσδωρ<sup>ι</sup> [[ο]] διπεπλων  
 ἐσθῆστισαφεῖςπροστουσδεδομους  
 στειχοντασερῆμονανάλσοσ  
<sup>θ</sup>

15 αμφια<sup>P</sup> ωσεχρονανθρωποισιναιτερημιαί  
 οταντεχρειανεισπεσωνοδοιπορος

αγρουσερημουσκαιμ<sup>ο</sup> [[ε]] νοικητουσιδη

απορνανἐρμήνευτοναποριανεχων  
 ὄπητράπηταικαιμεγαρτοδ[.]σχερεσ

20 τοῦτεισβεβηκενάσμενοσδ' εἶδονδομ[  
 τουσδ' ενδιοσλιμῶνινεμέαδοσχθον[  
 καισεειτεδουλητοισδ' εφεστηκασδομ[

ειτουχιδουλονσωμεχουσερησομαι  
 τίνοςταδανδρωνμῆλδβδσκαδωματ[

25 φλειουντίασγησώξενηνομιζεται  
 υψιπυ<sup>[λ]</sup> [.] λβιαλκυργουμελαθρακληζεταια[  
 [.] σεξαπασησευρεθειςασωπια  
 κληδοῦχόσεστιτουπιχωριουδιοσ

αμφ<sup>φ</sup> [.] υτονλαβειν[.] ρ[. . .] μανενκρ<sup>ω</sup> [[ο]] σσοῖσυνδωρ

30 [.] ερνιβαθεοι[.] ινδ[. . .] ψσχηρησαιμεθα  
 στρατωνγαρυδατων[.] αματαουδιειπετη  
 στρατουδεπληθειπαντασυνταρασσεται

υψι<sup>π</sup> [. . .] νεσμολοντεςκαιχ[.] ονοσποιασαπο  
 [—]

εκτωνμυκηνων[.] μεναργειοιγεν[  
 35 [.] ριαδ' υπερβαινοντεσεισαλληνηχθονα

[. . .] ατουπρ[.] θυσαιβουλομεσθαδαν[.] ιδω[.]  
 [.] μεῖς[. . .] . . . [.] θαπροσκαδμουπυλασ

[ 19 letters ] υτυχωσγυναι ·ειδη[

[ „ „ ] σουθεμι[.] αθειν

40 [ 20 „ ] αδαπ[. . .] κηνπατρασ

Fr. 3. [.] ω[. . . . .] ασθηρᾶ[  
 παῖ[.] οἰκ[. . . . .] αμφιαρ[

- πελάτας ξείνους Δωρίδι πέπλων  
 ἐσθῆ{σ}τι σαφεῖς πρὸς τούσδε δόμους  
 στείχοντας ἐρῆμον ἀν' ἄλσος ;  
 15 Ἀμφιάρ(αος). ὥς ἐχθρὸν ἀνθρώποισιν αἶ τ' ἐ(κδ)ημίαι  
 ὅταν τε χρεῖαν εἰσπεσὼν ὁδοιπόρος  
 ἀγροὺς ἐρήμους καὶ μονοικήτους ἴδῃ  
 ἀ(φιλος) ἀνερμήνευτο(ς) ἀπορίαν ἔχων  
 ὅπη τράπηται· κάμῃ γὰρ τὸ δ[υ]σχερὲς  
 20 τοῦτ' εἰσβέβηκεν· ἄσμενος δ' εἶδον δόμους  
 τούσδ' ἐν Διὸς λειμῶνι Νεμεάδος χθονίος.  
 καὶ σ', εἴτε δούλη τοῖσδ' ἐφέστηκας δόμους  
 εἴτ' οὐχὶ δοῦλον σῶμ' ἔχουσ', ἐρήσομαι  
 τίνος τάδ' ἀνδρῶν μηλοβοσκὰ δώματ[α  
 25 Φλειουντίας γῆς, ᾧ ξένη, νομίζεται.  
 Ὑψιπύ(λη). [ὄ]λβια Λυκούργου μέλαθρα κλήζεται τὰ[δε,  
 [ὄ]ς ἐξ ἀπάσης (αἰ)ρεθεὶς Ἀσωπία(ς)  
 κληδοῦχος ἐστι τοῦπιχωρίου Διός.  
 Ἀμφ(ί)αραος). [ρ]υτὸν λαβεῖν [χ]ρ[ή]ζοιμ' ἂν ἐν κρωσσοῖς ὕδωρ  
 30 [χ]έρνιβα θεοῖ[σ]ιν ὅ[διον] ὥς χ(ε)αίμεθα.  
 στ[ρ]ατῶν γὰρ ὑδάτων [ν]άματ' οὐ διῖπετῇ,  
 στρατοῦ δὲ πλήθει πάντα συνταράσσεται.  
 Ὑψιπ(ύλη). [τί]νες μολόντες καὶ χ[θ]ονὸς ποίας ἄπο ;  
 (Ἀμφ.) ἐκ τῶν Μυκηνῶν [έ]σ[μ]εν Ἀργεῖοι γέν[ος],  
 35 [ὄ]ρια δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες εἰς ἄλλην χθόνα  
 [στρ]ατοῦ πρ[ο]θύσαι βουλόμεσθα Δαν[α]ῖδῶ[ν].  
 [ή]μεῖς [γὰρ ὦ]ρμ[ή]μεσθα πρὸς Κάδμου πύλας,  
 [εἴ] πως θεοὶ πέμποιεν εὐτυχῶς, γύναι. εἰ δὲ [  
 (Ὑψ.) [τί] δὲ στρατεύεσθ', εἴ γε] σοῦ θέμι[ς μ]αθεῖν ;  
 40 (Ἀμφ.) [κατάγειν θέλοντες φυγ]άδα Π[ολυνί]κην πάτρας.  
 (Ὑψ.) [σὺ δ'] ὦ[ν] τίς ἄλλων πημον[ῆς] θηρᾶ[ς] λαβεῖν ;  
 (Ἀμφ.) πα[ῖς] Οἰκ[λέους] τοι μάντις] Ἀμφιάρ[εως] ἐγώ.

ωμεγαλ[. . . . .]ιακαί[

[—]

πῶσδ' οἰλ[. . . . .]σα . [

. . . . .

Fr. 4. . . . .

[. .]σε[

]ητοῦ[

] / ονομα[

ἡλημ[

5 ἡ[

. . . . .

Fr. 1, Col. v. . . . .

γυ[

ῥσιαφ[

εδεξ[

ποθενμ[

5 εγημδκλ . [

εἰσηντισω[

ταυτηδιδωσ[

θειθεωνγα[

πολυδωροσοῦ[

10 ειπουθεασφυ[

τουτουδεπαι[

[. . . . .] ἡ . '[

. . . . .

Fr. 5. . . . .

[. .]εἰ . [

ν

οσκαισ[

εισχωρη[

Χρηγαρ[

5 [. .]δοξα[

. . . . .

Fr. 1, Col. v. . . . .

/ ειρησ[

εξωγυ[

δ . ωσου . [

30 ουδν[

εἰδ . [

/ [. .]ισχ . [

(Τψ.) ὦ μεγάλη[α . . . . .]ια καὶ [⚭ — ∪ —  
 (Αμφ.) πῶς δ' οἰλ[. . . . .]σα . [

. . . . .

Fr. 4. . . . .  
 (Αμφ.) [. .]σε[  
 (Τψ.) ἦ τοῦ [  
 (Αμφ.) ὄνομα [τὸ σὸν νῦν καὶ γένος λέξον, γύναι.  
 (Τψ.) ἡ Δημ[νία χθὼν Ὑψιπύλην ἔθρεψέ με.  
 5 (Αμφ.) ' [

. . . . .

Fr. 1. Col. v.

. . . . .

(Αμφ.) γυνή μ' ἔπεισε . . .  
 (Τψ.) ὅσια φ[ρονοῦσ' ἦ . . .  
 (Αμφ.) ἐδέξ[αθ' ὄρμον . . .  
 (Τψ.) πόθεν μ[ 375  
 5 (Αμφ.) ἔγην' ὁ κλε[ινὸς Ἀρμονίαν Κάδμος ποτέ,  
 (Τψ.) εἰς ἣν τις ὦ[ν καὶ θεοὶ συνῆλθον εἰς γάμους.  
 (Αμφ.) ταύτῃ δίδωσ[ιν ὄρμον Ἀφροδίτῃ καλόν.  
 (Τψ.) θεοὶ θεῶν γὰρ παισὶν εὐμενεῖς αἶ.  
 (Αμφ.) Πολύδωρος οὐ[ν ἐκλήζεθ' οὐξ αὐτῶν γόνος. 380  
 10 (Τψ.) εἴ που θεᾶς φύ[ς θεῖ' ἐδέξατ', εἰκότως.  
 (Αμφ.) τούτου δὲ παῖ[ς ἦν Λάβδακος ⚭ — ∪ —  
 (Τψ.) [. . . . .] . [

. . . . .

Fr. 5. Fr. 1. Col. v. . . . .

(A) [. ]ει . [  
 (B) ὃν καὶ σ[  
 (A) εἰς χρη[  
 (B) χρηὴ γὰρ [  
 5 (A) [. ]δοξα[  
 . . . . .  
 (Τψ.) εἰρήσ[εται  
 (Αμφ.) ἔξω γυναι  
 (Τψ.) ὥς οὐ . [ 400  
 30 (Αμφ.) οὐ δύνα  
 (Τψ.) εἶδ . [  
 (Αμφ.) [. ]ισχ . [

αλλοι  
τισχρ  
 35 διδ  
 . . . .

Fr. 6. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]χερνίβα[  
 [. . . . .]εσεν[. .]α . [  
 ]ν[  
 [. . . . .] . κασι[  
 [. . . . .]αβδ[.] . [  
 5 [. . . . .]σ[.]ισον[  
 [. . . . .]αιδα[  
 [. . . . .]σσ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 7. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]νθ[  
 [. . . . .] . πολυκα[  
 [. . . . .]αισταχυνω[  
 [. . . . .]οσιζομεν[  
 5 [. . . . .]δωτορεσει . [  
 [. . . . .]ελ . [. . .]εβρ[  
 . . . . .

Frs. 8, 9. . . . .  
 [. .]λεν[  
 πλενρ[  
 αλα̃τευ[  
 πατρα[. . . . .] . [  
 5 φυγασ[. . . . .]  
 νυ[. . . . .]ε<sup>ταισι</sup>νκοιπα<sup>ταισι</sup>ρανλα[  
 εριδ[. . . . .]μειβδ . ενοι  
 σιδ[. . . . .]εσια

(Ψ.) ἄλλοι[  
 (Αμφ.) τίς χρ[ 405  
 35 (Ψ.) διδ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 6. . . . .

(Xo.) [. . . . .] χέρνιβα[  
 [. . . . .] εσεν[.] α . [  
 ]ν[  
 [. . . . .] . κασι[  
 [. . . . .] αβο[.] . [  
 5 [. . . . .] σ[.] ισου[  
 [. . . . .] αιδα[  
 [. . . . .] σσ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 7. . . . .

[. . . . .] νθ[  
 [. . . . .] . πολυκά[ρπων  
 [. . . . .] αι σταχύω[ν  
 [. . . . .] δρ]οσιζόμεν[  
 5 [. . . . .] δώτορες ει . [  
 [. . . . .] ελ . [. . .] εβρ[  
 . . . . .

Frs. 8, 9. . . . .

[.] λευ[  
 Πλευρ[ων  
 ἀλατευ[  
 πάτρα[. . . . .] . [  
 5 φνγὰς [. . . . .]  
 νυ[κτὸς δ' ἐποίουν] ἐν κοίταισι παρ' αὐλᾷ  
 ἔριδ[ας θάμ' ἀ]μειβόμενοι  
 σιδ[άρου τ' εἶρ]εσίᾳ

σφ . |γα[. . .]λον  
 10 κλισιασ . [ . ]ινυκτερον  
 γενναιωνπ[.]τερων  
 φ[.]γαδεσδοριθυμοι[. .]  
 φοιβουδ'εν[.]πα[.]β[.] .]ιλευσενυχεν  
 ε[.]αδραστοςεχ[<sup>ω</sup>[[ε]]ν  
 τεκναθηρσιν[.] . . [.]αι  
 15 [ . . . . . ]ομο[. . .]  
 [ . . . . . ]αμπετασας  
 ]ε

Fr. 10. . . . .

πρ[.] . . . .]ον[  
 ]. πουμαλα  
 ]πεγγυσουχιμα[  
 .]υσσειναλλασρ[  
 5 . . .]ικεσοιασει[[<sup>ρ</sup>]] . [  
 .]εγω  
 τιθροεισ  
 ωλομαν[  
 [ . . . . .]σα[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 11. . . . .

εεε[  
 εεε[  
 δα[  
 χρ[  
 5 μ[  
 . . .

Fr. 12. . . . .

φ[  
 με[. .]θοσαδ[  
 ουγαρεμμεν[  
 λ  
 υψιπινωμοι . [  
 5 [.] . [ . . .] . αεα[  
 [ . . . . .]οσα[  
 . . . . .

σφαγᾶ [τε δῆ]λον  
 10 κλισίας π[ερ]ὶ νυκτέρου  
 γενναίων π[α]τέρων  
 φ[υ]γάδες δορὶ θυμόν.  
 Φοίβου δ' ἐν[ο]πὰ[ς] β[ασ]ιλεύς ἐνύχεν.  
 ε[ν] "Αδραστος ἔχων  
 15 τέκνα θηρσὶν [ξ, εὐ[ξ]αι  
 [. . . . . δ]όμο[ν . . .]  
 [. . . . .] ἀμπετάσας  
 ]ε

. . . . .

Fr. 10. . . . .

(Xo.) πο[ῦ . . . .]ον[  
 ποῦ μάλ';  
 'Τψι]π(ύλη). ἐγγύς, οὐχὶ μα[κρὰν . . .  
 λε]ύσσειν ἀλλὰ σο[  
 5 (Xo.) ἄλ]ικες, οἷας εἰρ . [  
 ('Τψ.) οἶ] ἐγώ.  
 (Xo.) τί θροεῖς;  
 ('Τψ.) ὠλόμαν [  
 (Xo.) [. . . . .]σα[

. . . . .

Fr. 11. . . . .

('Τψ.) ἐὲ ἐ[ἐ  
 ἐὲ ἐ[ἐ  
 (Xo. ?) δα[  
 χο[  
 5 μ[

. . . . .

Fr. 12. . . . .

(Xo. ?) φ[  
 μέ[γε]θος ἀδ[  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐμμεν[  
 'Τψιπύλ(η). ἰώ μοι . [  
 5 (Xo. ?) [. . . .] . αεα[  
 [. . . . .]οσα[

. . . . .

Fr. 13.	.	.	.	Fr. 14.	.	.	Fr. 15.	.	.	Fr. 16.	.	.	.
	.	[			]αβ[.]δ[			]μιν[			]νμνα		
	—				]			]πο			]		
		.	[		]			]			]		
			[		]ατωνι[			]			]φατωνο[.]ισ		
	χ	ηδη[		5	]φη[			]		5	]	....	
5		[		.	.		.	.	.		]σ'..[.]νδρ.[.]		
	.	[									.	.	.
	.	.	.								.	.	.

Fr. 17. . . . .

]σιν[  
]  
]  
]ανδ[  
.

Fr. 18. . . . . Fr. 19 . . . .

	κρηνηνδιαζ[		] . ε . . [
	δρακωνπαροικ[		]δαγω[
	[.]δργωπαλέυσσω[		οὐ ]ρω[
	πηλ[ <sup>η</sup> α]κασέων·οὐφοβ[		.
5	ποιμενεσεπει . ιγ'εν[.] . [		
]α	παν[.]διδρασαικαιρυ[		
	φ[. . . .]ναικιπανταγιγνε[		
	[. . . .]σηκει·φυλακαδ'ουπ[		
	[. . . . .]σε <sup>ος</sup> ν . . φε[.]ρο[		
	.		.

Frs. 20. 21. . . . .

ωφ[.] . . ]ταιγ[  
εστη|καμ[.]π . [ . νδε<sup>ι</sup>[ ]]

Fr. 13.	Fr. 14.	Fr. 15.	Fr. 16.
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
. [	]αβ[.]δ[	]μιν[	]υμνα
—	]	]πο	]
. [	]	]	]
[	]ατωνι[	]	]φατων ο[.]ις
Xo(ρός). ἤδη [	5 ]φη[	]	5 ] . . . .
5 [	. . . .	. . . .	]σ' . . [.]νδρ . [.]
. [			. . . . .
. . . . .			

Fr. 17. . . .

]σιν[  
]  
]  
]ανδ[  
. . . .

Fr. 18. . . . .

Fr. 19. . . . .

(Υψ. ?) κρήνην διαζ[  
δράκων πάροικ[ος  
[γ]οργωπὰ λεύσσω[ν  
πήληκα σείων, οὐ φόβ[φ  
5 ποιμένες ἐπεὶ σίγ' εν[.] . [ ]  
]λα παν[.] δια δρᾶσαι καὶ ρυ[  
(Xo. ?) φ[εῦ· γυ]ναικὶ πάντα γίγνε[ται  
[. . .]ς ἥκει· φύλακα δ' οὐ π[  
[. . . . .]σεν . . φε[.]ρω[  
[. . . . .]σεν . . φε[.]ρω[  
. . . . .

] . ε . . [ ]  
]δ' ἄγω[  
ου  
]ρω[  
. . . .

Frs. 20, 21. . . . .

(Υψ.) ὦ φ[ίλτα]ται γ[υ]ναῖκες, ὥς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ  
ἔστηκα μ[.]π . [

ανα[. .]εξειν'διφοβοιδ[  
 ευελπ[. . .]υτι[. . .]εχεισε[  
 5 φευγεινστ[. .]ωντων[. .]δρ[  
     <sup>ταγ</sup>  
 τιδη[[ποτ']]]εξευρηκασεισαλκ[  
     <sup>παιδοσ</sup>  
 δεδο[. .]καθ[. .]ατωιαπεισομ[  
 ουκονναπειροσγ'ωταλαινασ[  
 [—]  
 εγνωκακαγωτουτοκαιφυλαξι[  
 [—]  
 10 ποιδητατρεψηιτισσεδ[. .]ξεταιπο[. .]ισ  
 ποδεσκρι[. .]υσιτουτοκα[. .]ροθυμια  
     <sup>εν</sup>  
 φυλασ[. .]ετα[. .]γη[[ηδε]]φρου[. .]ισινκυκλωι  
 [.]ικα[. .]εωδητουτ[. .]αλλ[. .]περχομαι  
 σκοπειφιλασ[. .]ρτα[. . .]συμβουλουσεχεισ  
 15 τιδειτινενρ[.]ιμ[. . .]ισεξαξι[. .]μεγησ  
 [        21 letters        ]δουλουσαγειν  
 [        25        "        ]τερο[  
 .        .        .        .        .        .        .        .

Fr. 22. . . . .

[. . . .]ιτονο[  
 [. . .]βουταλε[  
 καιμηδιορ[  
 χρονωδεβον[  
 5 τοτωνγυναι[  
 καιπα[.]δατ[  
 κανδιαριθμ[  
 ηνδεξαμα[  
 ]χ<sup>ο</sup> γενν[. . .]λε[  
 10 εγσωφροσιν[  
 ]κ τιταντ[.]κομψ[

Fr. 23. . . . .

τιφ[.]σε[  
     <sup>λο</sup>  
 εκει[[αρ]]  
 ωπα . [  
 τομ[  
 .        .        .        .

Fr. 24. . . . .

δε[  
 καιπ[  
 ωσ[.]ητι[  
 ωσ[. . .]ρ[  
 .        .        .        .

- ἀνά[ξι'] ἔξειν· οἱ φόβοι δ' ἴσχουσί με.  
 (Xo.) εὔελπ[ι δ' ο]ὔτι [ρόημ] ἔχεις ἐ[ίπεῖν φίλαις ;  
 5 ('Υψ.) φεύγειν· στί[β]ων τῶν[δ' ἰ]δρ[ις εἰ γὰρ ἦ μόνον.  
 (Xo.) τί δῆτά γ' ἐξεύρηκας εἰς ἀλκ[ήν σ' ἄγον ;  
 ('Υψ.) δέδο[ι]κα θ[αν]άτῳ παιδὸς οἷα πείσομαι.  
 (Xo.) οὔκουν ἄπειρός γ', ὦ τάλαινα, σ[υμφορῶν].  
 ('Υψ.) ἔγνωκα καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ φυλάξ[ομαι].  
 10 (Xo.) ποῖ δῆτα τρέψῃ ; τίς σε δ[έ]ξεται πό[λ]ις ;  
 ('Υψ.) πόδες κριν[ο]ῦσι τοῦτο κα[ὶ π]ροθυμία.  
 (Xo.) φυλάσ[σ]ετα[ι] γῇ φρου[ρίο]ισιν ἐν κύκλῳ.  
 ('Υψ.) [ν]ικᾷ[ς·] ἐὼ δὲ τοῦτ[ό] <γ'>· ἀλλ' [ἀ]πέρχομαι.  
 (Xo.) σκόπει, φίλας [γὰρ] τά[σδε] συμβούλους ἔχεις.  
 15 ('Υψ.) τί δ' εἴ τιν' εὔρ[ο]ιμ' [ὅστ]ις ἐξάξ[ε]ι με γῆς ;  
 (Xo.) [οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις βούλεται] δούλους ἄγειν.  
 [ 25 letters ]τερο[. .

Fr. 22. . . . .

('Υψ.) [. . .]· ιτονο[  
 [. . .]βου ταλε[  
 καὶ μὴ δι' ὀρ[γῆς  
 χρόνῳ δὲ βου[λ  
 5 τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 καὶ πα[ῖ]δα τ[  
 καὶν διαριθμ[ῃ  
 ἦν δ' ἐξάμα[ρτ

Xo(ρός). γενν[αῖ] ἔλ[ε]ξας

10 ἐν σώφροσιν [

Εὐρυδί[κ(η)]. τί ταῦτ[α] κομψ[ᾶ

Fr. 23. . . . .

(A) τί φ[ῆ]ς εἰ  
 (B) ἐκεῖ λο[  
 (A) ὦ πα . [  
 (B) τὸ μ[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 24. . . . .

(A) δε[  
 (B) καὶ π[  
 (A) ὡς [δ]ῆ τί[  
 (B) ὡς [. . .]ρ[  
 . . . . .

	Col. i.	Col. ii.			
Fr. 25.	. . .		Fr. 26.	. . .	
	]	. . .		$\frac{\sigma}{\eta}$	$\frac{\sigma}{\iota}$
	]αισ	ζ [		$\frac{\sigma}{\eta}$	$\frac{\sigma}{\iota}$
	]	. . .		. . .	. . .
	. . .				
Fr. 27.	. . . . .		Fr. 28.	. . . . .	
	$\frac{\theta}{\theta}$ [.]ρ . [ . . . . . ]υ[			]δεξ[	
	καιχ[. . ]νίβ[			]επω[	
	εωδε[. . ]υλα[			]κον[	
	[.] . ητατηνι[			]ελ[	
5	αρετηνξενο[			. . . . .	
	δοκωδεταυ[				
	ηνμησύπει[[ $\frac{\sigma}{\theta}$ ]]θ[				
	[.]λ . [ . . . . . ]ονκ[				
	[. . . . . . . . . . ] . . [				
	. . . . .				
Fr. 29.	. . .	Fr. 30.	. . .	Fr. 31.	. . .
	α . [		[.] . [		$\frac{\sigma}{\rho}$
	πρ[		πωσδ[		$\frac{\rho}{\rho}$
	π[		θαν[		. . .
	. . .		οιε[		
			. . .		
Fr. 32.	. . . . .	Fr. 33.	. . . . .		
	. . . . . ]μ[		]ω[.] . . α[.] . [		
	]δ'εσ[. . . . . . . . . . ]τολ[		]ελασθυρων . [		
	]ανυ . α . [ . . . . . ]ιασ . [		]αδοσειργε[		
	]ρονεκτελειγλυκ[		] . τ[.]τ'απο[		
5	]ριεχουσεναγκαλ[	5	]σασ[		
	]κε[. . . ]φιλι[[ $\frac{\alpha}{\sigma}$ ]]στεκν[		] . σηδ[		

Fr. 25. Col. i.

. .  
]  
]αῖς  
]  
. .

Fr. 26.

. . .  
σ[  
(B) ι[ 700  
. . .

Fr. 27. . . . .

(Ψ.) [.]ρ . [ . . . . ]ν[ 800  
καὶ χ[ερ]νιβ[  
έω δε[. .]νλα[  
[.] δῆτα τηνι[  
5 ἀρετὴν ξενο[  
δοκῶ δε ταυ[τ 805  
ἦν μὴ σὺν πεισθ[ῆς  
[.]λ . [ . . . . ]ουκ[  
[ . . . . . ] . . [  
. . . . .

Fr. 28. . . . .

]δειξ[  
]επω[  
]κον[  
]ελ[  
. . .

Fr. 29. . . . .

α . [  
πο[  
π[  
. .

Fr. 30. . . . .

[.] . [  
πῶς δε[  
θαν[  
(B) οἰε[  
. . . . .

Fr. 31. . . . .

(A) ο[  
(B) ρ[  
. . .

Fr. 32. . . . .

(Ψ.) ]μ[  
]δ' εσ[. . . . .]τολ[  
]ανν . α . [ . . ] . ιασ . [  
]νον ἐκτελεῖ γλυκ[ύν  
5 π[ε]ρίεχουσ' ἐν ἀγκάλ[αῖς  
]κε[. .]ι φίλας τέκν[

Fr. 33. . . . .

]ω[.] . . α[.] . [  
π[έ]λας θυρῶν . [  
]αδος εἰργε[  
] . τ[.]τ' ἀποι[  
5 ]σασ[  
] . σηδ[

	]ηληματο[	]αιθοα[
	]ειλογων[	]οχι[
	]παγκαλαισι[	]κετ[
10	]σαπωλομ[	. . . . .
	]κχερων[	
	. . . . .	

Frs. 34, 35. . . . .

	[	]ν[
	[. . . . .]	]τη[. . . . .]ποινα[
	[. . . . .]	]οικληθρ[. . . . .]ωσ[. . . . .] ουσε[
	[. . . . .]	]ωμαιδωματων[. . . . .]τιδα[
5	[. . . . .]	]τεξωδμωϊσητροφ[. . . . .]κνου [
	[. . . . .]	]διδωσινουδεσβαίν[. . . . .]μων[
	[. . . . .]	]ορ . [ . . . . ]προ[
	. . . . .	

Fr. 36. . . . .

	]δι[
	]ων
	]κτανειν
	]ζωνλαβειν
5	] . . [ . . . . ]
	. . . . .

Fr. 37. . . . .	Fr. 38. . . . .	Fr. 39. . . . .	Fr. 40. . . . .
]κε[	]αρτ[	]πει[	]ανσ[
] . άι[	]σηλθ . [	]εξισα[	]οντατονδ[
]ταλλ[	]τωδ[	] . ια[	]οτα[
]νοιουκ[	]αστ[	. . . . .	]σα[
5	]νδ[ . . . . .]	]τουσ[	. . . . .
	]ο[	. . . . .	
	. . . . .		



Fr. 41. . . .	Fr. 42. . . .	Fr. 43. . . .	Fr. 44. . . .
]τυσιν[	] . ισ[	]ισι[	]τικτουσ[
]ονι[	]αργος[	]οδ'ε[	] . [ . ] . . [
]ιτο[	] . [	]ιστισ[	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	

Fr. 45. . . .	Fr. 46. . . .	Fr. 47. . . .	Fr. 48. . . .
]το[	] . ρ'[[α]]α[	] . αισ[	]υνα[
]ρ . . [[ε]]ιδ[	] . αργδ[	]ον[	]ασλ[
]ε . αλιτα[	]ιμ[	]τ[	]υπι[
]φορ[	. . . .	. . .	]δ[
. . . .			5 ]ιν[
			. . .

Fr. 49. . . .	Fr. 50. . . .	Fr. 51. . . .	Fr. 52. . . .
]περ[	] . . [	]ειται . [	]ο
]αρα[	]ακ[	]αλακ[	] .
]ου[	]οι . [	. . .	]υ
. . .	. . .		. . .

Fr. 53. . . .	Fr. 54. . . .	Fr. 55. . . .	Fr. 56. . . .
]χ[	]ασθ[	] .	]ει[
]η . [	. . .	] .	. . .
. . .		]ν	. . .
		. . .	

Fr. 57.	Fr. 58. . . . .
[. .]εοικεδε[	]αυραιθελομεν[
[.]εδιονυσόστ[	]μύρνασκαπν[
[.]αντοσεισεσ[	]λάμ[[ι]]οισβρόμις[. .]ει[
[.]φεστηγκ'ονδ[	]απόινασ
5 [.] . ιδ' . ουτ[	5 ]τεφιλαι
τίσποτ'[	]θηκαφέρουσατριπε[

Fr. 41.

. . . .  
 μάρ]τυσίν [   
   ]ονί[   
   ]ιτο[   
 . . . .

Fr. 42.

. . . .  
 ] . ισ[   
 ] Ἄργος [   
   ] . [   
 . . . .

Fr. 43.

. . . .  
 ]ισί[   
 ]οδ' ε[   
 ]ιστισ[   
 . . . .

Fr. 44.

. . . .  
 ] τικτουσ[   
 ] . [ . . ] . . [   
 . . . .

Fr. 45.

. . . .  
 ]το[   
 ]ρ . . ιδ[   
 ]ε . αλιτα[   
   ]φορ[   
 . . . .

Fr. 46.

. . . .  
 ] . ρ' α[   
 ] . ανδ[   
   ]μ[   
 . . . .

Fr. 47.

. . . .  
 ] . αισ[   
   ]ον[   
 ]τ' [   
 . . . .

Fr. 48.

. . . .  
 ]ννα[   
 ]ας λ[   
 ]υπι[   
   ]δ[   
 5 ]ιν[   
 . . . .

Fr. 49. . . .

]περ[   
 ]— αρα[   
 ]ου[   
 . . . .

Fr. 50. . . .

] . . [   
 ]ακ[   
 ]οι . [   
 . . . .

Fr. 51. . . .

]ειται . [   
 ]αλακ[   
 . . . .

Fr. 52. . . .

]ο   
 ]   
 ]ν   
 . . . .

Fr. 53. . . .

]χ[   
 ]η . [   
 . . . .

Fr. 54. . . .

] . 'ασο[   
 . . . .

Fr. 55. . . .

] .   
 ]   
 ]ν   
 . . . .

Fr. 56. . . .

]ει[   
 . . . .

Fr. 57. (Xo.) [ . . ] ἔοικε δε[   
   [ . ]ε Διόνυσός τε 1085   
   [ . ]αντος εισεσ[   
   [ . ]φέστηκ' οὐδ[   
   ωσ[ . . ] . ιδ[   
 5 [ . . ] . ιδ' , οὐτ[   
   τίς ποτ' [

Fr. 58. . . . .   
   ] αὔρα θέλομεν [   
   σ]μύρνας καπν[   
   θα]λάμοις Βρόμιο[ . . ]ει[   
   ] ἀπ' οἶνας   
 5 ]τε φίλαι   
   ]θηκα φέρουσα τριπε[

	θαλαμο[		]ασπαραχειροσεδε[
	βάλλεινπ[		]σεσοικουσ
	ανάτ' αιθ[		]ερον'ωσδ' επ'επώμ[
10	τίτοσημα[	10	]πάρισσόροδονχεριν[
	βότρυσσ . [		]σωθεν
	αναδίδω[		]τ[. . . .]
	ρείδεγά[		
	στάξει[		
15	νέκταρ[		
	λιβανου[	Fr. 59.	
	λ ταχανε[		] . . [
	/ χαρινά[		]ασάμᾱσ[
	αντάγω[		]οκτῆμα . [
20	.]πότνιαθεω[		]σουχιθιγ[
	.]αοσάσκο <sup>πον</sup> [[υον]]	5	]ροικοισ [
	.]έριπρωτόγονο[		]εξαγετα[
	. . . .']ρωσότηενυ[		]ονγενο[
	. . . . .]δητοξε[		]εἰπετ' ᾱ[
25	. . . . .]γενο[		]μενσα . [
	. . . . .] . . . θ[	10	]ηχαριν[
			]ιδ' απομ[

Fr. 60.

Col. i.

Plate III.

3 (?) lines lost.

. ν . π[  
 5 οὐτωδοκ[  
 οργηπρινορθωσπραγμ  
 σιγασ' αμειβηδ' ουδενω[  
 ωστουθανεινμενδυνεκ[ . . . . . ]ω  
 τρηδεκτανειντοτεκνονουκορθ[.]σδοκω  
 10 τουμοντιθηνημ' ὄνεπεμαισιναγκαλαιο  
 πληνουτεκουσαταλλαδ' ωσεμοντεκνον  
 στεργουσαεφερόνωφελημ' εμοιμε<sup>γ</sup>[[τ]]α

	θαλαμο[	1090	]ας παρὰ χειρὸς ἐδε[ξα
	βάλλει ὑπ[		]ς ἐς οἴκους
	ἀνά τ' αἰθ[έρ		]ερον· ὥς δ' ἐπ' ἐπώμ[ιον
10	τί τὸ σῆμα [	10	κυ]παρισσόρο(φ)ον χερὶ ν[
	βότρυν α . [		ἔ]σωθεν
	ἀναδίδω[σι	1095	]τι[. ∴ . .] . [
	ῥεῖ δὲ γά[λακτι		. . . . .
	στάζει [		
15	νέκταρ [		
	λιβάνου [	Fr. 59.	. . . . .
	τάχ' ἄν ε[	1100	] . . [
	χάριν α[		]ας ἀμᾶς [
	ἀντάγω[ν		τ]ὸ κτήμα . [
20	στρ. ᾧ] πότνια θεᾶ[ν		]ς οὐχὶ θιγ[
	φ]άος ἄσκοπον [	5	]ν οἴκοις
	ἄ]έρι πρωτόγονο[ν	1105	] ἐξάγετα[ι
	. . . '[ρως ὅτε νύ[ξ		]ον γένο[ς
	. . . . .] δὴ τότε [		] εἰπέ τ' ἄ[
25	. . . . .] γενο[		]μεν σα . [
	. . . . .] . . θ[	10	]η χάριν [
	. . . . .		]ιδ' ἀπομ[
			. . . . .

Fr. 60.

Col. i.

Plate III.

3 lines lost.

(Υψ.) . ν . π[

5. οὐτω δοκ[εῖς σὺ δὴ χαρίζεσθαι τυφλῇ  
 ὀργῇ πρὶν ὀρθῶς πραγμ[άτων μαθεῖν ὁδόν.  
 σιγᾶς, ἀμείβῃ δ' οὐδὲν ᾧ[ν κατηγορῶ;  
 ὥς τοῦ θανεῖν μὲν οὐνεκ' [αἰτία γ' ἐγ]ώ,  
 τοῦ δὲ κτανεῖν τὸ τέκνον οὐκ ὀρθ[ῶ]ς δοκῶ,  
 10 τοῦμὸν τιθήνημ', ὃν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις  
 πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τᾶλλα <γ'> ὥς ἐμὸν τέκνον  
 στέργους' ἔφερ(β)ον, ὠφέλημ' ἐμοὶ μέγα.

λεν

ωπρωρακαικαινονεξαλμησυδωρ  
αργουσῖωπαιδεσῶσαπολλυμαικακωσ

- 15 ωμαντιπατροσοῖκλεουσθανουμεθα  
αρηξο[. .]λθεμημῖδησypαιτιασ  
αισχροσθανουσανδιασεγαρδιολλυμαι  
ελθεισθαγαρδηταμακαισεμαρ[[<sup>τ</sup>μ]]υρα  
σαφεςτατανδεξαιτ' <sup>τ</sup>άνῃδ' <sup>τ</sup>εμωνκακων  
20 αγετε·φιλωνγαρουδεναιεισορωπελασ  
δοστισεσωσεικεναδ[. .]πηδεσθηναρα  
επισχεσωπεμπουσαι[. .]νδεεπισφαγα[. .]  
δομωνανασσατωγαρευτρεπεισιδων  
τουλευθερονσοιπροστιθημιτηφυσει  
25 ωπροσσεγονατωνῖκετισαμφιαρεωπιτνω  
[. .]αιπροσ[. .]ενει . [ . .]ησαπολλωνοστεχνης  
[. .]αιρονγαρηκειστοισεμοισινενκακοισ  
[. .]υσαιμε·διαγαρσηναπολλυμαιχαριν  
μελλωτεθνησκεινδεσμιανδεμ' <sup>ι</sup>εισορασ  
30 προσσοισιγονασινητοθ' <sup>ι</sup>ειπομηνξενουσ  
οσα[[<sup>ι</sup>ι]]δεπραξείσδ[[<sup>σι</sup>ι]]οσωνπρ[. .]δουσεμε  
ονειδοσαργειοι[[<sup>ο</sup>ο]]σινἐλλησιντεσ[[<sup>η</sup>οι]]  
αλλωδιᾶ[. . .]νεμπυρωνλευσωντυχασ  
δαναιοισιν[. . .]ετηνδεσυμφοραντεκνου  
35 παρωνγα[. . .]θαφησιδεηδεέκουσιως  
κτανεινμ[. .]αιδακαπιβουλευσαιδομοισ  
ειδωσαφειγμαιτηντυχηντ' <sup>σ</sup>υπειδομην  
τηνσηνᾶπεισητ' <sup>σ</sup>εκπεπνευκοτοστεκνου  
ηκ[. .]δ'αρηξωνσυμφοραισितαισισαισ  
40 τομ[. .]νβαιοινουκεχων·τοδευσεβεσ  
αι[. . .]ονγαρευμενεξεπισταςθαιπαθειν  
δρασαιδεμηδενευπαθονταπροσσεθεν  
πρωτονμενουσονδειξονωξενηκαρα

ὦ πρῶρα καὶ λευκαῖνον ἐξ ἄλμης ὕδωρ  
 Ἄργου, ἰὼ παῖδ' {ε s}· ὥς ἀπόλλυμαι κακῶς.

15 ὦ μάντι πατρὸς Οἰκλέους, θανούμεθα.

ἄρηξο[ν, ἐ]λθέ, μή μ' ἴδῃς ὑπ' αἰτίας  
 αἰσχυρᾶς θανούσαν, διὰ σὲ γὰρ διόλλυμαι.  
 ἔλθ', οἶσθα γὰρ δὴ τὰμά, καὶ σὲ μάρτυρα  
 σαφέστατ(ο)ν δέξαιτ' ἂν ἥδ' ἐμῶν κακῶν.

20 ἄγετε, φίλων γὰρ οὐδέν' εἰσορῶ πέλας  
 ὅστις με σώσει· κενὰ δ' [ἐ]πηδέσθην ἄρα.

(Ἀμφ.) ἐπίσχε, ὦ πέμπουσα τ[ή]νδ' ἐπὶ σφαγά[ς],  
 δόμων ἄνασσα· τῷ γὰρ εὐ(π)ρεπεῖ σ' ἰδὼν  
 τοῦλεύθερόν σοι προστίθημι τῇ φύσει.

25 (Υψ.) ὦ πρὸς σε γονάτων ἰκέτις, Ἀμφιάρεω, πίτνω  
 [κ]αὶ πρὸς [γ]ενεῖο[ν τ]ῆς <τ> Ἀπόλλωνος τέχνης,  
 [κ]αιρὸν γὰρ ἤκεις τοῖς ἐμοῖσιν ἐν κακοῖς,  
 [ρ]ῦσαί με· διὰ γὰρ σὴν ἀπόλλυμαι χάριν.  
 μέλλω τε θνήσκειν, δεσμίαν <τ>έ μ' εἰσορᾷς  
 30 πρὸς σοῖσι γόνασιν, ἢ τόθ' εἰπόμεν ξένοις·  
 ὅσια δὲ πράξεις ὅσιος ὦν· πρ[ο]δοὺς δέ με  
 ὄνειδος Ἀργείοισιν Ἑλλησὶν τ' ἔσῃ.

ἀλλ' ὦ δι' ἀ[γνῶ]ν ἐμπύρων λεύσσων τύχας  
 Δαναοῖσιν [εἰπ]ὲ τῇ{ν}δε συμφορὰν τέκνου,

35 παρὼν γὰρ οἶσθα· φησὶ δ' ἥδ' ἐκουσίως  
 κτανεῖν μ[ε π]αῖδα κάπιβουλεῦσαι δόμοις.

(Ἀμφ.) εἰδὼς ἀφίγμαι τὴν τύχην θ' ὑπαιδόμεν  
 τὴν σὴν ἃ πείσῃ τ' ἐκπεπνευκότος τέκνου,  
 ἥκ[ω] δ' ἀρήξων συμφοραῖσι ταῖσι σαῖς,

40 τὸ μ[ἐ]ν βίαιον οὐκ ἔχων, τὸ δ' εὐσεβές.  
 αἰ[σχυρ]ὸν γὰρ εὖ μὲν ἐξέπίστασθαι παθεῖν  
 δρᾶσαι δὲ μηδὲν εὖ παθόντα πρὸς σέθεν.  
 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σὸν δεῖξον, ὦ ξένη, κᾶρα·

- <sup>ω</sup> <sup>ρ</sup>  
 σ[[ο]]φονγαρομματουμονελληνωνλογος  
<sup>πε</sup>  
 45 πολυσδιηκεικαιφυκουτωσγυναι  
 κοσμειντ'εμαντονκαιταδιαφερονθ'οραν  
<sup>δ</sup> <sup>ε</sup> <sup>σ</sup>  
 επειτακουσοντουταχουσετουδανε[[ο]]  
<sup>σ</sup>  
 ειμενγαραλλοπαναμαρτανεινχρεων  
 ψυχηνδ'εσανδροσηγυναικοσουκαλον  
 50 ωξενεπροσαργειπλησια[.]ναιωνχθονα  
 παντωνδ'ακουσ'οιδασει[.]τασωφρονα  
 ουγαρποτ'ειστοδ'ομμαεβλ[.]ψασπαρων  
 ινυδειτιβουλεικαικλυε[.]νσεθενθελω  
 καισ'εκδιδασκεινουκαναξιοσγαρει  
 55 γυναιτοτησδετησταλαιπωρουκ[.]κον  
 αγριωσφερουσανσηπιοιθ[.] . . . . .]ω  
 ουτηνδεμαλ[.]ονητοτησδ[.]κησο[.]ων  
 αισχυνομαιδεφοιβονουδιεμπυρων  
 τεχνηνεπασκωνψευδοσε[.]λεξομεν  
 60 ταυτηνεγωξεπεισακρηναιον[.]νοσ  
 δειξαιδιδ'αγνωρρευματων[.] . . . . .]  
<sup>σ</sup> <sup>αργειονωσ</sup>  
 στρατιαπροθυμα[[σωςτιν[.]<sup>α</sup>ν]]δ[.] . . . . .]

Fr. 60.

Col. ii.

Plate III.

3 (?) lines lost.

- [. . . . .]νσιν[  
 [. . .]παισμε[  
 [. . .]ασαμεν[  
 [. .]εισδε[  
 70 [. .]αιθελ[  
 [. .]ακωνασ[  
 / ἡκόντισεᾶ[  
 καινινδρομ[  
 ειλιξεναμφ[  
 75 ἡμεισδεῖδο[

- σώφρον γὰρ ὄμμα τοῦμὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγος  
 45 πολὺς διήκει· καὶ πέφυχ' οὕτως, γύναι,  
 κοσμεῖν τ' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὰ διαφέρονθ' ὀράν.  
 ἔπειτ' ἄκουσον, τοῦ τάχους δὲ τοῦδ' ἄνεις·  
 εἰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πᾶν ἀμαρτάνειν χρεών,  
 ψυχὴν δ' ἐς ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς οὐ καλόν.  
 50 (Εὐρ.) ὦ ξένε πρὸς Ἀργεὶ πλησία[ν] ναίων χθόνα,  
 πάντων {δ'} ἀκοῦουσ' οἷδά σ' ὅ[ν]τα σώφρονα·  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' εἰς τόδ' ὄμμ' (ἄν) ἔβλ[ε]ψας παρών.  
 νῦν δ' εἴ τι βούλ[η], καὶ κλύε[ι]ν σέθεν θέλω  
 καί σ' ἐκδιδάσκειν· οὐκ ἀνάξιος γὰρ εἶ.  
 55 (Ἀμφ.) γύναι, τὸ τῆσδε τῆς ταιλαιπώρου κ[α]κὸν  
 ἀγρίως φέρουσάν σ' ἥπιον θ[έ]σθαι θέλω,  
 οὐ τήνδε μᾶλ[λ]ον ἢ τὸ τῆς δ[ί]κης δ[ρ]ῶν.  
 αἰσχύνομαι δὲ Φοῖβον οὗ δι' ἐμπύρ[ω]ν  
 τέχνην ἐπασκῶ{ν}, ψευδὸς εἴ[τ]ι λέξομεν.  
 60 ταύτην ἐγὼ ἔειπαι κρηναῖον [γά]μος  
 δεῖξαι δι' ἀγνῶν ῥευμάτων [ὅ]πως λάβω  
 στρατιᾶς πρόθυμ', Ἀργεῖον ὥς διεκπερῶν

Fr. 60.

Col. ii.

Plate III.

3 lines lost.

- [. . . . .]νσιν[  
 [. . .] παῖς με[  
 [. . .]ασα μὲν [  
 [ἡμ]εῖς δὲ [  
 70 [. . .]αι θέλ[οντες  
 [δρ]άκων ασ[  
 ἡκόντισ' αἶ[  
 καί νιν δρόμ[ω  
 εἴλιξεν ἀμφ[ί  
 75 ἡμεῖς δ' ἰδόντες

- εγωδετόξευσ[  
 αρχηγαρήμιν[  
 αρχεμο<sup>ρ</sup>[ν]οσε[  
 συτουχισαντή[  
 80 ὀρνιθαδ' αργειο[  
 καιμηστ<sup>ο</sup>λ[  
 αλλουχ[  
 πολλοιδ[  
 καδμου[  
 85 νοστουκυρησ[  
 δ  
 άραστοσιῖξεταρ[  
 ἑπαστρατηγ[  
 ταμενγενομεν[  
 ἁδαῦπαρὰινῶτ[  
 90 ἐφυμενουδειςο[  
 θαπτειντετεκ[  
 αυτοιτεθνησκει[  
 σ  
 ειγῆνφεροντες[  
 βιονθεριζεινω[  
 95 καιτονμενει[  
 στενειναπε[  
 ἁδεικοσαργο[  
 θαψαιδοσημ[  
 αλλειστοναε[  
 100 το . [ . . ]ισβρότε[  
 κλεινοσγαρεσ[  
 αγωνάτ' αυτω[  
 στεφανουσδιδ[  
 ζηλωτοσεστ[  
 105 εντῶδεμε . [  
 μνησθησεται[  
 επωνομασθη[

- ἐγὼ δ' ἐτόξευσ' [  
 ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἡμῖν [πημάτων πολλῶν θανῶν  
 Ἀρχέμορός ἐστιν  
 σύ τ' οὐχὶ σαυτὴ]ν  
 80 ὄρνιθα δ' Ἀργείοισι  
 καὶ μὴ στολ[  
 ἀλλουχ[  
 πολλοὶ δ[  
 Κάδμου [  
 85 νόστου κυρησ[  
 Ἄδραστος Ἴξετάρ[α πάτριον αὖ πέδον  
 ἐπτα στρατηγ[ῶν ἐκσεσωσμένος μόνος.  
 τὰ μὲν γενόμεν[α δὴ σαφῶς ἐπίστασαι·  
 ἂ δ' αὖ παραινῶ τ[αὐτά μοι δέξαι, γύναι.  
 90 ἔφυ μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν  
 θάπτει{ν} τε τέκ[να χᾶτερα κτᾶται νέα  
 αὐτό(ς) τε θνήσκε[ι καὶ τάδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ  
 εἰς γῆν φέροντες [γῆν. ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει  
 βίον θερίζειν ὥστε κάρπιμον στάχυν,  
 95 καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι τὸν δὲ μή· τί ταῦτα δεῖ  
 στένειν ἄπε[ρ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν;  
 ἂ δ' εἰκὸς Ἀργο[  
 θάψαι δὸς ἡμ[ῖν  
 ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἀε[ί τοι χρόνον τοῖς πήμασιν  
 100 τοί[ς σο]ῖς βρότε[ιον] ὠφελήσεται γένος.  
 κλεινὸς γὰρ ἔσ[ται] τάφος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὅδε,  
 ἀγῶνά τ' αὐτῷ [γυμνικὸν συστήσομεν  
 στεφάνους διδ[όντες] τοῖς κρατοῦσι φυλλάδος.  
 ζηλωτὸς ἔσ[ται] δ' ἀνδράσιν νίκη πάνυ.  
 105 ἐν τῷδε μὲν [  
 μνησθήσετα[ι] δ' ὥς  
 ἐπωνομάσθη [

νεμέασκαταλσ[  
 αναιτίαγάρτοις[  
 110 συνγαρκαλώσο[  
 θήσειςεκαιπαιδ'[  
 ὡπαιτομένοιτ[  
 [. .] ἥσσονήμην[  
 [.] ροστασφυσεισ[  
 115 καίτασδιαίταστω[  
 π[. .] θῶδετοιςμε[  
 το[. . . . .] αἰοισ[

Fr. 61. . . . .

]ειποι[  
 ]λο[.] ριαζήλωκα[  
 ]θεκαρδιασεσ[  
 ]σδ[.] χοισνεανί[  
 5 ]λθομουπαρόνθ'ο . [  
 ]σινητεθνασιδ[  
 ]λλαδυστυχουν[  
 ]δουλειανπικρ[  
 ]σανηνύτουσλο[  
 10 ]άνσομαισεδω[  
 ]καταστησειασα[  
 'σθ'ελευθεραν . [  
 ]ροσεισυμοιτερ[  
 ]οφωδοιησχα[  
 15 ]υλίκα[. . .] ιλᾱ[  
 ] . [

Fr. 62. . . . .

] . σ . . . . [  
 [v]  
 ]νητομο .  
 ]ημνιαιοδε  
 ]ξαιμεναν  
 5 ]ουκῶλνει  
 ]ουσμολειν  
 ]ειαστινος  
 ]αυματα  
 ]νπλακα  
 10 ] . ουφρα[  
 'θο[  
 . . . . .

Fr. 63. . . . .

] . [ . . ] . [ . ] τις[  
 ]ανδρακατεφυγει[  
 ]θεινέστινειςτα[.] δε . [  
 ]ουσανεθεσαν'τασσυ[

Νεμέας κατ' ἄλλος. τήνδε δ' οὖν λῦσαί σε χρή,  
ἀναιτία γάρ τοις [

110 σὺν γὰρ καλῶ σέ[ν, ὦ γύναι, πάθος τέλει  
θήσει σε καὶ παῖδ' [εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εὐκλεεῖς.

(Εὐρ.) ὦ παῖ, τὸ μέν σοι τ[

[. .] ἦσσαν ἢ μὴν[

[π]ρὸς τὰς φύσεις [χρὴ καὶ τὰ πράγματα σκοπεῖν

115 καὶ τὰς διαίτας τῶ[ν κακῶν τε κάγαθῶν,  
π[ει]θὼ δὲ τοῖς μέ[ν] σώφροσιν πολλὴν ἔχειν,  
το[ῖς] μὴ δικ[αίοις] [δ' οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν χρεῶν.

Fr. 61. . . . .

(Ψ. ?)

]ειποι[

]λ' ο[ύ]ρι' ἀξήλω κα[κῶ]

ἦλ[θε] καρδίας ἔσ[ω]

]σδ' [ἔ]χοις νεανι[

5 ἦ[λθ'] ὁμοῦ παρόνθ' ὅμ[ως]

ζῶ[σιν] ἢ τεθνᾶσι δ[ὲ]

]λλα δυστυχοῦν[τ]

] δουλείαν πικρ[άν]

]ς ἀννηνύτους λθ[γους]

10 ]αύοομαί σε δω[

] καταστήσειας ἄ[ν]

πρό[σθ'] ἐλευθέραν . [

]ρος εἰ σύ μοι τερ[

σ]οφῶ δοίης χά[ριν]

15 ]νλικά[. . .]ιλα[

] . [

. . . . .

Fr. 62. . . . .

] . σ . . . [

]ητομο .

Δ]ημνίαις ὅδε

]ξαιμεν ἂν

5 ] οὐ κωλύει

]ους μολεῖν

]είας τινὸς

]αυματα

]ν πλάκα

10 ] . ου φρασ[

]θο[

. . . . .

Fr. 63. . . . .

(Ψ. ?) ] . [ . . ] . [ . ]τισ[

] ἄνδρα κατέφυγεν [ — — —

]θειν ἔστιν εἰς τα[.]δε . [ — —

]ους ἀνέθεσαν· τὰς συν[ — —

5 ]ουκεχουσισυμμαχοῦσ[  
 ]σαμφιαρεωσ·σωσαι[  
 ]θι·σωσπερειν[[<sup>ε</sup>α]]ωσ . [  
 ]α[.]βανω[

Fr. 64. Col. i.

26 lines lost.		
27	]του	
	]ν	
5 lines lost.		50
34	]σ	51
4 lines lost.		52
39	]δετε	
4 lines lost.		56
	]αστων	
45	]σ	

4 lines lost.  
 ]δωνισι θρα  
 καισ  
 ]γγαιον οροσ  
 ]τησθρακησ  
 ]ασ  
 3 lines lost.  
 ]σῆν  
 ]ν]][[κατ]] κατ  
 end of column.

Fr. 64. Col. ii.

τέκν'άταναμιανδ'ον  
 αναπ[.]λινετροχασεν  
 60 επιφόβονεπιτε  
 χάρινελίξασ·χρονω  
 δεξελαμψενενῆμεροσ  
 αμφια<sup>p</sup> τηνμενπαρή[.]ῶνωγυναιφερηχαριν  
 επειδεμοιπροθυμοσῆσθ'ὅτ'ἦντοτε  
 65 απεδωκακαγώσοιπρόθυμαεσπαῖδε'σώ  
 σώζ[[<sup>ου</sup>ε]]δεδησυτέκνα·σ<sup>φ</sup>ωδεμητέρ<sup>ω</sup>α  
 καιχαιρετ'ἡμε[.]σδ'ῶσπερορρημεσθαδη  
 στρατευμα[.]οἰντεσῆξομενθηβασεπι  
 οινψι<sup>π</sup> ευδαιμονοισ·άξιοσγαρωξενε  
 ἱοι  
 70 ευδαιμονοισ·δητατωνδεσωνκακων  
 ταλαιναμητερθωντισῶσαπληστοση

5 ] οὐκ ἔχουσι συμμάχους  
 ]ς Ἀμφιάρεως· σῶσαι [υ -  
 ]θις ὥσπερ εἰ νεῶς . [  
 λ]α[μ]βάνω[

Fr. 64.

Col. i.

26 lines lost.			
27	]του	1548	4 lines lost.
	]ν		50 Ἡ]δωνίσι Θρα- κίαις
	5 lines lost.		51 Πά]γγαιον ὄρος ] τῆς Θράκης
34	]ς	1555	52 ]ας 1573
	4 lines lost.		3 lines lost.
39	]δετε	1560	56 ]ς ἦν 1577
	4 lines lost.		]ν κάτ(ω).
	]αστων		
45	]ς	1566	

Fr. 64.

Col. ii.

(Ψ.) τέκνα τ' ἀνὰ μίαν ὁδὸν  
 ἀνάπ[α]λιν ἐτρόχασεν 1580

60 ἐπὶ φόβον ἐπὶ {τε}  
 χάριν ἐλίξας,  
 χρόνῳ δ' ἐξέλαμψεν εὐάμερος.

Ἀμφιάρ(αος). τὴν μὲν παρ' ἡ[μ]ῶν, ᾧ γύναι, φέρῃ χάριν,  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμοὶ πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ὅτ' ἡντό(μην) 1585

65 ἀπέδωκα καὶ γὰρ σοὶ πρόθυμ' ἐς παῖδε σῶ.  
 σφύρου δὲ δὴ σὺ {τέκνα} σφὼ δὲ τήνδε μητέρα,  
 καὶ χαίρεθ'. ἡμε[ί]ς δ', ὥσπερ ὠρμήμεσθα δὴ,  
 στράτευμ' ἄ[γ]οντες ἤξομεν Θήβας ἐπὶ.

οἱ Ψιπ(ύλης) εὐδαιμονοίης, ἄξιός γάρ, ᾧ ξένε, 1590

υοί. 70 — εὐδαιμονοίης δὴτα· τῶν δὲ σῶν κακῶν,  
 τάλαινα μῆτερ, θεῶν τις ὥς ἀπληστος ἦ(ν).

- ὕψι<sup>π</sup> αἰαφυγαστε μεθενᾶσεφυγον  
 ὠτεκνονειμάθοισλημνουποντιας  
 [ν]  
 ὅτιπατεροσουκέτεμονπὸλλιονκαρα  
 75 ἡγάρσ'εταξανπατερασονκατακτανειν  
 φοβοσεχειμετωντοτεκακων'ἰω  
 τεκναδιατεγοργάδεσενλεκτροισ  
 ἐκανονεννέτας  
 π σνδ'ἐξέκλεψασπῶσπὸδάῳστεμηθανειν  
 80 ακτᾶσβαρυ<sup>β</sup>[δ]ρόμους  
 ἰκόμανεπίτ'οιδμαθαλασσιονορνεων  
 ἐρήμονκόιταν  
 κακειθενηλθεσδευροπῶσ·τίνιστολω  
 ναυταικῶπαις  
 85 ναυπλιονεισλιμεναξεν<sup>κον</sup>[ων]πόρον  
 ἄγα  
 ἀγόνμεδουλοσ[.]νατ'επεβασανῶτε[.]νον  
 ενθαδη[δη]ναιωνμελεογεμπολαν  
 οιμοικακωνσων  
 μηστέν'επευτυχιασιν  
 90 αλλασυπῶσετράφησδ'εντινι<sup>δ</sup>  
 χειριτεκνονωτεκνον  
 ενεπ'ενεπεματρισα  
 αργωμεκαιτονδ'ηγαγειςκολχωνπολιν<sup>ε</sup>  
 απομαστίδιονγ'εμῶνστερνων  
 95 επειδ'ἰα<sup>σ</sup>[ι]ωνεθανεμοσμητερπατηρ  
 οιμοικακωνλέγεισδακρυάτ'ομμασιν  
 / τεκνονεμοισδίδωσ  
 ορφευσμεκαιτονδ'ηγάγ'εισθρακηστοπον  
 τίναπατεριποτεχαριναθλίω[τιθεμενος]  
 100 τιθεμενοσενεπεμοιτεκνον  
 μοῦσάνμε<sup>κιθα</sup>[κᾶ]ρισασῖάδοσδιδασκεται

- Ἵψιπ(ύλη). αἰαῖ φυγὰς {τ} ἐμέθεν ἄς ἔφυγον,  
 ὦ τέκνον, εἰ μάθοις, Δήμνου ποντίας  
 πολὺν ὅτι πατέρος οὐκ ἔτεμον κára. 1595
- 75 (Εὐν.) ἦ γάρ σ' ἔταξαν πατέρα σὸν κατακτανεῖν;  
 (Ἵψ.) φόβος ἔχει με τῶν τότε κακῶν· ἰὼ  
 τέκνον), οἶά τε Γοργάδες ἐν λέκτροις  
 ἔκανον εὐνέτας.
- (Εὐν.) σὺ δ' ἐξέκλεψας πῶς πόδ' ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν;  
 80 (Ἵψ.) ἀκτὰς βαρυβρόμους ἰκόμαν  
 ἐπὶ τ' οἷδμα θαλάσσιον, ὀρν(ίθ)ων  
 ἐρῆμον κοίταν.
- (Εὐν.) κάκειῖθεν ἦλθες δεῦρο πῶς τίνι στόλῳ;  
 (Ἵψ.) ναῦται κόπαις 1605
- 85 Ναύπλιον εἰς λιμένα ξενικὸν πόρον  
 ἄγαγόν με δουλοσύ[ν]α τ' ἐπέβασαν, ὦ τέ[κ]νον,  
 ἐνθάδ(ε Δα)ναί(δ)ων μέλεον ἐμπολάν.
- (Εὐν.) οἷμοι κακῶν σῶν.  
 (Ἵψ.) μὴ στέν' ἐπ' εὐτυχίαισιν. 1610
- 90 ἀλλὰ σὺ πῶς ἐτράφης ὅδε (τ') ἐν τίνι  
 χειρί, τέκνον ὦ τέκνον;  
 ἔνεπ' ἔνεπε ματρὶ σᾶ.
- (Εὐν.) Ἀργῷ με καὶ τόνδ' ἤγαγ' ἐ{ι}ς (Ἰω)λ(κὸ)ν πόλιν.  
 (Ἵψ.) ἀπομαστιδίον γ' ἐμῶν στέρνων. 1615
- 95 (Εὐν.) ἐπεὶ δ' Ἰάσων ἔθαν' ἐμός, μῆτερ, πατήρ—  
 (Ἵψ.) οἷμοι κακ(ὰ) λέγεις, δάκρυά τ' ὄμμασιν,  
 τέκνον, ἐμοῖς δίδως.
- (Εὐν.) Ὀρφεύς με καὶ τόνδ' ἤγαγ' εἰς Θράκης τόπον.  
 (Ἵψ.) τίνα πατέρι ποτὲ χάριν ἀθλίῳ 1620
- 100 τιθέμενος; ἔνεπέ μοι, τέκνον.  
 (Εὐν.) μοῦσάν με κιθάρ(α)ς Ἀσιάδος διδάσκεται,

τουτ[.]νδ' ἐσάρεωσὸπλαεκοσμησενμ[<sup>α</sup>α]χησ  
 διαιγάιουνδετιναπορον  
 ἐμ[.]ετ' ακτᾱνλημνιαν  
 105 θοασ[.]ομιζέισοσπατηρδνοιντεκνω  
 106 (a) ἡγα[.]σέσ[.]στ[.]ι  
 106 (b) βα[.]χ[.]' . . . ]γεμηχαναισ  
 [ . . . . . ]βό[ . . . ]όνων  
 [ . . . . . ]οσδοκιαβιοτᾱσ[.] .  
 [ . . . . . ]εματριπαῖδασῆ  
 110 . [ . . . . . ]μοι  
 κει[ . . . . . ]ντοσινωπονβοτρυν

Fr. 64.

Col. iii.

31 lines lost.

	α[		σ σ[
	σ[		διονυ ο[
145	α[		σ[
	ι[		ε[
	[	155	θ[
	α[		υ[
	[		α[
150	ο[		α[
			. . .

Fr. 65. . . .

Fr. 66. . . .

Fr. 67. . . .

	]δυτοι[	] . ασεμα[	]ενπο . [
	ειπο[	]γονσον . [	]αι
	] . [.]ννη[	]κνιατη[	]οῖσ
	]σμονο[	]ν'διαετο[	!
	]στρατε[	5 ]αιδεδρακ[	5 ]φιλα
5	]τουνέ[	ρ	] .
	]ξατ' ἡκωδ[	]αισχαγαρλε[	. . .

- τοῦτ[ο]ν δ' ἐς Ἄρεως ὄπλ' ἐκόσμησεν μάχης.  
 ('Tψ.) δι' Αἰγαίου δὲ τίνα πόρον  
           ἐμ[όλ]ετ' ἀκτὰν Αἰγυπίαν;  
 105 (Eύν.) Θόας [κ]ομίζει σὺς πάτηρ τέκνω δύ[ο].  
 ('Tψ.) ἦ γὰρ[ρ] σέε[ω]στ[α]ι;  
 (Eύν.) Βα[κ]χ[ί]ον γε μηχαναῖς.  
 107 ('Tψ.) [. . . . .]βό[.]όνων  
           [. . . . .]προσοδοκία βιοτᾶς  
           [. . . . .]ε ματρὶ παίδας ἦ  
 110       . [. . . . .] μοι.  
 (Θό.) κεί[νον] . . . . . ντος οἶνωπὸν βότρυν

Fr. 64.

Col. iii.

31 lines lost.

α[		σ[
σ[	1665	Διόνυσ(ος). ο[
145 . [		σ[
ι[		έ[
[		155 θ[
α[		υ[
[	1670	ά[
150 ο[		α[
		. . . .

Fr. 65. . . . .

Fr. 66. . . . .

Fr. 67. . . . .

] δντοι[</td <td>]<!-- . ας ἐμὰ[ς</td--> <td>]<!--εν πο . [</td--> </td></td>	] . ας ἐμὰ[ς</td <td>]<!--εν πο . [</td--> </td>	] εν πο . [</td
<sup>είπο</sup>	] τον σὸν . [</td <td>]<!--αι</td--> </td>	] αι</td
] . [.]νην[	τέ[κν] ἰατη[ρ]	] οῖς</td
]ς μόνο[	] ν' οἶ' ἐτο[ιμ] (?)</td <td>]<!--</td--> </td>	] </td
] στρατε[	5 ]αι δεδρακ[	5 ] φίλα
5 ]τοῦ νέ[	] αἰσχροῦ γὰρ λέ[γ</td <td>]<!-- .</td--> </td>	] .</td
]ξαθ' ἥκω δ' ]		. . . .

]αισαφωσ[  
           <sup>νο</sup>ο[  
       ']στιναι[  
       ]ταθνειν[  
 10       ]ι . . . [

]ακα[[λ]]λαλεγ[  
       . . . . .

Fr. 68. . . . .

      ']οσ  
       ]μα  
       ]άβηι  
       ]υ  
 5     ]νου  
       ]υ  
       ]νω.  
       ]κακον  
       ]α  
 10     ]δαφρων  
       ]η  
       . . . . .

Fr. 69. . . . .

      ]γανει[  
       ]ε  
       ]νθεων[  
       ] . ον  
 5     ]λαγην  
       ]  
       ]ε  
       '<sup>σ</sup> . [']ον  
                           ] . ν  
       . . . . .

Fr. 70. . . . .

      ]οπτολιν  
       ]ιτυχαισ  
       ]  
       ]την  
 5     ]υγαδων  
       ]φαοσ  
       ]ωζυγαι  
       ]  
       ]γης  
 10     ]μεν  
       ]εμασ  
       ]μονα  
       . . . . .

Fr. 71. . . . .

      μ[  
       κλ[  
       μη[  
       κα[  
 5     τισ[  
       μ[  
       ο[  
       ο . [  
       . . .

Fr. 72. . . . .

      ]δ[  
       ] . χρωμεν[  
       ]ειμοιπαιδ[  
       ]πασηλθε[  
                           <sup>σ</sup>[  
 5     ]λλωνδε[  
       ]λ'  
       ]απόδο[  
       ]νδ'απ[  
                   ] [

Fr. 73. . . . .

      ] . [ . ]τι[  
       ]αταπει[  
       ]πτειν[  
                   <sup>ην</sup>  
       ]ιδ'ειπρ[  
 5     ]σβροντ[  
       ] . . [ . ]νη[  
       . . . . .



Fr. 74. . . .

]ησεθι[

]μέντε[

]ωγυνα[

]σωσαι[

5 ] . . [

. . .

Fr. 75. . . .

]υνσοιθα[

]νεινμ'ει[

]σουσαδν[

]ποτεκ[

]θανατ[

].

]. [

. . . .

Fr. 76. . . .

]χ[

]γμεν[

]σσ .

]αφια[

]νεχει

5 ]ειθεων

. . .

Fr. 77. . . .

]

]. α[[σοι]]

]

]εμισ

<sup>ρ</sup>  
]. ηπερασ

5 ]ασθαι

]

. . . .

Fr. 78. . . .

]. [

]ει[']ν . [

]ιν

]δανα[

5 ]ισδισ[

]

]ο[

. . . .

Fr. 79.

. . . .

]ωσ[.]αδ[

]ργασηντ[

]λιδασμι[

]παισ[

. . . .

Fr. 80.

. . . .

]νυνδ[

]ουτ'α . [

]ωξαν[

]ωστεσ[

5 ] . [

. . . .

Fr. 81.

. . . .

]θεασρ[

]ντετραφ[

]δαθεων . [

]. [ . . ]σιν[

. . . .

Fr. 82.

. . . .

]. α . . [

]κακ . [

]. αδέτισ[

]τε

. . . .

Fr. 83.

]πειθῶ . [

]κομιζέ[

<sup>ον</sup>

] . . ]χρη . [

. . . .

Fr. 84. . . .

]μενε[

]στοσο . [

]σανθρ[

. . . .

Fr. 85. . . .

]. [

]. εισε[.]κ[

]ισκαμ . [

]. [.]ω[

. . . .

Fr. 74. . . . .	Fr. 75. . . . .	Fr. 76. . . . .
]ησεθι[	]υν σοι θα[ν	]χ[
]μέν τε [	]νειν μ' εἰ[	]γμεν[
] ὧ γύνα[ι	]σουσα δν[	]σσ .
]σῶσαι [	]ποτεκ[	]αφια[
5 ] . . [	5 ] θανατ[	]ν ἔχει
. . . . .	] .	5 ]ει θεῶν
	] . [	. . . . .
	. . . . .	

Fr. 77. . . . .	Fr. 78. . . . .
] . α	] . [
] . α	]ει [']ν . [
] . α	]ν
θ]έμῖς	]δανα[
] χρῆ πέρας	5 ]ς δισ[
5 ]ασθαι	] .
] . α	]ο[
. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 79. . . . .	Fr. 80. . . . .	Fr. 81. . . . .	Fr. 82. . . . .
]ωσ[.]αδ[	] νῦν δ[	]θεας ρ[	] . α . . [
]ργα σῆν τ[	]ουτ' α . [	]ντετραφ[	]κακ . [
]λιδας μι[	]ωξαν[	]δα θεῶν . [	] . αδέ τις [
]παισ[	]ωστεσ[	] . [ . ]σιν[	]τε
. . . . .	5 ] . [	. . . . .	. . . . .
	. . . . .		

Fr. 83. ] πειθῶ . [	Fr. 84. . . . .	Fr. 85. . . . .
] κομιξέ[	]μενει[	] . [
] οὐ χροη . [	]στοσο[	] . εισε[.]κ[
. . . . .	]ς ἀνθρ[ωπ	]ς καμ . [
	. . . . .	] . [.]ω[
		. . . . .

Fr. 86. . . . .	Fr. 87. . . . .	Fr. 88. . . . .	
]σ	]ννχ . [	] . . ι	
]εισ	]ν[[ <sup>η</sup> ο]]νπνρ[	] . . .	
]θ[[ <sup>εν</sup> οι]]ποτε		]πέρι	
. . . . .		. . . . .	
Fr. 89. . . . .	Fr. 90. . . . .	Fr. 91. . . . .	Fr. 92. . . . .
]οσ	] . ν	]ιπ[	] . εσθ[
]	]	]τιθ[	]ξομ[
]μωσ	]υσ	]ῥόρευσ	]λε[
]	] . οσ	] . [ . ]ιε	]καταπα[
5 ]υσ	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ενον	]		
. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 93. . . . .	Fr. 94. . . . .	Fr. 95. . . . .	Fr. 96. . . . .
]άντη[	] . . [	]εδε[	]λατ[
]ιε[	]ῡσπ[	]ωνζ[	] . μ[
]ανπ[	]αοσ[	]ειν[	] . φ[
]έλα[	]βακ[	] . . [	]δε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 97. . . . .	Fr. 98. . . . .	Fr. 99. . . . .	Fr. 100. . . . .
]θ λ[	]ηδ[	]μοι[	]ανι[
α[	]όνδ[	]	]
τ[	]ξα[	]τα[	]ατε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	] . [
			. . . . .
Fr. 101. . . . .	Fr. 102. . . . .	Fr. 103. . . . .	Fr. 104. . . . .
]ισ[	]σινο[	]ωκα[	]γαν[
]προ[	]αισ . ν . [	]χθο[	]γα[
]α[	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .		

Fr. 86. . . . .	Fr. 87. . . . .	Fr. 88. . . . .	
]s	]νυχ . [	] . . ι	
]εις	]νην πυρ[	] . . .	
]θεν ποτέ		] πέρι	
. . . . .		. . . . .	
Fr. 89. . . . .	Fr. 90. . . . .	Fr. 91. . . . .	Fr. 92. . . . .
]ος	] . ν	]ιπ[	] . εσθ[
]	]	]τιθ[	]εξομ[
]μως	]ς	]πόρευς[	]λε[
]	] . ος	] . [ . .]ιει[	]καταπα[
5 ]ς	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
]ενον	]		
. . . . .	. . . . .		
Fr. 93. . . . .	Fr. 94. . . . .	Fr. 95. . . . .	Fr. 96. . . . .
τ]αύτη[	] . . [	]εδε[	]λατ[
]ιει[	]ῦσπ[	]ων ζ[	] . μ[
]ανπ[	]αοσ[	]ειν[	] . φ[
]έλα[	]βακ[	] . . [	]δε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Fr. 97. . . . .	Fr. 98. . . . .	Fr. 99. . . . .	Fr. 100. . . . .
]ο λ[	]ηδ[	]μον[	]ανι[
α[	]όνδ' [	]	]
τ[	]ξα[	]τα[	]ατε[
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	] . [
			. . . . .
Fr. 101. . . . .	Fr. 102. . . . .	Fr. 103. . . . .	Fr. 104. . . . .
]ιο[	]σινο[	]ωκα[	]γαν[
]προ[	]αισ . υ . [	]χθο[	]γα[
]ο[	]	. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .		

Fr. 105. . . .	Fr. 106. . . .	Fr. 107. . . .	Fr. 108. . . .
]τουτ[	]	]ι . [	]ξ[
] . σεπ[	]κοισ	]πω[	]αρει
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Fr. 109. . . .	Fr. 110. . . .	Fr. 111. . . .	Fr. 112. . . .
]ιοσει[	]ουτε[	]ιν[	]τάο . [
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Fr. 113. . . .	Fr. 114. . . .	Fr. 115. . . .	Fr. 116. . . .
]δον[	] . λ[	]θα[	] .
] [	] [	] [	]ξονσ[
] [	] [	] [	] . . . [
. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

We append here the previously known fragments of the *Hypsipyle*; the numbers are those of Nauck's *Fragmenta Tragicorum*, 1889.

752. Aristoph. *Frogs* 1211-3 and Schol. *ad loc.*:

Διώνυσος, ὃς θύρσοισι καὶ νεβρῶν δοραῖς  
καθαπτὸς ἐν πεύκαισι Παρνασὸν κάτα  
πηδᾶ χορεύων παρθένοισι σὺν Δελφίσιν

The first three lines of the play, spoken by Hypsipyle, or, less probably, one of her sons; cf. introd. p. 23.

753. Didymus in Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 18. 12:

δείξω μὲν Ἀργείοισιν Ἀχελῷον ῥόον

Hypsipyle accedes to Amphiaraus' request to show him a spring. The line is to be placed between Fr. 1. v. 35 and Fr. 6.

754. Plut. *Mor.* p. 93 D = p. 661 F:

ἔτερον ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ αἰρόμενος  
ἄγρευμ' ἀνθέων ἡδομένῃα ψυχᾷ  
τὸ νήπιον ἄπληστον ἔχων

1. αἰρόμενος p. 93, ἰώμενος p. 661. 3. ἄχρηστον ἔχων p. 93, ἄπληστος ἔων p. 661.

This fragment, spoken by Hypsipyle and referring to Archemorus, probably belongs to the lyrical portion of the scene between her and the chorus immediately after the accident;

Fr. 105. . . .	Fr. 106. . . .	Fr. 107. . . .	Fr. 108. . . .
]τουτ[	]	]ι . [	]ξ[
] . σεπ[	]κοις	]πω[	]αρε
. . .	. . .		. . .
Fr. 109. . . .	Fr. 110. . . .	Fr. 111. . . .	Fr. 112. . . .
]ιοσει[	]ουτε[	]ιν[	]τάο . [
	. . .	. . .	. . .
Fr. 113. . . .	Fr. 114. . . .	Fr. 115. . . .	Fr. 116. . . .
]δον[	] . λ[	] Θόα[	] .
] [	] [	] [	]ξον σ[
] [	] [	] [	] . . . [
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

see introd. p. 25, and note on Fr. 10, in the neighbourhood of which it is to be placed. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* iv. 786 sqq. *at puer in gremio vernaë*, &c.

755. Aristoph. *Frogs* 1328 and Schol. *ad loc.* :

ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον ἄντρον

This is usually supposed to refer to the lair of the δράκων (cf. *Phoen.* 1010 σηκὸν ἐς μελαμβαθῇ δράκοντος), and if so is to be connected with No. 754 and Frs. 10 sqq. *δωδεκαμήχανον*, however, is a very strange epithet of ἄντρον. There is another reading ἄστρον, which has been taken to mean the sun or the moon; but this is also unsatisfactory.

756. Aristoph. *Frogs* 1322 and Schol. 1320 :

περίβαλ' ὦ τέκνον ὠλένας

Spoken by Hypsipyle and probably from the scene of recognition between her and her sons (Fr. 64. i), rather than addressed to the child Archemorus in the early part of the play.

757. = Fr. 60. 89-96.

758. Stob. *Flor.* 10. 26 :

κακοῖς τὸ κέρδος τῆς δίκης ὑπέρτερον

Probably to be attributed to Eurydice, who is accusing Hypsipyle of corruption; cf. Fr. 60. 35-6. The line will then come from the vicinity of Frs. 22-32.

759. = Fr. 60. 114-18.

760. Stob. *Flor.* 20. 31 and 20. 12:

ἔξω γὰρ ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος

The speaker here is in all probability Hypsipyle, deprecating the anger of Eurydice; cf. Fr. 22. 3 καὶ μὴ δι' ὀρ[γῆς . . . Hence this line is likely to come from the same scene as No. 758 and Frs. 22-32.

761. Stob. *Flor.* 110. 16:

ἄελπτον οὐδέν, πάντα δ' ἐλπίζειν χρεών

Presumably spoken either by Amphiaraus to Hypsipyle or by Hypsipyle herself after her unexpected deliverance, and to be placed somewhere between Fr. 60. 117 and Fr. 64. ii.

762. Eust. ii. p. 959. 43:

εὐφημα καὶ σᾶ καὶ κατεσφραγισμένα

Valckenaer wished to emend εὐφημα to εὔσημα, and Hartung following Zirndorfer supposes that the reference is to the σημεία by which the recognition of Euneos and Thoas was effected. Wilamowitz would retain εὐφημα, supposing a reference to some secret which was to be preserved by silence; but the context cannot be recovered.

763. Aristoph. *Frogs* 64 and Schol. *ad loc.*:

ἢ ἑτέρα φράσω;

The words give no indication of their context. Bothe supposed that the scholiast's remark ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον ἐξ Ὑψιπύλης referred to the first half of the line, ἀρ' ἐκδιδάσκω τὸ σαφές.

764. Galenus, vol. 18, i p. 519:

ιδού, πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἐξαμίλλησαι κόρας

γραπτούς (τ' ἐν αἰετ)οῖσι πρόσβλε(ψ)ον τύπους

1. κόραι MSS., κόρας Hermann, κόραις Musgrave. 2. οῖσι πρόσβλεπον MSS., ἐν αἰετοῖσι προσβλέπειν Valckenaer, *Diatr.* p. 214 (the passage being quoted in connexion with αἰετωμα or αἰετός), τ' . . . πρόσβλεψον Nauck.

The reference in these lines is obscure; possibly they occurred in the conversation of Euneos and Thoas on their arrival outside the palace; cf. introd. p. 23, and Fr. 1. i. 1-3, note.

765. Aristoph. *Frogs* 1326 and Schol. *ad loc.*:

οἰνάνθα τρέφει τὸν ἱερὸν βότρυν

τρέφει RV, φέρει other MSS., οἰνάντας τε τρέφει Tzetzes.

This is connected by Welcker (*Gr. Trag.* ii. p. 559) with the χρυσῇ ἄμπελος referred to in the Scholium on Anth. Pal. iii. 10 (introd. p. 28) as the symbol by which Euneos and Thoas established their identity. But the words might well come from a choral ode such as those to which Frs. 7 and 57-9 belong; cf. also Fr. 64. 111:

766. Hesychius 1, p. 320:

ἀναδρομαί

Hesych. gives as synonyms αἰξήσεις, βλαστήσεις. An ode such as that in Frs. 57-9 would be a likely place for the word to occur.

767. Harpocration, s. v. ἀρκεῦσαι:

ἄρκτος

Harp. says ὅτι δὲ αἱ ἀρκευόμεναι παρθένοι ἄρκτοι καλοῦνται, Εὐριπίδης Ὑψιπύλῃ, Ἀριστοφάνους Λημνίαις καὶ Λυσιστράτῃ. These so-called ἄρκτοι were devoted to the cult of Artemis Brauronia, who was associated with Lemnian legend through the story told by Hdt. vi. 138 of the rape of Athenian women from Brauron. At what point an allusion to them came in the *Hypsipyle* is quite obscure.

768. = Fr. 1. iv. 15?

769. Cf. Fr. 1. ii. 7 and introd. p. 24.

770. = Fr. 1. ii. 13?

862. (fab. inc.) Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 362:

δράκοντος αἵματωπὸν ὄμμα

Cf. Fr. 60. 71-2, note.

Lydus, *de mensibus* iv. 7. p. 72, ed. Wünsch:

ὦ θνητὰ παραφρονήματ' ἀνθρώπων, μάτην  
οἳ φασιν εἶναι τὴν τύχην ἀλλ' οὐ θεούς·  
εἰ γὰρ τύχη μὲν ἔστιν, οὐδὲν δεῖ θεοῦ,  
εἰ δ' οἱ θεοὶ σθένουσιν, οὐδὲν ἢ τύχη.

Our attention was drawn by Wilamowitz to this citation, which is given with the name of the poet and play. The two last lines appear in the form εἰ μὲν θεοὶ σθένουσιν οὐκ ἔστιν τύχη· εἰ δ' οὐ σθένουσιν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἡ Τύχη in Floril. Monac. 108 (cf. Schol. Lucian, p. 171), and so stand in Nauck, Fr. adesp. 169; W-M would read θεῶν for θεοῦ in l. 3. The lines are likely to have occurred towards the end of the play, after Fr. 60.

**Fr. 1. i. 2-11.** *Hypsipyle*. '... toys to soothe thy mind from lamentation. Was it you, young sirs, who knocked at the gates? Oh happy woman your mother, whoever she was. What do ye come seeking from these halls?

*Thoas*. We desire to be taken within the house, woman, if it be possible for us to rest here a single night. We have with us all we need: wherein should we be any trouble to these halls? Thy duties will be undisturbed.

*Hyps*. It chances that the house is left without a man to rule it . . .'

1-3. *Hypsipyle* is apparently quieting the child, which had been crying, before addressing the strangers; possibly their appearance was the cause of the child's alarm. In l. 3 some

alteration of  $\sigma\omega\nu$  seems almost necessary, and  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , which W(illamowitz)—M(öllerndorff) suggests, is a simple remedy;  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  would be easier than  $\sigma\acute{\omega}\nu$ . The remains of the two preceding verses give little clue to their sense; at the end of l. 1 the letter before  $\omicron\iota\varsigma$  had a curved base, and may be  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\pi$ , or  $\nu$ .  $\gamma\rho\alpha$  suggests Nauck Fr. 764. 2  $\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$  ( $\tau'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\alpha\iota\epsilon\tau$ )  $\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\beta\lambda\epsilon(\psi)\nu$   $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , but the difference of termination seems to preclude any identification with that verse;  $\alpha\epsilon$ ]  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  could not be read, and to suppose that  $\tau\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  was written for  $\tau\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  is too bold. In l. 2 the doubtful  $\pi$  may be  $\iota\sigma$  or  $\iota\omega$ .

4. The accents of  $\epsilon\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau$  and  $\nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\iota$  are wrongly placed.

7.  $\Theta\acute{o}\alpha\varsigma$ : this was the name of the second son of Jason and Hypsipyle according also to Schol. Pind. *Nem.* Argum.<sup>2</sup>, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 133, 2. 141, Anth. Pal. iii. 10, and Statius, *Theb.* vi. 342; Apollod. i. 9. 17 calls him Nebrophonus, Hyginus, c. 17, Deipylus.

[ $\epsilon$ ]  $\mu$ ]  $\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}$ ]  $\chi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  is due to Murray.

8.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ]  $\alpha\nu\lambda\iota\sigma$ ]  $\alpha\iota$  (Murray) suits the scanty traces sufficiently well, and is more euphonic after the preceding  $\acute{\alpha}$ ]  $\chi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  than another passive infinitive such as  $\delta\epsilon\chi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ .  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  occurs in Soph. *Phil.* 33.

9. The reading of the latter half of the line is doubtful.  $\tau$  after  $\delta\epsilon\iota$  is only fairly satisfactory, and  $\kappa$  or  $\nu$  might well be substituted; [ $\tau\epsilon$ ] hardly fills the lacuna after  $\pi\omicron$ , but the scribe's spacing is irregular, and  $\epsilon$  especially sometimes occupies a good deal of room.

11. [ $\acute{\alpha}$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\sigma$ ]  $\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu$ ]  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron$ ]  $\kappa$ ]  $\omicron$ ]  $\varsigma$  (Bury) suits the papyrus decidedly better than [ $\acute{\alpha}$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ]  $\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu$ ]  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron$ ]  $\kappa$ ]  $\omicron$ ]  $\varsigma$  (W—M).

**Fr. 2. 1.** The gap between this and the preceding fragment is evidently very slight, and Fr. 2. 1 may well be the next line to Fr. 1. i. 11. It is indeed just possible that the two lines should be combined into one, reading [ $\acute{\alpha}$   $\delta$ ]  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\kappa\tau\lambda$ ., but the vestiges in Fr. 2. 1 though scanty are not in favour of  $\sigma$ . The purport of the passage clearly is that Lycurgus the king was away (cf. introd. p. 23), and that in his absence the queen Eurydice was at the head of affairs.

4 sqq. The remains of these verses suggest that the sense of Thoas's remark was 'Then we cannot find quarters here but must seek them elsewhere?' to which Hypsipyle replied, 'By no means; strangers are always made welcome here.' Ll. 4–5 may accordingly be restored e. g.  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\xi\epsilon$ ]  $\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma\iota$   $\tau\omicron\iota\sigma\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\sigma\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\theta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}$ ]  $\lambda\lambda\omicron$   $\delta\eta$   $\tau\iota$   $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu'$   $\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ ; cf. for the latter line *Herc. F.* 1286  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$   $\delta\eta$   $\tau\omega\nu'$   $\acute{\omicron}\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu$ ; *Alc.* 1040  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\theta'$   $\acute{\omega}\rho\mu\acute{\eta}\theta\iota\varsigma$   $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ , and, for the reply of Hypsipyle in ll. 6–9, *Alc.* 566–7  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\delta'$   $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\theta\rho'$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ .

**Fr. 1. ii. 1–14.** Hypsipyle is singing to the child Archemorus; cf. introd. p. 23. The metrical identity between ll. 9–14 here and ll. 11–17 in Col. iii, makes natural the supposition that the preceding verses of these two sets of lyrics were in strophic correspondence, though as they stand in the papyrus they do not at first sight appear to be so. But, as W—M points out to us, a sufficient correspondence can be obtained in ll. 5–8 with very slight manipulation, the verses being glyconics, in which a free responsion is permissible. Between ll. 8 and 9 the loss of a verse, answering to iii. 10  $\Theta\rho\eta\sigma\sigma'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{o}\alpha$   $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$   $'\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ , is marked by the marginal  $\acute{\alpha}\nu(\omega)$ ; cf. note on ll. 8–10. By writing  $\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\iota\omicron$  for  $\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon$  in iii. 6, and in the following verse omitting the  $\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\lambda\kappa\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$  in  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$  and transposing the first syllable of  $\Pi\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ , the following correspondence is obtained:—

ii. 5. [ $-\ \bar{\cup}$ $-$ ] $- - \cup\cup -$ (3rd glyc.)	= iii. 6. $\cup - - \cup\cup - \cup -$ (2nd glyc.)
[ $-\ \bar{\cup}$ ] $- - - \cup\cup -$ (3rd glyc.)	$\cup\cup - - \cup\cup - \cup -$ (2nd glyc.)
$- - - \cup\cup - -$ (pherecr.)	$- \cup - \cup\cup - -$ (pherecr.)
$\cup - \cup\cup - \cup\cup -$ (3rd glyc.)	$\cup\cup\cup\cup\cup - \cup -$ (2nd glyc.)

Owing to the imperfect text it is hazardous to attempt to extend this process to the preceding lines; but it seems likely that in Col. iii. 3-5 the scribe's division is at fault, and that the glyconic-pherecratic measure should be restored by writing σ[υ]μεινης ὀρού|σας ἐπ' οἶδμα γαλανεῖ|ας πρυμνήσι' ἀνάψαι. Similarly in Col. ii. 4 the second syllable of αὐγάν very likely belongs to the following verse; in l. 3 there seems to be a more serious dislocation or corruption.

3. Perhaps ὑπάρχον, but the vestiges are too slight to give any confirmation.

4. λευκ]οφαῖ: cf. *I. A.* 1054 λευκοφαῖ ψάμαθον; but this is only one of several possibilities.

8-14. *Hyps.* 'Lo this rattle's sound! ( . . . ) No Lemnian strain as solace for the shuttle or for the comb pressed within the web, O Muse, is this which I have to utter, but whatever befits a young child, for his slumber or amusement or meet tending, of this I make my song' (i. e. I sing for the benefit of my nursling, not to beguile labour at the loom).

8-10. For κροτάλων cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1305-6, and the other references given in introd. p. 24. *Frogs* 1313-6 αἱ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας εἰειειλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες ἰστότονα πηνίσματα κερκίδος αἰοῖδου μελέτας was perhaps intended to be a parody on ll. 9-11, and ἰσσιτόνου here strongly supports ἰστότονα in the Aristophanes passage where the Ravennas alone has ἰστότονα, the reading preferred by recent editors.

ἄν(ω), written in a probably different hand at the end of l. 8, and the critical signs in front of ll. 8-9 refer to an insertion in the lost upper margin supplying a textual omission which is also indicated by the metre; cf. note on ll. 1-14. Cf. also Fr. 64. 57, where κάτ(ω) occurs in a similar position, and 223. 125, 700. 27.

11. W-M suggests καλεῖ for μελεῖ, but, as Mr. E. C. Marchant observes, this is unnecessary if Μοῖσα be taken as a vocative. λεγειν has been altered (perhaps by the first hand) to κρεκειν; cf. l. 26, where Λημνου has replaced νησου. Murray remarks that these variations recall the double readings which are found in the Laurentian MS. in several of Euripides' plays, the *Ion*, *I. A.*, *I. T.*, and *Rhesus*, and which perhaps descended from the edition of Aristophanes by Byzantium; cf. Wilamowitz, *Heracles*, I. pp. 147 sqq., 214 sq.

13. νεαρῶ: perhaps this is the passage referred to in Bekker, *Antiatt.* p. 109. 15 (= Nauck Fr. 770) νεαρός· ἀντὶ τοῦ νέος· Εὐριπίδης Ὑψιπύλη.

14. τάδε: this construction *ad sensum* of a plural substantive with a singular relative having a collective sense is common from Homer downwards. A good parallel to the present passage is Soph. *Ant.* 707 ὅστις γὰρ αὐτὸς ἢ φρονεῖν μόνος δοκεῖ, ἢ γλῶσσαν, ἢ οὐκ ἄλλος, ἢ ψυχὴν ἔχειν, οὗτοι διαπτυχθέντες ὤφθησαν κenoί.

15-37. *Chorus.* 'Why art thou, dear one, at the vestibule? Art thou sweeping the palace-entrance or sprinkling water-drops upon the ground in servile wise, or art thou hymning the fifty-oared Argo which is ever on thy lips or the sacred fleece of gold guarded upon oaken branches by a dragon's eye? Are thy thoughts with sea-girt Lemnos, echoing to the rolling billows of the Aegean, now, when hither up Nemea's meads in brazen panoply fleet Adrastus having passed the plain of Argos is bringing swift war against the lyre-built wall, the work of Amphion's hand? He has summoned the might (of Hellas) with divers scutcheons and gilded bows . . .'

15 sqq. As with the lyrics of Hypsipyle (cf. note on ii. 1-14), so too in the two choral odes, strophic responsion was naturally observed, and ii. 15 sqq. = iii. 18 sqq., the metre being as before to a large extent glyconic, and the correspondence of a free character. A greater licence in the use of the polyschematic glyconic verse, as was remarked by G. Hermann, *Elem. doctr. metr.*, is a characteristic of Euripides' later period. Hypsipyle's

third song, of which the conclusion remains at the top of Col. iv, served as an epode; the general scheme thus is  $\alpha \beta \alpha \beta \gamma$ .

17. *σαίρεις*: cf. e. g. *Hec.* 363-4 *σαίρειν τε δῶμα κερκίσιν τ' ἐφεστάναι λυπρὰν ἄγουσαν ἡμέραν μ' ἀναγκάσει*. The accent on *η* is erroneous; cf. i. 4, note.

18. *οἶά τε*: so again *Fr.* 64. 77; cf. *Homer*, γ 73, *Hdt.* ii. 175.

19 sqq. Cf. *Statius*, *Theb.* v. 615-6 *quotiens tibi Lemnon et Argo sueta loqui et longa somnum suadere querela*.

21. *πεντηκόντορος* is the usual Attic spelling; -eros was an Ionic form, and appears in *Hdt.* Cf. *Apollod.* i. 9. 16 *κάκηνος* (sc. *Argus*) *Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένης πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν . . . Ἀργώ*.

22. *χρυσέομαλλον*: cf. *El.* 724-5 *χρυσέομαλλον . . . ποίμναν* and *Apollod.* i. 9. 16 *χρυσόμαλλον δέρας*.

28. *κυμοτύπος* though unattested is quite a possible word, but *κυμοκτύπος* (*Simmias ap. Hephaest.* p. 74 *Gaisf.* *κυμοκτύπων ἦραν' ἀλίων μυχῶν*) is required by the metre.

29. *δεῦρ' ὄτ'* (*Murray*) seems preferable to *δεῦρο* (δ'), bringing out more clearly the connexion of thought; 'Are you still harping,' the chorus asks, 'on the old themes when events of such importance are passing at our doors?' A comma-like mark just below the *α* of *λειμῶνα* seems to be meaningless.

30. *απαγει* is not a quite satisfactory reading. The *π* is represented only by the second of the two uprights, which is drawn so long as to be more like *ρ* or *υ* with a space for an intervening letter after the *α*; there would also be room for a narrow letter between *γ* and *ει*. But we can find no suitable alternative to *ἀπάγει*, and a *π* of just this shape occurs in the next column in l. 20 *πατριους*; cf. also *παῖς* in l. 21. The verse can be easily reduced to a third glyconic and brought into harmony with the remains of iii. 15 by reading *χαλκείουσιν* for *χαλκείοις*. *Murray* suggests *α[ῦ]ρ' ἄγει*, with e. g. *κτύπον* after *Νέμειον* in l. 29 (cf. *Or.* 181 *κτύπον ἡγάγετ'*) and *πα[τ]ούτων* in l. 31 instead of *πα[ρ]είς*. But something of the base of a *υ* would be expected to be visible between *α* and *ρ*, and a mixture of dochmiacs (-ον *κτύπον* κ.τ.λ.) with glyconics does not seem very probable in a choral ode.

31. *πα[ρ]είς* (W-M) suits the sense, and to a sufficient extent also the metre, though the corresponding line (iii. 34) is catalectic. Part of the tail of the *ρ* would indeed be expected to be visible, but the scribe does not always make that letter very long (cf. e. g. *ερυμα* in the next line), and it is not quite clear how far the accent on *ε* of *ερυμα* extends, i. e. the upper extremity of it might belong to a *ρ* of the line above.

32-3. The wall raised by the lyre of Amphion is of course Thebes. Cf. *Phoen.* 823-4 *φόρμιγγί τε τείχεα Θήβας τᾶς Ἀμφιονίας τε λύρας ὑπο πύργος ἀνέστα*.

34. *ὠ[κυ]πόδας* (= *ὠκυπόδης*: cf. *Anth. Pal.* v. 223, ix. 371) is due to W-M. It is noticeable that *ὠκύπορος* occurs in the corresponding verse of the antistrophe (l. 37). The supplement at the end of the line aims at reproducing the metre of iii. 37, but is of course highly conjectural; for *ἀπάγει . . . Ἀρη* cf. *Phoen.* 1123-4 *πύλαις Ἀρη προσῆγε*, *I. A.* 283-4 *λευκήρετμον δ' Ἀρη Τάφιον ἦγεν*. *Α[δρ]ασ[το]ς* is very doubtfully read, but his name can hardly be spared in this line, and the initial *α* is fairly certain.

35. *ἐκάλεσε μένο[ς]*, as *Wilamowitz* suggests, is more apposite than *καλεσόμενο[ς]* since the army was already on the march, and it would be more natural to describe the result than the process of *Adrastus'* preparations. The scanty vestiges between *σ* and *μ* are consistent with either *ο* or *ε*, though an *ε* must have been written rather small.

36. Apparently *σνεματα* was originally written, the *υ* being afterwards crossed through, but not the *ε*; possibly, however, the second letter is a deleted *ι* or *γ*, and the cross-bar of the supposed *ε* represents the stroke of deletion. Above the line is an *α*, and *σάματα* (*σήματα*) would be a natural word in this context; cf. *El.* 455-6 *ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλῳ τοιάδε σήματα*, *I. A.* 275 *πρύμνας σῆμα ταυρόπων*. W-M, however, would prefer *σάγματα* (cf. *Andr.*

617 κάλλιστα τεύχη δ' ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασιν), and it is indeed possible that an overwritten γ followed the α, for the papyrus is rubbed here.

37. The accentuation of τόξά τε is in accordance with the rules of ancient grammarians; cf. Fr. 64. ii. 1, 841. V. 44 ἐνθά με and note *ad loc.*

38. μονοβάμονες: the only other instance of this word is Anth. Pal. xv. 27, where it is applied to μέτρον in the sense of having only one foot. Cf. τετραβάμων, *El.* 476, &c.

iii. 3-17. *Hyps.* '... speeding over the waves in the calm to make fast the cables, him whom the river-maiden Aegina bore, even Peleus; and by the mast amidst ships Orpheus' Thracian lyre of Asia sounded a dirge of invocation, playing a measure for the rowers of the long-shafted oars, now a swift stroke, now easing the blade of pine. This, this my soul longs to celebrate: let others hymn the toils of the Danaï.'

3-5. In its present condition this is an obscure passage. On the question of the metre cf. note on ii. 1-14.

6-7. ποταμοῖο and ἐτέκνωσε Πηλῆα are changes made on metrical grounds; cf. note on ii. 1-14. Peleus is introduced here as one of the Argonauts; cf. Apollod. i. 9. 16; but according to the usual mythology he was the son of Aeacus, and grandson, not son, of Aegina. The 'river' of course is Asopus.

8-10. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* v. 342 sqq. *vox media de puppe venit . . . Oeagrius illic acclinis malo mediis intersonat Orpheus remigiis.* ἔλεγον is a certain emendation of W-M. The termination has been altered in the papyrus, but what was first written is doubtful; possibly it was actually ελεγον, with a very small ο. The combination of Ἀσιὰς and Ἑρῆσσα as epithets of κίθαρις is harsh but excusable on account of the frequency of the conjunction 'Asian lyre'; cf. Fr. 64. 101, *Cyclops* 443, &c. Orpheus is enumerated among the Argonauts by Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 315, and according to later mythographers his musical art had much to do with the success of the expedition. Cf. Fr. 64. 98.

11 sqq. We rearrange the division of the verses so as to correspond to that of ii. 9 sqq.

11. μακροπόλος is not found elsewhere, but may perhaps be defended here on the analogy of the Homeric ἐν ἀκροπόλοιςιν ὕρεσσιν *E* 523, *τ* 205. W-M's suggestion to read μακροπόδων (though that word too lacks classical support) is, however, very attractive; cf. e. g. Timotheus, *Persae* 101-2, where ὀρείους πόδας ναός is a synonym for oars.

11-2. Cf. *I. T.* 1125 sqq. συρίζων θ' ὁ κηροδέτας κάλαμος οὐρέϊον Πανὸς κόπαις ἐπιθωύξει.

15. ἰδεῖν W-M: the earliest examples of this verb are in Alexandrian poets, but the ineptness of ἰδεῖν and the parallelism of ἀναβοάτω make the correction practically certain here; cf. also ii. 19-21.

18-32. *Chorus.* 'From wise men have I heard the tale how of old the Tyrian maid Europa left the city and Phoenician home of her fathers, and journeyed on the waves to sacred Crete, nurse of Zeus and home of the Curetes; yet to a threefold birth of children she left sovereignty and happy sway over the land. And another maiden, I hear, queenly Io of Argos, quitted her fatherland to take the horns of a cow and suffer a gadfly's torment. When the god calls this to thy mind . . .'

18 sqq. On the sequence of thought cf. introd. p. 24.

21-2. Cf. *Crete*, Nauck Fr. 472 Φοινικογενοῖς παῖ της Τυρίας τέκνον Εὐρώπας. Nauck following Bothe omits παῖ της Τυρίας, and παῖ followed by τέκνον can hardly be right, but a less drastic remedy would be to emend παῖ της to παιδός; cf. *Τυρία παῖς* here.

22. There does not seem much to choose between the alternative readings ἀπέβα and ἐπέβα, but ἀποβαίνειν does not happen to occur with a direct accusative elsewhere in Euripides,

and the idea of departure is sufficiently expressed by λιποῦσα. Whether the interlinear ε was added by the first or second hand is doubtful; cf. introd. p. 21.

23-4. Cf. *Bacch.* 120-2 ὃ θαλάμευμα Κουρήτων ζαθέου τε Κρήτας Διογενέτορες ἔναντοι. The collocation Διοτρόφον . . . τροφόν is a little inelegant, but probably sound; Διοτρόφος is a new compound.

26. τρισσοῖς: i. e. Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon; cf. Hesiod, Fr. 39 (Schol. *Il.* M 292), Apollod. iii. 1. 1, &c.

27. Both a circumflex and an acute accent have been placed above the ω of χωρας; the former of course is erroneous.

29. [οῖσ]τρφ: [κέν]τρφ would remove the hiatus, but is both a less natural term (cf. however, Aesch. *Prom.* 596 sqq. νόσον . . . ἀ μαραίνει με χρίονσα κέντροις φοιταλέοις) and less suited to the size of lacuna. The following word as originally written was a vox nihili; the first of the two deleted letters seems to be λ rather than α.

30. [πάτ]ρας: the supplement is rather longer than would be expected on the analogy of the verses above, but the scribe tends to make the point of commencement of the lines advance slightly towards the left as the column proceeds; cf. l. 31 where [κερ]ασφόρον is practically certain. [χῶ]ρας is less appropriate, especially so soon after l. 27.

ἀμφίς, a word common in Homer and also used by Pindar, is not found elsewhere in tragedy, but that is not a sufficient reason for questioning its genuineness here.

31. [κερ]ασφόρον (Murray) seems guaranteed by the parallel of *Phoen.* 248 τὰς κερασφόρου . . . Ἰοῦς, though ασ is not certain, and two letters would be enough for the lacuna if the column was kept straight; cf. the preceding note. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 588, calls Ἰο τὰς βούκερω παρθένου.

32 sqq. In this passage the chorus is with little doubt seeking to offer consolation and encouragement to Hypsipyle, and Wilamowitz suggests that ll. 32-7 may have run somewhat as follows:—[ταῦ]τ' ἂν θεὸς εἰς φροντίδα θῇ σοι | [συνίει]ς δὴ, φίλα, τὸ μέσον | ἐλπίς δ' οὐκ ἀπολείψει | [ἔτι σε τὸν π]ατέρος πατέρα | [ρύσσεσθαι πο]τ' ἔχει σέθεν | [ᾠραν καὶ τάχα σ'] ὠκύπορο[ς] μετανίσσεται. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 385-6 ἔσχατος ἐλπίδ' ὥς ἐμοῦ θεοῦς ᾠραν τιν' ἔξειν, ὥστε σωθῆναι ποτε. This restoration, which is made only *exempli gratia*, brilliantly satisfies the requirements of sense and metre, but in the last verse can only with difficulty be reconciled with the papyrus, where the lacuna at the beginning of ll. 35-7 is practically of the same size; one letter more than in l. 35 might be conceded in l. 37 on account of the slope of the column, but hardly three more. In l. 33 also [συνί]ε[ι]ς though just possible is unsatisfactory, since ε[ι] would not normally fill up the space; moreover a future would be more apposite than a present tense. The letters σδ are quite doubtful; the δ may well be θ or σ and the σ possibly ο or ω: γ]νωση might be read were it not for the difficulty of the apparent vestige of an accent above the place where the γ would come; the accent might, however, belong to the preceding letter. Perhaps ἀπολείψει is the apodosis of the sentence, and we should read [κᾶν(?)] α[ἰ]σθη, φίλα, τὸ μέσον, | [ἐλπίς σ' οὐκ] ἀπολείψει κ.τ.λ. This would well satisfy all the conditions except that [κᾶν] is a short supplement for the beginning of l. 33; α[ἰ] would not be open to the objection brought above against ε[ι]. The supposed acute accent cannot be a mark of elision or length. In ll. 36-7 it is evident that the scribe's division of the verses was not the same as in ii. 33-4.

38. γεναί fits in with the context as explained in the preceding note; the god will not forget his descendant.

iv. 2-9. *Hyps.* ' . . . sang a lament for Procris the huntress whom her husband slew. Death is the meet end of these my woes. What wailing, what song, what music of the lyre with tearful lament, though Calliope inspired it, could come up to my suffering?'

2. The insidious corruption in this line was detected by Murray. The legend of Procris, daughter of Erechtheus, who was accidentally killed when hunting by her husband Cephalus is thus told by Apollod. iii. 15. *ἡ διαλλαγεῖσα Κεφάλῳ μετὰ τούτου παραγίνεται ἐπὶ θήραν ἣν γὰρ θηρευτική. διώκουσαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ λόχμῃ ἀγνοήσας Κεφάλος ἀκοντίζει καὶ τυχὼν ἀποκτείνει Πρόκριν.* καὶ κριθεὶς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ φυγὴν αἰδίων καταδικάζεται.

3. This line at first omitted has been inserted by the original scribe; cf. ii. 8, note.

5. In view of the imperfect context we have left this verse as it stands in the papyrus, though the transposition suggested by W-M τὰ δ' ἐμὰ πάθεα θάνατος ἔλαχε may be right. Or possibly θάνατο(ν) ἔλαχε (sc. Procris)· τὰ δ' ἐμὰ πάθεα τίς κ.τ.λ. should be read.

6. For the form of this verse cf. *I. T.* 895-9 τίς ἂν οὖν τάδ' ἂν ἡ θεὸς ἢ βροτὸς ἢ τί τῶν ἀδοκίμων . . . (φαίνοι) κακῶν ἔκλυσιν; and for the substance of this and the following lines *Phoen.* 1498-1501 τίνα δὲ προσφθὸν ἢ τίνα μουσσοπόλον στοναχὰν ἐπὶ δάκρυσιν δάκρυσιν, ὦ δόμος ὦ δόμος, ἀνακαλέσσωμαι; The marginal κίθαρι[ is perhaps more probably κιθάρισμα, as W-M suggests, than κίθαρις as a variant for κιθάρας, but either of these would involve some alteration of μοῦσ' ἀνοδυρομένα in the following line; cf. the next note.

7. επιδακρυσι was originally written, and then altered to επιδακρυσει, επιδακρυσι being added in the margin as a variant. The μ[ following is presumably the initial letter of μοῦσα in some form, and possibly μοῦσαν was substituted for μοῦσ' ἄν-, which could not be constructed with the variant κίθαρις (?) for κιθάρας. ἐπιδακρύσει, however, would neither scan nor construe with any of these readings.

9. πόνοις without a possessive or similar adjective is obscure, but perhaps admissible in consequence of the proximity of ἐμὰ πάθε[a in l. 5. W-M thinks that μοῦσ' in l. 7 conceals an original ἐμούς, but if so the corruption has gone very deep.

The chorus now catches sight of the approaching strangers, whose advance is signalized by the usual anapaests, ll. 10-4.

iv. 10-42. *Chor.* 'O Zeus, Lord of our Nemea's grove, what is the quest of these strangers, marked by the Dorian fashion of their dress, whom I see approaching hard by, on their way towards these halls through the lonely grove?

*Amphiaraus.* How distasteful to a man is travel, and the sight of fields deserted or with lonely habitations when a wayfarer is overtaken by some need, unbefriended, with none to interpret his want, in doubt which way to turn. E'en upon me has this strait come, but with joy I saw yon house in the mead of Zeus in Nemea's land. And thee, strange woman, whether thou art a slave who watchest over the house, or no servile person, thee will I ask, what man is called the lord of this mansion where the sheep are tended in the land of Phlius?

*Hyps.* Lycurgus call men the master of these rich halls, who was chosen from out all Asopia to be the warden of Zeus, the country's god.

*Amph.* I desire to take some running water in our pitchers as a libation to the gods offered by us on our journey. For streams of stagnant water are impure, and they have all been defiled by the army's throng.

*Hyps.* Who are ye, and from what land do ye come?

*Amph.* We are from Mycenae and of Argive race, and on crossing the border into another land we wish to offer sacrifice for the Danaid army; for we have set forth against the gates of Cadmus—if haply the gods may speed us prospering on our way, woman.

*Hyps.* Why are ye marching, if I may learn this of thee?

*Amph.* We would restore Polynices, an exile from his fatherland.

*Hyps.* And who art thou who seekest to take the troubles of others?

*Amph.* I am the seer Amphiaraus, son of Oecles.'

11. τοῦσδ' : this abnormal accent was preferred by some grammarians; cf. Fr. 64. 66 τῇνδε.

12. For πελάτας cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1164 εὐνοία πάσα πελάταν. The scribe apparently began to write a λ in place of the first π of πεπλων.

13. ἐσθῆτι: ἐσθ. Pap., following the analogy of ἐννυμι, &c.; but the *spiritus lenis* (due probably to the following θ) is usual in ἐσθής, &c.

15. The correction of ἐρημιαί to ἐκδημία is due to W-M. ἐκδημία is quoted from the *Hypsipyle* in Bekker, *Antiatt.* p. 93. 26 (Nauck Fr. 768), and ἐρημιαί followed by ἀγροὺς ἐρήμους in l. 17 produces an awkward tautology.

18. ἀποιν' was originally written, and the ι was subsequently converted into ρ and ο written through the mark of elision, the correction being probably by a different hand; an acute accent seems to have been erased over the first ο, ἀπορον . . . ἀπορίαν is intolerable, and some other adjective must be substituted. It also seems likely that the nominative case in this and the next word has been replaced by the accusative, though the latter need not be wrong. ἀπολις, as Murray remarks, would be closer to the text of the papyrus than ἀφιλος; cf. *Hec.* 811 ἀπολις ἔρημος ἀθλιωτάτη βροτῶν. This passage supports Wakefield's correction ἀνερ(μ)ήνευτα in *Ion* 255.

24. The compound μηλοβοσκός is not otherwise attested.

27. αἰρεθείς is a simple correction of ευρεθείς, which is not a natural word here.

28. κληδοῦχος 'priest', as in *I. T.* 131 ὁσίας κληδοῦχου.

29-30. [χ]ρ[ήζοι]μ' ἄν and ὀδίων were suggested by Murray, χεαίμεθα instead of χρησαιμεθα by W-M. The middle χεασθαι is idiomatic (cf. e.g. Soph. *O. C.* 477 χοὰς χεασθαι), whereas χρησαιμεθα is indefensible with [χ]ρήνιβα; perhaps the scribe was influenced by χρήζοιμι in the previous verse. Statius describes the country as suffering from a drought, and it was water for drink not a libation that Hypsipyle was begged to indicate; cf. *Theb.* iv. 754 sqq.

31. στρατων was an easy error with στρατου at the beginning of the next verse.

35. [ε]ρια W-M.

37. ὠρμήμεσθα appears likely here, but the supposed ρμ are extremely doubtful; the vestiges would suit υ or ξ better than ρ. A combination with Fr. 92, though the papyrus is very similar in appearance, does not seem practicable.

38. εἰδη[ ] in the margin at the end of this line is no doubt a variant like those in Col. iv, and we therefore infer that the verse began with εἰ and some other particle than δή, e.g. πως or γάρ. This opening combined with εἰντυχῶς renders the general sense sufficiently clear, and the line may be completed in various ways, of which we print an illustration. To suppose that εἰδη[ ] is the commencement of a line originally omitted and subsequently supplied is inadmissible, for the margin between the columns is not nearly broad enough to contain a verse in a single line, while if the verse were divided into several lines, something of these should be visible below εἰδη.

39. The restoration of the first half of the verse is the suggestion of Bury; but it is quite likely that the letters should be divided ]ς οὐ θέμις . . . ;

41. πημον]ας θηρά[ς λαβεῖν W-M. ὦ [ξέν(ε), ἄλλων πημον]ας θηρά[ς τίς ὦν; would also be suitable. The position of Fr. 3, containing the beginnings of ll. 41-4, is practically assured by the appearance of the papyrus and the appropriateness of its contents.

42. Both here and in Fr. 60. 15 the papyrus has the Homeric and Pindaric form 'Οἰκλῆς, but Οἰκλῆς is preferred by editors of Aeschylus and Euripides. In *Suppl.* 925, the only other passage is Eurip. where the name occurs, LP read Ἰοκλέους.

43. Hypsipyle evidently knew Amphiarus by name; cf. e.g. *Ion* 260-3 (Κρ.) Κρέονσα μὲν μοι τοῦτοίμ', ἐκ δ' Ἐρεχθέως πέφυκα, πατὴρς γῆ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις. ("Ἴω.) ὦ κλεινὸν οἰκοῦσ' ἄστν γενναίων τ' ἄπο τραφεῖσα πατέρων κ.τ.λ.

44. οἰλ[ ]: or οἰχ[ ]?

Fr. 4. The precise position of this fragment is uncertain, but there are two reasons for

placing it above rather than below ll. 1-11 of Col. v: (1) Amphiarus after telling Hypsipyle his name would naturally proceed to ask hers before making any further disclosures, especially when he found that his name was familiar to her (cf. l. 43, note), (2) a dark fibre in the papyrus in front of the lines is noticeable in Fr. 4 and also in the upper part of Col. v, but disappears lower in the column. Since the break along the top of Cols. iv and v is horizontal and the number of lines in a column here is about 60 (cf. introd. p. 20), there is a loss of at least 15 lines between iv. 44 and v. 1.

2. ῥ: or ῥ or ῥ?

3-4. We print a restoration suggested by Bury; the same sense can of course be represented in various other ways.

**Fr. 1. v. 1-11.** *Amph.* 'My wife persuaded me . . .

*Hyps.* With righteous intent or (guilefully)?

*Amph.* She received a necklace . . .

*Hyps.* Whence (was it obtained)?

*Amph.* Famed Cadmus once married Harmonia,—

*Hyps.* He was one of those whose nuptials were attended by gods.

*Amph.* To her Aphrodite gave a lovely necklace.

*Hyps.* The gods to children of gods are ever kind.

*Amph.* Now their son was called Polydorus.

*Hyps.* If he was the son of a goddess, and received gods' gifts, 'twas a fit name.

*Amph.* His son was Labdacus . . .

1-11. The subject of this passage, as was perceived by both W-M and Bury, is clearly the famous necklace of Harmonia with which Polynices bribed Eriphyle, the wife of Amphiarus, to persuade her husband to join the expedition against Thebes; Amphiarus had sworn that Eriphyle should be the arbiter in any question that might arise between himself and Adrastus, and so could not reject Eriphyle's request, although he was aware of her duplicity; cf. Apollod. iii. 6. 2.

1. Only the bottoms of the first two letters remain, and their identity is extremely doubtful; but the vestiges suit γν, and if ὁσία φ[ρονούσα is right in l. 2, Eriphyle must have been the subject of l. 1. Cf. Apollod. iii. 6. 2 Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον λαβοῦσα ἔπεισε τὸν ἄνδρα σπραπεῖν.

3. The line may be completed e.g. ἐδέξ[αθ'] ὄρμον χερσὶ Πολυνείκους πάρα. πόθεν in l. 4 probably indicates that the ὄρμος in particular and not merely δῶρα in general had been mentioned, but it hardly follows that Polynices had also been specified.

5. For the genealogy here following cf. *Phoen.* 5 sqq. Κάδμος . . . ὃς παῖδα γήμας Κύπριδος Ἀρμονίαν ποτὲ Πολύδωρον ἐξέφυσε, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον φῦναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Λαῖον.

6. Restored by W-M. Cf. *Phoen.* 822 Ἀρμονίας δὲ ποτ' εἰς ὑμεναίους ἦλυθον οὐρανίδα.

7. Accounts differ as to who gave the necklace and to whom it was given; according to some Harmonia received it from Cadmus. But that the giver in this line should be divine is necessary from the emphasis on θεοί in l. 8; cf. Schol. *Phoen.* 71 τὸν μὲν ὄρμον Ἀφροδίτη . . . αὐτῇ (sc. Ἀρμονίᾳ) ἐχαρίσατο.

8-10. The restorations were suggested by W-M.

**Fr. 5.** The appearance of the papyrus suggests that this fragment goes closer to l. 12 than to l. 27, and the first line of it may even coincide with l. 12. It is noticeable that on the lower edge of the recto there are two or three half obliterated letters in a small hand, whereas the recto of the rest of Cols. iv-v is blank. But these few letters run in the reverse

direction to the other writing on the recto, and their presence is not a valid reason against placing the fragment in Col. v, which is its most suitable position. Which of the speakers is Amphiarus and which Hypsipyle is not clearly defined.

5. The letter after  $\delta$  is more probably  $\sigma$  than  $\epsilon$ .

Col. v. 27. A comparison with the preceding column indicates a gap of 14 lines after l. 12. If  $\gamma\upsilon$  in l. 28 is  $\gamma\upsilon\iota$  in the vocative the speaker there must be Amphiarus, but that is far from certain.

29. The  $\delta$  in the left margin marks the 400th line of the play; cf. Fr. 25, and introd. p. 20.

**Frs. 6-9.** We regard these fragments as forming part of the stasimon which followed the scene between Hypsipyle and Amphiarus. That Frs. 6-7 and 9 belong to a single column is practically assured by a vertical crease in the papyrus, made, as the writing in the case of the two latter shows, after the recto but before the verso was inscribed. This crease has also served as a rough guide to the number of letters lost at the beginnings of lines in Frs. 6 and 7. The position of the three fragments relatively to each other is quite uncertain, and they may be arranged in any order; but it is likely on account of the difference of subject that Fr. 9 was separated by a considerable gap from the other two. The reference to  $\chi\epsilon\rho\nu\iota\sigma\alpha$  in Fr. 6. 1 affords a slight reason for placing that fragment first; also Frs. 7 and 9 are alike in colour, while that of Fr. 6 is rather different. Fr. 8, containing the beginnings of nine lines from  $[\dots]\lambda\epsilon\iota$  to  $\sigma\phi$ .  $[\dots]$  is shown to belong to the same column by the appearance of the papyrus on both recto and verso (the line of junction between two selides accurately corresponds in Frs. 8 and 9), and its place has been determined on internal evidence, especially ll. 6-7 and 9.

**Fr. 6. 1.**  $\chi\epsilon\rho\nu\iota\psi$  is usually accented, like other words in  $\psi$ , on the penultimate, but the accent  $\chi\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , &c., as in the papyrus, was usual *παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς* according to Suidas s.v.

3. The supposed interlinear  $\nu$  is possibly only a circumflex accent, but the angle seems to be too acute.

**Fr. 7. 4.**  $\delta\rho\sigma\sigma\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$  W-M.  $\delta\rho\sigma\sigma\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$  in Aristoph. *Frogs* 1312 may well be a reminiscence of this passage.

**Frs. 8-9.** The chorus is here tracing the events which led to the expedition against Thebes. According to the well-known story Polynices of Thebes and Tydeus of Calydon, both fugitives from their homes, arrived simultaneously at Argos and began quarrelling in front of the palace of Adrastus about their quarters for the night (*κλισίας π[ε]ρὶ νυκτέρου*, l. 10). Adrastus roused by the noise separated the combatants; and, believing that they represented the lion and the boar which an oracle had foretold as the husbands of his daughters (ll. 13-5 *Φοῖβον δ' ἐν[ο]π[ι]ὰς* . . . *τέκνα θηρῶν* [ $\zeta$ ] *εἰ ξ[α]ίαι*), adopted them as sons-in-law and undertook to restore them each to his country. Cf. *Suppl.* 131 sqq., *Phoen.* 409 sqq., *Apollod.* iii. 6. 1.

2. Pleuron was close to Calydon, the capital of Tydeus.

6-15. 'By night in lairs by the court-yard, exchanging frequent defiances, by oarage of iron and by slaughter they made proof with the spear, fugitives as they were, of the spirit of their noble fathers. And king Adrastus lay in his couch, having received the behests of Phoebus that he should wed his daughters to wild beasts . . .'

6-9. The restoration, which proceeds on the assumption that  $\theta\nu\mu\acute{o}\nu$  in l. 12 is correct (cf. note *ad loc.*), is mainly due to Murray. For l. 6 cf. *Phoen.* 415-6 (*Πο.*)  $\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi\ \eta\gamma\nu$ , 'Ἀδράστου

δ' ἔλθον εἰς παραστάδας. (10.) κοίτας ματεύων . . . ; νυ[ is evidently νύξ in some form, and if φυγας in l. 5 is masculine and not feminine it is probable, as Bury remarks, that l. 6 is a fresh clause and νυ]κτὸς δέ should be restored. At the end of the line either αὐλᾶ or αὐλᾶ[is is possible. In l. 7 W-M suggests ἐριδ' [ἐριδος ἀ]μειβόμενοι, which may be right; but the dative would perhaps be expected rather than the genitive in such a phrase, as e. g. in Aret. p. 71. 30 ἀμείψασθαι τὸ κακὸν κακῶ. In l. 8 σιδ[άρον τ' εἰρ]εσία (Bury and Murray) seems certain, though we can find nothing quite parallel. In l. 9 the letter before ον may be χ. σφαγᾶ is a somewhat strong expression, since nobody was killed or, for anything the story tells us, even hurt; but the imperfect ἐποίουν serves to soften it.

12. θυμον: only very slight vestiges remain of the letters after μ, and the first of them may also be α or ω; θυμωδ[.] could be read, but there is not room for θυμώδ[εις], even if that prosaic word could be admitted here, and δορι θυμωδ[ει] is an improbable combination. A compound adjective δοριθυμ . . . agreeing with φυγάδες would be attractive, but none such is known, nor are there obvious analogies upon which to coin one that would suit the papyrus.

13. ἐν[ο]π[ά]ς[is] was suggested by Murray. Cf. *Phoen.* 409-11 ἔχρησ' Ἀδράστῳ Λοξίας χρησμόν τινα . . . κάπρῳ λέοντί θ' ἀρμόσαι παίδων γάμων, and *El.* 1302 Φοίβου τ' ἄσσοι γλώσσης ἐνοπαί.

15. [ξ]ει[ξ]αι is somewhat too cramped to be quite satisfactory, but is adopted in default of a better reading; ἀρμόσαι is excluded.

16-17. ἀμπετάσας probably refers to some word like 'house' or 'gates' and hence δ[ό]μο[ν] (so Bury; δ[ό]μο[ν] or δ[ό]μο[ν] are alternatives) is a natural restoration. Cf. *Alc.* 597 δόμον ἀμπετάσας, *Phoen.* 297 ἀμπετάσον πύλας.

**Fr. 10.** As explained in introd. p. 25 we regard this and the three following fragments (the relative order of which is quite uncertain) as belonging to a lyrical dialogue between the chorus and Hypsipyle after the latter's return from her disastrous expedition with Amphiarus. Much depends upon the correctness of the decipherment in l. 3 of Fr. 10, where there is a broken letter of the name of the speaker. If the name is, as we believe, Ὑψι]π(ύλη), the view adopted of this fragment seems necessary. The doubtful π may also be a letter with a round top like θ or ο (hardly ρ), but the abbreviation χ]ο(ρός) is unsuitable because something of the χ ought also to be visible. Murray proposed to make Fr. 10 refer to a search for Hypsipyle and Fr. 11. 1-2 represent her cries when captured, while Bury thought that Fr. 10 is a dialogue between the members of the chorus, who caught sight of the struggle with the serpent going on in the distance. But the name of Hypsipyle before l. 3 would of course be inconsistent with either of these interpretations.

2. There is a speck of ink at the edge of the papyrus in front of this line, but the absence of a paragraphus below l. 1 is against referring l. 2 to a different speaker whose name might be given in the margin, as in l. 3.

3. μα[κράν] Murray. There is no paragraphus below εγγυς.

4. If λε]ύσσειν is right, this line projected by a letter further to the left than ll. 3 and 7-8.

5. For ἄλ]ικες cf. *Herc. F.* 513 πανύστατον νῦν, ἡλικες, δεδόρατε, *Phoen.* 1747 πρὸς ἡλικας φάνηθι σάς. Either two or three letters may be lost according as l. 4 or ll. 7-8 are taken as the standard (cf. note on l. 4); γυναι]κες would be too long. At the end of this line some correction has been made; apparently a letter like γ or τ has been crossed through and ο or ρ written above. Whether the next letter, which is rounded like ε, θ, or σ, was also altered cannot be determined; εἶρηκε is unsatisfactory as the remains stand.

6. If  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  is right the  $\gamma$  has been corrected, perhaps from  $\tau$  or because as first written the effect of  $\tau$  was produced; cf. Fr. 1. iv. 2 and Fr. 64. 12, where there has been a confusion of  $\gamma$  and  $\tau$ .

**Fr. 13. 1.** The vestige in the margin may be part of an oblique dash (cf. Fr. 57. 16, Fr. 60. 72, &c.) or represent a letter, e. g.  $\chi[\sigma(\rho\acute{o}\varsigma)]$  as in l. 4 below.

**Frs. 14-7.** These fragments may be connected either with Frs. 6-9 or 10-3. Frs. 14 and 15 were found adhering together, face to face, and the worm-eaten edges follow the same pattern.

**Frs. 18-9.** On the position and interpretation of these two pieces cf. introd. p. 25. They were found with the main group of fragments, but are distinguished from them by the dark colour and semi-decayed condition of the papyrus.

**Fr. 18. 1.** The letters  $\nu\delta$  are very doubtful:  $\kappa\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta$   $\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha\zeta[\ ]$  might be read; cf. *I. T.* 1245-6  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$   $\sigma\kappa\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  (?)  $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$   $\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\nu\alpha$ .

3. A mark like a grave accent has been placed above  $\pi$  as well as the preceding  $\omega$ ; probably the accent intended for the  $\omega$  was first written too far to the right, and then repeated in its proper place. The acute accent on  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega$  seems to have been corrected from a circumflex.

4.  $\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$   $\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$  presumably refers to the  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ , though  $\pi\acute{\eta}\lambda\eta\varsigma$  is not used elsewhere of a serpent's crest. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* v. 510 *auratae crudelis gloria frontis prominet, 572 perque iubas stantis capitisque insigne corusci emicat.*

5. Perhaps  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma'$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\iota}$   $\gamma'$ , as W-M suggests; but the passage is very obscure. The vestige of the letter after  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  is too minute to be recognized.

6. At the left edge of the papyrus opposite this line are two letters, in a smaller but perhaps not different hand, which may be read as  $\lambda\alpha$  or  $\lambda\alpha\lambda$ . They probably belong to a marginal note on the preceding column (cf. Fr. 64. 50-1) rather than to an entry of the *dramatis persona*, since the paragraphus shows that a change of speaker does not occur till the line below. The commencement of the verse is difficult. The letter after the lacuna seems to be either  $\delta$  or  $\alpha$ , and rather the former than the latter.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\tau\alpha]$   $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$  suggests itself, but the compound  $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$  does not occur. On the other hand if the words are divided  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\ ]$   $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$  a satisfactory restoration is not evident; neither  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\theta]$   $\delta\iota\alpha$  (Murray) nor  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu[\tau']$   $\delta\iota\alpha$  seems very likely.  $\pi\alpha\iota[\tau]\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$  is not suitable.

7. The first letter of the line had a tall stroke and was with little doubt either  $\phi$  or  $\psi$ . We suppose the verse to have begun with a hypermetrical  $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$  on account of the difficulty of filling up a foot with the remaining two letters; but there is a rather similar problem in the next line.

8. The vestige supposed to represent the top of the  $\epsilon$  in  $\kappa\epsilon\iota$  and the stop at the end of the word might together be taken as a diaeresis over the  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa\iota[\ ]$ ; but there would then be room only for a very narrow letter, another  $\iota$  or  $\omicron$ , in the lacuna. At the beginning of the line the space is so short that the foot and a half to be supplied there (if  $\sigma\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$  is right) must have consisted mainly of vowels.

9. Some insertion has been made over the line, but its nature is very uncertain. The  $\epsilon$  after  $\phi$  is on a small fragment which broke away when the papyrus was being flattened, and should perhaps be put closer to the  $\rho$ .  $\Delta\mu\phi[\iota\alpha]\rho\epsilon[\omega\varsigma]$  cannot be read.

**Fr. 19.** This fragment is closely connected with Fr. 18 by the appearance of the papyrus. Possibly it joins on above  $\delta\iota\alpha\zeta[\ ]$  in l. 1 of Fr. 18.

**Frs. 20, 21.** On the scene here see introd. p. 24. The position of Fr. 20, which con-

tains the beginnings of ll. 1-4, is probable on internal evidence and confirmed by the correspondence of the fibres of the recto.

1-16. *Hyps.* 'Dear friends, I stand on the razor's edge, (in danger of) shameful treatment; I am full of fear.

*Chor.* Hast thou no word of hope to tell thy friends?

*Hyps.* Flight! if only I had knowledge of these roads!

*Chor.* What then hast thou found that spurs thee to boldness?

*Hyps.* I am fearful of what I shall suffer because of the child's death.

*Chor.* Poor soul, thou hast some acquaintance with such ills!

*Hyps.* Yea, I know them, and I will be on my guard.

*Chor.* Where then wilt thou turn? What city will receive thee?

*Hyps.* My feet and zeal will decide that.

*Chor.* The land is guarded round about by sentinel-posts.

*Hyps.* You are right: let that be; but I go.

*Chor.* Consider, for thou hast friends in us to give thee counsel.

*Hyps.* What if I found some one to conduct me forth from this land?

*Chor.* There is no one who is willing to conduct a slave.'

1.  $\omega$   $\phi$ [ιλτα]ται, suggested by Bury, is suitable in itself but not a very satisfactory reading of the papyrus, as it makes the letters between  $\phi$  and  $\tau$  rather crowded, while on the other hand there is a slight space between the  $\omega$  and the  $\phi$ ;  $\omega$ [.]ρ could be read.  $\omega$   $\phi$ ίλταται γυνάικες occurs in *Orest.* 136;  $\omega$   $\phi$ [ιλτα]ται however may of course stand alone, and the  $\gamma$  here is quite doubtful. At the end of the line ἐπὶ ξυροῦ is only one of many possibilities: cf. *Herc. F.* 630  $\omega$ δ' ἔβητ' ἐπὶ ξυροῦ; Homer *K* 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς, &c.

3. ἴσχουσι seems preferable to ἔχουσι on account of the preceding ἔξειν; but ἔχειν is the usual word, e. g. *Fr.* 64. 76, *Orest.* 1255 φόβος ἔχει με.

5. στε[γ]ῶν τῶνδ', which could be read, is an obvious restoration, but the line is then difficult to complete; there is not room for ἐκ]δρ[αμοῦσα. Bury suggests ἔ]δρ[αν' ὡς τάχος δοκεῖ, but ἔδρανα, though a word used by Euripides as well as Aeschylus and Sophocles, occurs only in lyrics. Hence we adopt the restoration proposed by Murray, which is sufficiently consistent with the papyrus; something of the lost β might have been expected to be visible, but would not necessarily be so.

6. W-M would restore at the end of this line κακῶν, on the analogy of *Androm.* 28 ἀλκήν τιν' εὐρεῖν κάπικούρησιν κακῶν, but ἀλκή in the present passage seems to have a different sense. Hypsipyle has just stated in the previous line what her ἀλκή κακῶν, her defence or resource, was to be, namely flight; and her reply in l. 7 shows clearly that the present question must be, what induced her to contemplate such a bold step. Our proposed restoration attempts to give this meaning. Whether the alteration of the original reading δη ποτ, for which δῆτα γ has apparently been substituted, is by the first hand, is doubtful.

10. So *Med.* 386 τίς με δέξεται πόλις;

11. For the conjunction of πούς and προθυμία cf. *Ion* 1109-10 τίς προθυμία ποδῶν ἔχει σε; and *Phoen.* 1430 προθυμία ποδός.

12-3. φρο[υρίο]σι and [ν]ικᾶ[ς] W-M; for the latter cf. *Suppl.* 946-7 (Θη.) τί δῆτα λύπην ταῖσδε προσθεῖναι θέλεις; (Αδ.) νικᾶς μένεις χρὴ τλημόνως. We had thought of [ε]ἰκα[τ'] ἐὼ δὴ τ(α)ῦτ(ά γ'), on the analogy of *El.* 379 κράτιστον εἰκῇ ταῦτ' εἶν, but this is not so close to the papyrus. In l. 12 ἦδε has been lightly crossed through with ink of the same colour as that of the overwritten εν.

14-6. The restoration of these lines is largely due to Murray. In l. 16 [οὐδείς θελήσει δραπέτας] may be suggested as an alternative supplement.

**Fr. 22.** The speaker of ll. 1-8 is evidently pleading the cause of Hypsipyle, and we assign them to Hypsipyle herself for the reasons given in introd. p. 26.

2. The doubtful  $\beta$  may be  $\theta$ .

7.  $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$  may be some part of the verb  $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$  or  $\delta\iota' \alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu[\acute{\omega}\nu]$ ; for the former cf. *I. T.* 966  $\psi\acute{\eta}\phi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\eta\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon$ , and for the latter (W-M) *Bacch.* 209  $\delta\iota' \alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu \delta' \omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tilde{\xi}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ .

9.  $\epsilon\zeta[\xi\alpha\varsigma]$  Bury;  $]\lambda\omicron[$  or  $]\lambda\omega[$  can also be read, or possibly  $]\alpha\sigma[$  though the first letter is more like  $\lambda$  than  $\alpha$ . There would not be room for  $\epsilon\delta\rho]\alpha\sigma[\alpha\varsigma$ .

11. This was the last line of a column.

**Frs. 23-36.** The relative position of these pieces is mostly indeterminate, though there are grounds in certain cases for connecting two or more of them somewhat closely together; see the notes on the individual fragments.

**Frs. 23-4.** These two fragments are similar in appearance, and may well belong to the same dialogue; if the speakers are, as we conjecture, Eurydice and Hypsipyle, (A), the questioner, would naturally be the former in both pieces.

**Fr. 23.** 3. Perhaps  $\omega \pi\alpha\nu[\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta$  (cf. *Hipp.* 682), if the line is spoken by Eurydice to Hypsipyle; cf. the previous note.

**Fr. 25.**  $\zeta$  in the margin of Col. ii marks, we suppose, the 600th, not the 700th line, the numeration being by the letters of the alphabet, not figures; thus 1000 =  $\kappa$ , not  $\iota$ , 1100 =  $\lambda$ , not  $\alpha$ , and so on; cf. *Fr.* 64. 79, 841. II. 25, VI. 7, and *P. Brit. Mus.* 732. Col. xvi (*Journal of Phil.* xxvi. No. 51, p. 43), where a  $\zeta$  denotes the 600th line of *Iliad* xiii. The same alphabetical system, in which  $\varsigma$  is omitted and  $\zeta = 6$ , is commonly used for the numeration of the books of a work, e.g. Homer and Herodotus. In *P. Grenf.* II. 11. ii. 4 (Pherecydes), where a  $\varsigma$  which is in all probability stichometrical is found, the scribe has confused the alphabetical and numerical systems or employed the latter.

**Frs. 27-9.** *Fr.* 28 was found adhering, face downwards, to the upper right-hand side of *Fr.* 27, and the worm-eaten edges have the same pattern. This indication that the two fragments are to be connected gains some confirmation from the recto, where part of an oblique dash denoting a total occurs on *Fr.* 27, and on *Fr.* 28 there is in the right position the end of a stroke which may be the continuation of the same oblique dash. If so, the gap between them is unlikely to be large, and  $\kappa\alpha\iota \chi[\epsilon\rho]\nu\acute{\iota}\beta[\acute{\omega}\nu \tilde{\epsilon}]\delta\epsilon\iota\xi[a \dots \acute{\rho}\acute{\omicron}\omicron\nu$  or  $\chi[\acute{\epsilon}\rho]\nu\acute{\iota}\beta[\alpha\varsigma] \delta[\epsilon\iota\xi]\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  would be a suitable combination; but we have not succeeded in carrying out the restoration on this basis. That *Fr.* 29 belongs to the same column as *Fr.* 27 is made probable by the presence of a pair of dark fibres in the left margin of both fragments; these fibres are rather closer to the commencement of the lines in *Fr.* 27 than in *Fr.* 29, which suggests that the latter preceded, but this inference is not certain. The speaker apparently is Hypsipyle, who is addressing the queen Eurydice (cf. *Fr.* 27. 2 and 6-7), as in *Fr.* 22, and perhaps *Frs.* 27-9 come from the upper part of the column of which *Fr.* 22 is the bottom; but the writing on them is of a distinctly smaller size than that of *Fr.* 22, so that in any case it is likely that there was an appreciable interval.

**Fr. 27.** 1. Only the bottom of the stichometrical letter in the margin remains, and it may be read as  $\epsilon$ , but  $\epsilon$  does not suit the supposed situation here; cf. the previous note and introd. p. 26.

2. The accent of  $\chi[\epsilon\rho]\nu\acute{\iota}\beta[$  does not prove that the termination was the genitive plural; cf. *Fr.* 6. 1, note.

3. There is not room for  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$  at the beginning of this line, but  $\nu\pi\sigma$  would be just possible; perhaps not more than a single letter is lost in the lacuna between  $\epsilon$  and  $\nu$ . A paragraphus below this or the next line would probably be invisible, the papyrus being much rubbed.

4. A single broad letter would fill the space before  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  (?), but there would be room for e.g.  $\sigma\nu$  or  $\tau\iota$ . Either  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  could well be read in place of  $\iota$  before the final lacuna.

**Fr. 28.** 1.  $]\delta\epsilon\iota\xi[$ : the  $\iota$  may be  $\nu$ , i.e.  $]\delta'\epsilon\iota\xi[$ . For a possible combination with Fr. 27. 2 cf. note above on Frs. 27-9.

3. Only part of the  $\nu$  remains, but there is enough of it, we think, to exclude  $\mu$ .

**Fr. 29.** See note on Frs. 27-9.

**Fr. 32.** The speaker here, evidently, is again Hypsipyle, who is dwelling upon her love for her dead nursling, probably in repudiation of the accusations of Eurydice; cf. Fr. 60. 10. It is clear from the recto that the fragment is not from the same column as Fr. 22 or Fr. 27.

3.  $\nu$  after  $\alpha\nu$  is fairly certain, but beyond this the remains of letters are very slight till  $\iota\alpha\sigma$  is reached; the  $\iota$  may be part of a  $\mu$ , and  $\nu\mu\alpha\sigma$  or  $\iota\mu\alpha\sigma$  could be read.

4. W-M suggests  $\dot{\nu}\pi[ \nu\sigma\nu$ .

7.  $\kappa[ \eta\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\sigma[$ :  $\kappa\eta\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  is used in *Troad.* 893 of the charms of Helen.

9.  $\epsilon[ \pi' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma$ : cf. Fr. 60. 10; perhaps  $\epsilon[ \pi' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{\iota} [ \mu\sigma\nu$ , but the last letter may also be e.g.  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ , or  $\nu$ .

11.  $\chi$  is corrected, apparently from  $\gamma$ .

**Fr. 33.** The speaker and subject of this fragment are both problematical.  $\theta\sigma\alpha[$  in l. 7 naturally suggests  $\Theta\acute{o}\alpha[$ , and perhaps this fragment belongs with Frs. 34-5 to a scene in which the sons of Hypsipyle again figured; cf. introd. p. 29.

1. The supposed grave accent on  $\omega$  is very doubtful; a circumflex or breathing, or an interlinear letter, is equally possible.

**Frs. 34-5.** The suggested combination of these two fragments is made probable by its suitability in ll. 5-6, and some confirmatory evidence is supplied by the recto. But the situation remains very doubtful, and we abstain from attempts at reconstruction. That Eurydice is one of the characters concerned is probable (cf. l. 2  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma[ \pi\sigma\iota\nu\alpha$ ), and W-M thinks that she is confronted by Euneos and Thoas, but we are not convinced that the periphrasis used in speaking of Hypsipyle in l. 5 really involves this; cf. introd. p. 29, and the notes below. The number of letters to be supplied at the beginnings of the lines is uncertain; they are estimated on the hypothesis that six are lost in ll. 4-6, but though there can hardly have been less, there may have been more. The worm-eaten pattern of Fr. 35 is identical with that of Frs. 14-5.

3. Bury suggests  $[\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon} \mu] \sigma\iota \kappa\lambda\eta\theta\rho' \acute{\omega}\varsigma [ \acute{\alpha}\nu \epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\lambda] \theta\sigma\upsilon\sigma' \acute{\epsilon}[\sigma\omega$ , supposing the speaker to be Eurydice who had been away from the palace, and had now just returned. He thinks that the absence of the queen as well as the king when Amphiaraus arrived would be an advantage to the plot as helping to excuse Hypsipyle, who thus could not ask leave to grant his request. But the data seem scarcely sufficient to substantiate this view. The vestige before  $\sigma\upsilon\sigma$  suits a  $\theta$  only moderately well, and the proposed restoration of the preceding lacuna is somewhat overlong.

4. Perhaps  $\phi\rho\sigma\nu[ \tau\iota\delta\alpha[$ ; the letter before  $\iota$  (which is almost certain) may be  $\gamma$ . Bury suggests  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho[ \omega\mu\alpha\iota . . . [ \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\acute{\upsilon}[ \tau\iota\delta\alpha$ , but  $\delta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu \pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$  is not a very suitable phrase in referring to Hypsipyle.

5-6.  $\acute{\eta} \tau\rho\phi[ \acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  W-M, Murray. We had proposed to read  $\acute{\eta} \tau\rho\phi[ \acute{\alpha}\varsigma \tau\acute{\epsilon}[ \kappa\nu\sigma\nu . . . \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ ,



**Fr. 60. 5-62.** *Hyps.* ' . . . So seemest thou to indulge blind rage without staying to learn truly the events' course. Art thou silent, and answerest none of my complaints? For of the child's death I am indeed the cause, but of killing him I am not justly accused,—my nursling, whom I fed in my arms, and who to my love was as my own child in all save that I bare him not, my great comfort! O prow of Argo, and the sea's white foam! O my children, I perish miserably! O seer, son of Oecles, death is upon me! Help me, come, suffer me not to die on a shameful charge; since for thy sake I am lost! Come, for thou knowest my case, and wouldst be received by this woman as the surest witness of my mishap.—Let us go, since I see no friend at hand to save me. Vain then was my compunction!

*Amph.* Stay, thou who art sending this woman to be slain, O queen of the palace; for from thy comeliness to my view I attribute to thee noble birth.

*Hyps.* O, by thy knees, Amphiaras, from the ground I supplicate thee, by thy beard, by Apollo's sacred art, save me, for thou art come at the very moment in my extremity, and 'tis for thy sake that I perish. I am at the point of death, and in bonds thou seest me at thy knees who then went with the strangers. So thou, a holy man, wilt do a holy deed; but if thou desertest me thou wilt be a reproach to the Argives, yea, to the Hellene race. O thou who by the altar's sacred flame dost foresee the fortunes of the Danai, tell this woman of the child's disaster, for thou wert by and knowest. She says that of set purpose I killed her son and plotted against her house.

*Amph.* With knowledge am I come, having suspected the fate which the child's end would bring upon thee; and I am here to aid thine evil case, armed not with might, but right. For it were shame to know well how to receive benefits from thee, and having received them, how to do nought in return. First then, stranger lady, show thy face; for the discreetness of my eye is much noised abroad among the Hellenes, and it is my nature, lady, to restrain myself and to discern qualities. Next listen and relax this hastiness. In all else error needs must be, but error against the life of a man or woman is a foul thing.

*Euryd.* Stranger, native of the neighbouring land by Argos, I have learned of all men of thy discretion, else hadst thou never stood by and looked upon this face. And now if thou desirest, I am willing to listen and to instruct thee; for thou art not unworthy.

*Amph.* Lady, I would soften thy bitterness at this poor creature's injury, not so much out of regard for her as for justice; and I am shamed before Phoebus whose art I practise by sacrificial fire if I speak any falsehood. 'Twas I who persuaded this woman to show a spring of water running with a pure stream that therefrom I might take an offering for the army in crossing the bounds of Argos . . .

4 sqq. Hypsipyle on her way to death is making a last effort to move Eurydice; cf. introd. p. 26.

5. δοκ[ε]ῖς σύ: or δοκ[ε]ῖ σοι, and the sentence is perhaps interrogative. For χαρίζεσθαι cf. Nauck Fr. 31 from the *Acolus* ὀργή γὰρ ὅστις εὐθέως χαρίζεται.

11. (γ): δ' Pap., but δέ as W-M remarks, is superfluous; τὰλλ' ὅπως, which he suggests, is a rather larger alteration.

12. Murray's ἔφερβον for ἔφερον seems the best remedy for this defective line. The mistake would be a very easy one especially after ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις (cf. *Or.* 464 παῖδ' ἀγκάλαισι περιφέρων), and ἔφερβον can be supported by *Cycl.* 142 ὃν ἐξέθρεψα ταῖσδ' ἐγὼ ποτ' ἀγκάλαις. W-M suggests ἔφερον (ἐπ)ωφέλημ. Cf. for the language here Fr. 32, and for ὠφέλημ Statius, *Theb.* v. 608 sqq. *O mihi desertae natorum dulcis imago, Archemore, o rerum et patriae solamen ademptae servitiiq[ue] decus.*

13. λευκαίνειν is transitive elsewhere in Euripides; cf. Nicander, *Al.* 170 ἀφροῖο νήν κλύδα λευκαίνουσαν.

14. The dot which is placed directly over  $\sigma$  of παιδεσ was perhaps intended to cancel that superfluous letter, but it may be a carelessly written stop.

16. ἀρηξο[ν, ἐ]λθέ: so *Herc. F.* 494.

19. σαφέστατ(ο)ν: cf. *Hipp.* 972 μάρτυρος σαφεστάτου. σαφέστατ' ἄν would not yield the required sense.

20. ἄγετε is addressed by Hypsipyle to her guards.

21. On the significance of the words κενὰ δ' [ἐ]πηδέσθην ἄρα see introd. p. 25. It was suggested by Murray that ἐπηδέσθην might possibly be here used in a passive sense, 'I was revered,' i. e. spared, in which case Hypsipyle would mean that she might as well have been slain at once; but there seems to be no parallel for such a use.

22. ο of πεμπουσα has been corrected apparently from ε, and probably πεμπεισ was first written. The left margin is broken away close to the beginnings of the lines throughout this column, and the entries of the speakers' names, if they occurred, are lost.

23. εὐτρεπες was first written, the ι being a later insertion though possibly by the original scribe. τῷ εὐτρεπεῖ is instrumental and there is no need for an alteration like ἐγὼ γὰρ εὐτρεπῇ. The sentence was begun as if ἐλευθέραν τὴν φύσιν εἶναι εἰκάζω, or something of the sort, was to follow.

25. σε . . . ἰκέτις πίτνω = σε ἰκετεύω, the abnormal construction being assisted by the familiarity of the formula πρὸς σε γονάτων, &c., which is sometimes used with an entire ellipse of a verb. Cf. for this appeal e. g. *Andr.* 572 sqq. ἀλλ' ἀντιάζω σ', ὦ γέρον, τῶν σὼν πάρος πίτνουσα γονάτων—χειρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι τῆς σῆς λαβέσθαι φιλτάτης γενειάδος—ῥῦσαί με πρὸς θεῶν.

29. Since the second sentence expands the first and does not stand in any sort of opposition to it, τε is more appropriate than δέ. Perhaps the particles should be transposed, μέλλω δέ . . . δεσμίαν τε.

30. θ of τοθ is corrected from τ. The mistaken ν in ξενους has not been crossed out.

31-2. Some or even all of the corrections may be in another hand; the η above οἱ in l. 32 looks as if it had been enlarged after it was first inserted.

35. [οἶσ]θα (Murray) is more likely than [ῆσ]θα.

43. Eurydice had veiled herself on the sudden intrusion of a strange man. Cf. the words of the τροφός of Hermione in *Andr.* 876 ἀλλ' εἴσωθ' εἴσω μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων πάροιθε τῶνδε, μή τιν' αἰσχύνῃ λάβης πρόσθεν μελάρων τῶνδ' ὀραμένη, τέκνον. It is also to be remembered that Eurydice's husband was absent from the palace. A more subtle interpretation of her attitude has been proposed by Murray, who thinks that shame at being surprised by a good man in an act of blind vindictiveness led to an outburst of tears. There is, however, no real hint of this in the Greek, and ll. 51-2 are hardly consistent with it. For the turn of the verse cf. *Heracl.* 942 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι δεῦρ' ἐπίστρεψον κύρα.

44-5. There seems to be no similar instance of this use of διήκειν, which inverts the ordinary construction, e. g. *Soph. O. C.* 305-6 πολὺ γάρ, ὦ γέρον, τὸ σὸν ὄνομα διήκει πάντας. But the locution may be defended on the analogy of διέναι, διέρχεσθαι, &c., and there is no need to suspect a corruption. κ of και has been corrected; the scribe apparently began to write σ.

46. κοσμεῖν = 'regulate,' 'restrain,' as in *Andr.* 956 χρεῶν κοσμεῖν γυναῖκας τὰς γυναικείας νόσους. By τὰ διαφέρονθ' ὁρᾶν Amphiarus apparently means that he regarded essential qualities, not allowing himself to be distracted by vanities.

47. Perhaps the interlinear δ as well as the ε and σ is by a later hand.

49. Cf. *Alc.* 301 ψυχῆς γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι τιμώτερον.

52. Sense and metre both demand the insertion of ἄν after ὅμμα.

53. βουλει here Pap., but -η is the regular form elsewhere.

60. The circumflex accent on εγῶ, influenced apparently by the prodelision, is curious; but the accentuation is not seldom at fault; cf. *Fr.* I. i. 4, iv. 11. κρηναῖον γάνος occurs in *Aesch. Pers.* 483.

61. [ὅπως λάβω Murray.

62. What was originally written in place of Ἀργεῖον ὥς is obscure; perhaps the α of προθυμα was also deleted. The mark above ω of ὥς was presumably intended as a rough breathing but it consists of a single horizontal stroke. διεκπερῶν, followed by some such word as ὄρισμα, W-M.

67. In the initial lacuna W-M suggests χῶ, which might be written και ο, Bury ἵανε.

68. μεν[ : or μει[, in which case με[ν probably followed παῖς in the preceding line. ]as αμειψ[ could be read.

71-2. Bury suggests ἄσ[ημος and in the next verse οἱ[ματωπὸν ὄμμασιν βλέπων, comparing Nauck Fr. 870 δράκοντος αἵματωπὸν ὄμμα, which is quoted from Euripides in Anecd. Bekk. p. 362, and has been referred to this play by Hartung, *Eurip. Rest.* ii. p. 436. The subject of ἡκόντις is evidently δράκων; Bury compares ἀκοντίας, the name of a kind of serpent. The breathings in l. 72 are both not quite certain.

77. We adopt the restoration proposed by Bury; the line of course easily admits of several variations, e.g. μυρίων πόνων οἱ κακῶν οἱ πολυπόνου μοῖρας, but the sense is evident.

80. ὄρνιθα = 'omen', as e.g. in *I. A.* 988 ὄρνις γένοιτ' ἂν . . . θανούσ' ἐμὴ παῖς.

81. The letters after μη are represented by exiguous vestiges and are all very doubtful. Above the second of them there is a faint vertical mark which may represent an inserted iota; that it is the top of a φ or ψ is not probable.

82. ἀλλ' οὐχ[ or ἄλλου χ[.

84. Κάδμου; sc. πόλ(ις) or some equivalent expression.

85. Probably κυρήσ[as agreeing with Ἀδραστος.

86. ἰξεται[, as Murray suggests, seems to be a crasis of ἴξεται ἄρα. Our restorations in this and the next two lines only attempt to give the sense.

89-96 = Nauck Fr. 757. 1-8. Lines 89-92 and 95 end-96 are quoted by Clement Alex. *Strom.* iv. p. 587, ll. 89-96, by Plutarch, *Mor.* p. 110 F, and Stobaeus (who gives the name of the play), *Flor.* 108. 11, ll. 94-5 μή, by Marcus Antoninus 7. 40, and l. 94 again at 11. 6. Lines 90-4 are translated by Cicero, *Tusc.* 3. 25. 59.

89. δ' αὖ : γούν Clem.; δ' αὖ is clearly right.

90. οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν : οὐκ αἰεὶ πονεῖ Stob. οὐ νοσεῖ βρ. is conjectured by F. G. Schmidt, *Krii. Stud.* ii. p. 487, on the ground that Cicero has *quem non attingit dolor*.

91. There is considerable variation in this line in the authorities; Stob. has θάπτει . . . καὶ ἔτερα κτᾶσθαι πάλιν, Plutarch θάπτει . . . χᾶτερ' αὖ κτᾶται νέα, Clement θάπτει καὶ ἔτερα σπείρει νέα. We follow Nauck's text.

92. αυτοι in the papyrus is a slip for αὐτός as read by Plut. and Clem. αὐτοὺς θνήσκειν Stob., who also has κατὰ δ' (= κατὰ δ' ?) for καὶ τὰδ'.

93. [γῆν ἀναγκαίως δ' : τῆνδ' ἀναγκαίως Plut. and Stob., corrected by Grotius from Cicero's translation *reddenda terrae est terra*.

94-5. βίω M. Ant. 11. 6, and τὸ . . . τό for τὸν . . . τόν 7. 40.

96. στένειν . . . διεκπερῶν : στέγειν . . . δεῖ δ' ἐκπερῶν Clem.

After this line Plut. and Clem. give another, which Nauck edits as δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς (οὐθέν γὰρ δεινόν Plut., οὐ δεινὸν οὐδὲν Clem.), and it is quite possible that there has been an omission in the papyrus; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8 and Fr. 64. 57. On the other hand the verse is not added here by Stobaeus, who quotes it (in the form οὐκ αἰσχροὺς οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ.) as Εὐριπίδου simply, without the name of the play, in another place, *Flor.* 29. 56. Stobaeus' testimony, therefore, tends to corroborate the papyrus, and as the line is easily spared we do not insert it.

97. The letter before the lacuna seems to be ο rather than ε, i.e. Ἀργο[us or Ἀργόθεν. Something like Ἀργό[us ἐξάγουσι πρόσφορα | θάψαι δὲς ἡμῶν κού κενόν τι πράξομεν seems indicated.

99-101. Cf. Statius, *Theb.* v. 536-7 *ut inde sacer per saecula Grais gentibus et tanto dignus morerere sepulcro*, and 741 *mansuris donandus honoribus infans*.

102-3. Cf. the words of the scholiast on Clement quoted in introd. p. 22 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Νεμεακὸν ἄγωνα συνεστήσατο, and Schol. Pindar, *Nem.* arg. 4 ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἐκ χλωρῶν πλέκεται σελίνων.

106. The line may be completed e.g. Ἀρχεμόρου τεθνηκός, as Bury suggests.

111. εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν Murray.

112. Murray proposes τ[ίμιον προσκείσεται. τ[ίμιον is also suggested here by Bury.

113. ἡ after ησσον is naturally interpreted as ἦ; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 19 and 22, where ἦ is written in the same way. But μὴν[ is obscure.

114-7 = Nauck Fr. 759, quoted from the *Hypsipyle* in Orion, *Flor.* 7. 5, p. 51, 10; l. 114 also appears, without statement of the source, in *Flor. Monac.* 100.

114. φύσεις: so correctly *Flor. Monac.*; χρήσεις Orion.

117. οὐδέ: οὐδέν Orion, corr. Schneidewin. Wecklein, *Rhein. Mus.* xxxiii. p. 121 proposes to read λόγον in place of χρεῶν.

**Frs. 61-3.** These fragments, as W-M suggests, may be assigned with probability to the columns intervening between Fr. 60. ii and Fr. 64. i; the allusions to Hypsipyle's sons in Fr. 61. 4-6, to Lemnos in Fr. 62. 3, and to Amphiarus in Fr. 63. 6 suit that position. But though all three give ends of lines they appear to come from different columns. Fr. 63 is distinguished by a *selis* rather to the right of the centre; and the other two are quite dissimilar, Fr. 61 being light-coloured and well preserved, whereas Fr. 62 is dark and rubbed. It is likely enough that some of the other pieces among Frs. 65-73 also belong to this part of the play, but in the absence of definite indications we do not attempt to assign their position.

**Fr. 61.** Hypsipyle is the speaker in part of this fragment at any rate, perhaps throughout. In l. 6 she is probably expressing her ignorance whether her sons survive or not, and ll. 8 and 12 contain allusions to her servitude. A reference to the strange young men precedes in l. 4; W-M may well be right in thinking that Hypsipyle is addressing one of the latter, and asking him to obtain her liberty. If so the fragment would be preliminary to their recognition.

2. ἀξήλω κα[κῶ W-M; ο[ῦ]ρια ζήλω κα[κά (Murray) seems more difficult. ἀλ]λό[τ]ρια ζήλω κα[κά is objectionable owing to the neglect of caesura: perhaps ἀ ζήλω.

4. ἔ]χοις: or possibly [δ]χοις: cf. Fr. 33. 8, where ]οχη[ might be ὄχη[μα.

5. μ of ομου is corrected from λ, probably by a later hand. The words may also be divided ὁ μ' οὐ παρόνθ' ὁμ[ως (?) as Murray suggests, which would imply a masculine speaker for this line.

15. Apparently not ἡνίκα.

**Fr. 62. 2.** The υ above the line seems to have been inserted by the first hand, and was perhaps deleted by the second.

5. The short υ in κωλύει, if the reading is right, is remarkable. The υ is similarly scanned e.g. in Aristophanes' *Knights* 723, 972, but is long elsewhere in tragedy wherever the quantity is determinable, *Ion* 391, *Phoen.* 990. Murray notes the parallel of μηνίων in *Rhes.* 494.

7. τινός: or τίνος; the fragment may be stichomuthic.

**Fr. 63.** The speaker is probably Hypsipyle, who after her rescue by Amphiarus seems in ll. 5-8 to be asking for further assistance; cf. note on ll. 7-8.

3. An acute accent on εστιν has been substituted for a barytone; cf. 841. VI. 88.

4. υ of ουσ was originally omitted.

7-8. W-M proposes αὐθις ὥσπερὶ νεὼς ζ[άλη πλαγκτῆς κυβερνήτην σε] λα[μ]βάνω [σοφόν as representing the sense of these two verses; ζ[άλη however could not be read, though σ[άλη would suit.

Fr. 64. i. ἀναγνώρισις between Hypsipyle and her sons; cf. introd. p. 26. It is tempting to place Fr. 70 at the top of this column. The recto is blank save for the tip of an oblique dash, and in the margin of Fr. 64. i recto there are two incomplete oblique dashes, to one of which the tip in Fr. 70 might well belong. On the other hand the strongly marked fibres of the papyrus do not correspond in the two pieces as they should do, and the combination cannot therefore be regarded as satisfactory.

50-1. These explanatory glosses are in a small hand resembling that of the text, though perhaps distinct from it. The words Ἡδωνίσι and Πάγγαιον of course occurred in the text.

57. κάρ(ω) refers to an entry in the (lost) margin below, replacing a deletion (apparently) in the text; cf. Fr. 1. ii. 8. κάρ(ω) has been written twice, perhaps through mere inadvertence, or possibly the corrector thought that the word was placed too near the end of the verse, and so rubbed it out and rewrote it further off.

58-106. *Hyps.* '... (the wheel of the god) ... me and my children has run back again along a single road, rolling us now towards terror, now delight; and at last he has shone forth serene.

*Amph.* This is the guerdon, lady, that thou receivest from me; since thou wert zealous towards my entreaty, I in my turn have shown my zeal towards thy sons. God keep thee now, and keep ye this your mother, and fare ye well; while we will go on with our army to Thebes, even as we have set forth to do.

*The sons of Hyps.* Blessings on thee, friend, for thou dost merit them; yea, blessings on thee. Hapless mother, how insatiate of thy woes was one among the gods!

*Hyps.* Ah, if thou shouldst learn of my banishment, my son, my banishment from sea-washed Lemnos, because I cut not off the grey head of my father!

*Eun.* Can they have ordered thee to slay thy father?

*Hyps.* I am full of terror at those bygone woes. Oh, my son, like Gorgons they slaughtered their husbands in their beds.

*Eun.* And thou, how didst thou steal away from death?

*Hyps.* I reached the resounding shore and the sea-wave where the birds make their lonely nests.

*Eun.* And how camest thou thence, what convoy brought thee hither?

*Hyps.* Sailors carried me by ship to Nauplia's haven, the place of travellers' passage, and brought me to servitude here, my son, a sorry merchandise of Danaid maidens.

*Eun.* Alas for thy woes!

*Hyps.* Lament not in our good fortune. But how wert thou and thy brother here brought up, and by whose hand, O my son? Tell me, tell thy mother.

*Eun.* The Argo brought me and him to the city of Iolcus.

*Hyps.* Yea, the nursling of my breast!

*Eun.* But when my father Jason died, mother,—

*Hyps.* Alas! thou speakest of my afflictions, my son, and bringest the tears to my eyes.

*Eun.* — Then Orpheus brought him and me to the land of Thrace.

*Hyps.* What kindness was he doing to thy hapless father? Tell me, my son.

*Eun.* He taught me the music of the Asian lyre, and my brother he schooled in Ares' art of arms.

*Hyps.* And by what way went ye over the Aegean to the shore of Lemnos?

*Eun.* Thy father Thoas conveyed thy two children.

*Hyps.* Is he then safe?

*Eun.* Yea, by the contrivance of Bacchus.'

58-62. *ἐμέ* evidently preceded, and the subject of the sentence is *δαίμων* or *Βάκχος* or some equivalent expression. *χρόνῳ* . . . *εὐάμερος* is a regular dochmiac dimeter, and ll. 58-60 as they stand in the papyrus may also be regarded as resolved dochmiacs, but it is perhaps better, as W-M suggests, to regard those verses as iambic on account of *ἐλίξας*. In either case *τε* is best omitted. For the metaphor of *ἐτρόχασεν* cf. e.g. Soph. Fr. 787 *πότμος ἐν πυκνῷ θεοῦ τροχῷ κυκλεῖται*.

64. *ἡντόμην* is a somewhat strong expression, but we can find no more suitable correction for the meaningless *ἦν τότε* of the papyrus, and it is well to suppose that Hypsipyle was not easily persuaded.

65. A slightly curved stroke in which we can see no meaning stands above *ε* of *παῖδε*; it might be meant for an iota.

66. The line as left by the first hand though grammatically correct will not scan, since it gives a short final vowel before *σφ*. To omit *τέκνα* and bring in *τήνδε* (accented *τῆνδε*, cf. Fr. i. vi. 11), which was inserted at a different time and probably by a different hand, is an easy remedy, but the construction then becomes more difficult, since a transitive *σφῆτε* or *σφῆσθε* has to be supplied out of the passive *σφίζου*.

69-71. The marginal annotation assigns these lines to both sons, which implies a fourth actor; cf. introd. p. 30. Perhaps one of them spoke l. 69, the other ll. 70-1; this adds point to the repeated *εὐδαιμονοίης* (cf. however, Soph. *El.* 1163-4 *ὥς μ' ἀπώλεσας ἀπώλεσας δῆτ', Orest.* 219 *λαβοῦ, λαβοῦ δῆτ'*). W-M reminds us of the parallel in *Med.* 1271 sqq., where the MSS. prefix to l. 1271 *παῖς*, to 1272 *ἕτερος παῖς*, and to 1277-8 *παῖδες* or *οἱ δύο παῖδες*. The stop in l. 70 should have been placed after *δητα* instead of before it.

72-3. *τ* which follows *φυγας* in the papyrus might be regarded as an error for *γ'* (cf. Fr. 60. 12), but is better omitted altogether. The metre of these two verses is iambic monometer, dochmiac monometer, dochmiac dimeter.

74. The deleted *ν*, which was written by the first hand over *ν* of *εμον*, implies the division *οὐκέτ' ἐμοῦ*, though if the words were so understood *ὅτι* ought also to have been altered to *ὅτε*. The transposition of *πολίον* is suggested by W-M in order to produce a dochmiac dimeter.

75 sqq. Since Euneos is the speaker in l. 101 (cf. introd. p. 28), it is best to regard him as sustaining the whole of this conversation.

77. The correction of *τέκνα* to *τεκνον*, proposed by W-M, is probable since one son is addressed throughout this passage; cf. ll. 73, 86, 91, &c. An anapaestic dimeter is here interposed between a dochmiac dim. and a dochmiac monom. For *οἶά τε* cf. Fr. i. ii. 18. *Γοργάδες* in the sense of *Γοργόνες* is quoted in Phot. Lex. *πλόκιον Γοργάδος τὸν δοθέντα πλόκαμον τῆς Γοργόνης Ἀστερόπῃ τῇ Κηφέως*; cf. Lycophr. 1349 *ἡ παλὶμφρων Γοργάς*, which is explained by some scholl. as meaning *Hera ἡ ἐμποιοῦσα φόβον παρὰ τὴν γοργότητα*. The word *Γοργάδων* is glossed by Hesychius, who cites it (i p. 851) from Sophocles' *Daedalus*, as *αἰλιάδων*; cf. *ibid.* *Γοργίδες αἱ Ὠκεανίδες*, Zon. Lex. p. 448 *γοργάδες αἱ δέσποναι*.

79. On the marginal  $\pi = 1$ . 1600 cf. Fr. 25, note.

80-82. *ορνειων* (*sic*) Pap., but *ὄρνειον* though a good word does not occur elsewhere in tragedy and W-M's correction *ὀρνίθων* is also metrically preferable. Transposing *ικόμαν* to l. 81 we then get here an iambic dimeter, an anapaestic dimeter, and a dochmiac with irrational penultimate. The papyrus shows both the old Attic (properispome) and the later accentuation of *ερημος*. For *ὀρνίθων* . . . *κοῖταν* cf. a fragment from the *Polyidus* (Nauck 636. 5) *ὁ κύματ' οἴκων ὄρνις, οἶδμα θαλάσσιον* occurred in the *Bellerophon* (Nauck 301. 2)

84-6 = spond. dip., dactyl. tetrap., 2 dactylo-epitrit. dims., with catalexis in the second.

87. We adopt W-M's conjecture ἐνθάδε Δαναίδων, which produces a dochmiac dimeter, for the unintelligible ἐνθαδῇ (another δη deleted) ναίων. Murray suggests ἐνθάδ' ἢ ναίω, which is closer to the papyrus but makes the construction of μέλεον ἐμπολάν more difficult, besides being less satisfactory metrically. The ο of μέλεον is more like ω, and perhaps μέλεων was written owing to confusion with ναίων.

89-92. Dactylo-epitrit. dim. (προσοδιακόν), dactyl. tetrap., 2 cretic dims. (apparently). οτε δ was written for οδε τ: cf. Fr. 60. 29, note; the partial correction is by the first hand.

93. We substitute ἐς Ἰωλκόν for εἰς Κόλχων, the incongruity of which had already struck us and was further emphasized by Dr. Mahaffy. According to Ovid, *Heroid.* 6. 56, Jason stayed two years at Lemnos, but his children were not yet born when he sailed for Colchis; at any rate it is improbable that he could have wished to take two infants on that dangerous expedition; moreover there would be a strange hiatus in Euneos' story if he said nothing of going to Thessaly. Euripides apparently imagined Jason as calling again at Lemnos on his return from Colchis (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4. 251), and on finding Hypsipyle gone—she had in the meantime been banished—his natural course would be to carry his young children away with him to his own home; according to Statius, *Theb.* v. 467, Hypsipyle on going into exile left them in the charge of a person named Lycaste, who is unknown from other sources. Cf. Apollon. Rhod. i. 904-6 (Jason to Hypsipyle) εἰ δ' οὐ μοι πέπρωται ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι τηλοῦ ἀναπλώοντι, σὺ δ' ἄρσενα παῖδα τέκναι, πέμπε μιν ἤβησαντα Πελασγίδος ἔνδον Ἰωλκοῦ. W-M however, in spite of the foregoing considerations, would retain εἰς Κόλχων on the ground that this is required by Hypsipyle's interjection in the next line, ἀπομαστίδιον κ.τ.λ.

The interlinear ε is written through a mark of elision.

94 = Anapaestic monom. (equivalent to dochmiac) + catalectic dochmiac.

95. The letters οσ of εμοσ are converted from an ω.

96-7. κακά for κακων Murray, restoring the dochmiac trimeter.

98. For Orpheus cf. note on Fr. 1. iii. 8-10.

99-100 = Resolved dochmiac + iambic trim. For χάριν . . . τιθέμενος cf. *El.* 61 χάριτα τιθεμένη πόσει.

101. This verse which shows that Euneos is the speaker alludes to the Attic clan of Εὐνεΐδαι: cf. introd. p. 28. The first hand perhaps wrote μακαριστας, but the vestige of the letter after μ is too slight to show whether it was corrected.

102. Ἀρεως ὄπλα . . . μάχης: ὄπλα-μάχης coalesces into a single term, being practically equivalent, as W-M remarks, to ὄπλομαχίαν. Cf. *Phoen.* 307-9 βοστρύχον τε κνανόχρωτα χαίτας-πλόκαμον, *Soph. Ant.* 795 βλεφάρων-ἡμερος εὐλέκτρον νύμφας, &c. The letters εσ, though broken, are practically certain.

103-4 = Dochmiac trim., the first member catalectic, the third with an irrational first syllable.

105. The papyrus has δυοιν τέκνω, which is obviously wrong. W-M believes that there is a serious corruption, first on account of the form τέκνω, and secondly because the words would naturally mean 'his children' not 'your children'. But although dual neuters in -ω are certainly rare, they do occasionally occur, e. g. *I. T.* 487 δύ' ἐξ ἐνός κακῶ, *Phoen.* 582 δύο κακῶ, Aristoph. *Birds* 1464 πτερώ, *Lysistr.* 291 τῷ ξύλῳ, Xen. *Cyr.* v. 4. 51 τῷ δὲ δύο φρουρίῳ; and though the expression is not clear, no doubt could arise concerning the intended meaning. It would be easy to complete the line differently, e. g. τῷ παῖδέ σου, or ἐκέισε νῶ, but not easy to account for the corruption. We therefore leave the text as nearly as possible in the form in which it stands, while quite admitting its questionable authenticity. Murray ingeniously proposes δύ' οἱ τέκνω, which no doubt might readily produce δυοιν τέκνω; but the collocation does not seem quite satisfactory.

106. Βα[κ]χ[ι]ν suits the space better than Βα[κ]χ[ί]αις, and, as Murray remarks, is more

probable in itself in view of the extremely common use in Euripides of Βάκχιος = Βάκχος. In Statius, *Theb.* v. 283-4, Dionysus in aiding Thoas to escape from Lemnos promises to watch over his fortunes: *tu lato patrem committe profundo. Succedam curis.*

107. Perhaps π[όνων, but μετα]βο[λαί (cf. Nauck Fr. inc. 864 μεταβολὰς γὰρ πόνων ἀεὶ φιλῶ) is excluded by the accent on ο.

109. παῖδας ἦ: for the circumflex on η cf. Fr. 1. ii. 17; παῖδα σῆ is less likely.

111. Possibly βροτοῖσι δό[ντος, as Murray suggests: but the sense of the passage remains too obscure for a restoration.

152. On this appearance of Dionysus and the purport of his speech cf. introd. p. 28.

Fr. 65. στρατεῖ in l. 4 and θύειν in l. 9 are doubtless references to the Argive army (cf. Frs. 1. iv. 36 and 60. 62), and the speaker is perhaps Amphiarauus, in which case the fragment should probably be placed with Frs. 61-3 in the gap between Frs. 60 and 64.

Fr. 67. The rubbed papyrus is very similar in appearance to the bottom of Fr. 1. iii; it is quite likely to be lyrical, but does not seem to join on there directly.

Frs. 68-9. Fr. 68 cannot be placed in Col. i of Fr. 64, nor is it at all likely that Fr. 69 belongs there.

Fr. 70. Possibly this fragment belongs to the top of Fr. 64. i; cf. note *ad loc.* It does not come from the same column as Fr. 77.

2. ἦ τύχαις: οἱ πτυχαῖς.

5. This may be a lyric verse.

Fr. 71. Since the recto contains beginnings of lines, this fragment does not belong to Fr. 1. v, where the recto is blank.

Fr. 72. This piece approximates in condition to Frs. 18-9, but not closely enough to be definitely grouped with them.

Fr. 73. 4. ἦν (not ἦν) is inserted above the line apparently as a variant on εἰ: in the absence of the context it is of course impossible to give either the preference.

Fr. 76. 3. The insertion above the line is puzzling: the two sigmas are clear, and at a short distance from them is a vestige of what seems to be another letter.

Fr. 77. 4. The slight vestige of the first letter would suit χ.

Fr. 79. This fragment looks as if it belonged to Fr. 1. ii, but we cannot find a place for it there.

Fr. 86. 3. A vestige on the edge of the papyrus above the top of the θ may represent a breathing or belong to another inserted letter.

Fr. 90. 4. This is probably the last line of a column.

Fr. 96. 4. The supposed ε has been corrected apparently from υ; but perhaps the first letter is α and the υ was merely crossed out, being followed by a τ.

Fr. 97. In the margin slightly above l. 1 is what appears to be a small θ with two horizontal strokes below it. The remains do not well suit either one of the *dramatis personae* or a stichometrical figure, though ξ = 1400 is just possible.

Fr. 115. Judged by the manner of writing, Θάα[ is more probably part of the text than a marginal *dramatis persona*, though the blank space below would suit the latter hypothesis.

Fr. 116. This is perhaps part of a marginal note; cf. Fr. 64. i. 50-1. The stroke like an accent is some little way above the ξ.

## 853. COMMENTARY ON THUCYDIDES II.

Height 20.5 cm.

Late second century.  
Plate IV (Cols. xvi-xvii).

These considerable portions of a commentary upon the second book of Thucydides belong to the large find of literary papyri which produced 841-4 and 852, and consisted originally of about a hundred fragments of varying sizes, two-thirds of which have been pieced together. Excluding the small unplaced fragments, 19 columns (about 600 lines) are preserved, divided into eight separate sections which we have called A-H, and covering the first 45 chapters of the book, though with large gaps at certain points. Like 842, which was written on the verso of a long official document from the Arsinoite nome (918), this commentary is on the back of a series of non-literary documents from that district. A detailed description of these texts is given under 986; here it is necessary to state that the writing proceeds in the opposite direction to that of the scholia, and that at least three originally different papyri have been joined together to form a roll of sufficient length for the literary text. Cols. i-iv of the recto (= Cols. xix-xiv of the verso) belong to a survey-list of confiscated house property; Cols. v-viii of the recto (= Cols. xiii-viii of the verso) are in the same hand and of a similar character, but are concerned with property in land, the writer, a comogrammateus of the village of Oxyrhyncha in the 16th year of Hadrian, making a fresh start. Col. viii of the recto was cut down the middle and joined to another second-century document, Col. ix (= Col. vii of the verso), containing a return by sitologi which has itself had the beginnings of lines cut off; the line of junction corresponds to the margin between Cols. viii and vii of the verso. Cols. x-xv of the recto (= Cols. vi-i of the verso) belong to a third document, a second-century account concerning loans of seed-corn to cultivators of Crown lands.

The script of the commentary is a small and neat informal uncial, with a tendency to lapse into cursive forms, especially in the letters  $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$ , and presents much similarity to the hand of the Oxyrhynchus scholia on *Iliad* xxi (221). The circumstance that one of the documents on the recto is dated in A. D. 131-2 provides a *terminus a quo* for the date of the text on the verso, which on palaeographical grounds is not likely to be later than A. D. 200. Probably 842, 852, and 853 were all written about the same time, somewhat later than 221. Iota adscript is rarely (e. g. x. 15, 31; xv. 34) omitted. There are no stops, and accents, breathings, and elision-marks are used sparingly; but paragraphi

occur frequently to separate the notes, and the lemmata project into the left margin by the width of one letter, as in the Berlin Didymus papyrus, and are separated from the notes referring to them by a short blank space. With each new quotation the scribe begins a fresh line. The common angular sign (sometimes doubled) is employed to fill up short lines. *ι* and *υ* occasionally have the diaeresis. The concluding word of a note is four times (v. 15, vii. 28, xv. 4, xvi. 11) abbreviated, even though in the first two cases there was plenty of room to write the word out in full; but of the conventional abbreviations often found in commentaries of this period (cf. e.g. 856) there is no trace. The columns contain from 35 to 38 lines, the beginnings of which tend to slope away to the left as the column proceeds. There are a few corrections, all due to the original scribe, who was not a very careful copyist, so that several minor alterations in the text, chiefly due to omissions, are necessary; cf. i. 22, ii. 19, 28, vii. 24, ix. 13, x. 27, xv. 4, 38.

Of the eight sections into which the papyrus falls, A contains Cols. i-iii in a very fair condition, and the beginnings of lines of Col. iv. So far as the external evidence is concerned, there is no special indication that Col. i is the original beginning of the writing on the verso, but since the first note refers to the opening words of Book II, it is probable that in Col. i we have the actual commencement of the work, and that the roll did not contain our author's commentary on Book I if he wrote one. i. 7-iv. 9 is taken up by a long discussion of the criticisms directed against Thucydides' method of writing history by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his extant work *περὶ Θουκυδίδου*, so that by the end of Col. iv our author has only reached c. 2. 4. B, comprising the two well-preserved columns v and vi, follows immediately after A and covers cc. 2. 4-8. 2, after which there is a gap. Since the writing on the recto of B has no connexion with that on the recto of C, it does not help to decide the width of the lacuna between these two sections, but the internal evidence of the scholia shows that at least one column and probably not more than two are missing between Cols. vi and vii. C, which contains the two damaged columns vii and viii, begins at c. 11. 4 and reaches c. 13. 6. D, containing the upper half of Col. ix, follows C without an interval, and down to l. 18 covers c. 13. 6-7. Fr. 1, however, apparently refers to c. 14. 1 and probably belongs to the lower part of Col. ix, which no doubt covered all c. 14; for E begins at c. 15. 1, and though, as far as the verso is concerned, there might be a column or two missing between D and E, the writing on the recto makes it practically certain that Col. x follows immediately after Col. ix. While Col. i of E (=Col. x), which covers cc. 15. 1-17. 1 is in moderate preservation, Col. ii (=Col. xi) is represented only by three small detached fragments. The exact position of that containing parts of

ll. 1-3 is obvious from internal evidence, while that containing the beginnings of ll. 15-7 is fixed not only by its suitability to this context, but by the writing on the recto, and the accuracy of the position assigned to the third fragment, containing parts of ll. 14-21 (Fr. 2), is hardly open to question. The next section, F, consists of the ends of lines of Col. xii and three quarters of Col. xiii, covering cc. 17. 4-24. 1. That anything is lost between Cols. xi and xii is most unlikely, but after Col. xiii there is a long gap, since G begins at c. 34. 5. In this section we have the ends of lines of Col. xiv, then three well-preserved columns (xv-xvii) and the beginnings of lines of another (xviii) covering cc. 34. 5-41. 3. The beginning of the funeral oration of Pericles (cc. 35-45) is noted in xiv. 3. After Col. xviii there is another considerable lacuna in which probably 3 or 4 columns are lost, and H (Col. xix) has only the ends of 18 lines on a fragment dealing with c. 45. 2, near the conclusion of the funeral oration.

The date at which these scholia were composed can be fixed within tolerably narrow limits. Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to Rome in 30 B.C. and issued his great work on Roman Archaeology in 7 B.C. (*Ant.* i. 7. 2), while Q. Aelius Tubero, to whom the treatise on Thucydides was addressed, is probably identical with the consul of 11 B.C., so that our commentary which discusses that treatise cannot be earlier than 30 B.C. and is not likely to be earlier than 10 B.C. On the other hand, since the MS. itself is not later than A.D. 200, the composition of the commentary can hardly have taken place later than Hadrian's time, and it is more likely that it was written soon after the beginning of the Christian era.

The extant scholia on Thucydides, derived from the Byzantine MSS. and of varying dates, are fairly full, but do not display much learning, and are rarely of great value either for the elucidation of the text or for quotations from other writers; and in spite of the greater antiquity of our commentary it is but little superior to them in point of quality. Our author's interest in Thucydides was mainly grammatical, and most of the notes are devoted to the explanation of words, phrases, or constructions, with frequent paraphrases of clauses or even whole sentences which were difficult, especially in the funeral oration. Questions of spelling and accentuation are discussed in v. 12-5 and vi. 25-8. In exegesis our author displays more intelligence than the extant scholia (e.g. v. 1-3); and though many of his remarks are trivial enough, his opinions on several well-known and much disputed passages have some importance, as supporting now one, now another of the modern commentators, or suggesting something new; e.g. x. 25-30, xiv. 6-11, xv. 16-24, xvii. 16-9, 23-9, and 31-3. But his authority cannot be ranked high, for in several places his interpretation is certainly wide of the mark; cf. v. 22-9 (two explanations of the infinitive τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν,

both of which are unsatisfactory), ix. 4-6 (an impossible explanation of ἵπo as equivalent to ἀπό), xix. 4 sqq. (a hopelessly wrong interpretation of ἦς ἀν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον κ.τ.λ.). Of more interest than his exegetical remarks are his critical notes on the text. The variant ὥρμητο for ὥργητο recorded in xiii. 13-5 was already known, but neither ἐκστρατευομένων (vii. 29), which occurred in our author's text of Thucydides II. 12. 2, nor the alternative reading in the note στρατευόντων (vii. 30) have found their way into the existing MSS., which all have ἐξεστρατευμένων, a reading ignored by our author. Of real value is the note on Πειράσιοι (xiii. 20-3), which explains the origin of a long felt corruption in the text of c. 22. 3. In the rare cases where the commentary deals with historical or geographical rather than with grammatical or textual questions, it is singularly disappointing. The brief indication of the position of Phrygia in xiii. 16 slightly modifies the current view of the site of that unimportant village, and the note on the temple of Dionysus at Limnae (x. 7-14) might have been of some value if more complete, but that on the Anthesteria (x. 16-8) merely confirms what was already known to us from other sources, and such annotations as vi. 16-24 and xiii. 25-8 are elementary. Our author, indeed, exhibits a very limited acquaintance with Greek literature. There is not a single quotation from other Greek historians, and apart from the discussion of the criticisms of Dionysius, the only prose writer of any kind who is referred to is . . . Jos (apparently an earlier commentator on Thucydides) mentioned in x. 11. A well-known quotation from Pindar, which in its later proverbial form is also quoted by the extant scholia on Thucydides, occurs in vi. 34-5, and there is a passing allusion to the *Erechtheus* of Euripides in x. 3; but the only other writers with whom our author shows familiarity are Homer and Callimachus. The former is quoted by way of illustration not less than ten times (iv. 6, 17, vi. 9-10 (?), 14-5, vii. 10-1, 27-8, ix. 5-6, xiii. 17-9, 20-1, xvii. 18-9, xix. 6-7), the interpretation in the last instance being singularly perverse, though in accordance with that of the earlier Alexandrian commentators, while the citation in ix. 5-6 is quite inapposite (cf. vi. 9-10, note). The text is uniformly the vulgate except in xvii. 18-9, where our author probably relied on his memory and quoted inaccurately. Callimachus is cited twice, the first quotation (x. 7-10, from the *Hecale*) being partly extant, the second (x. 37-8) new.

In view of the general similarity in mode of treatment between this commentary and the extant scholia it is surprising that the points of actual agreement are so few. The most noteworthy is the Pindar quotation alluded to above (vi. 34-5), but even here the scholia quote the saying as a *παροιμία* and in a slightly different form. Elsewhere there are occasional verbal similarities, such as would be expected from any commentators covering the same ground (cf. e.g. notes

on v. 33, viii. 7-9, ix. 10, x. 19-20, xii. 10, xiii. 17, xv. 16, xvi. 19-24), but amid innumerable divergencies no striking coincidences are found anywhere, and there is no reason to think that our author is one of the direct sources of the extant scholia, while even an indirect influence upon them seems unlikely.

The somewhat unfavourable impression which our author makes as a commentator on the text of Thucydides is improved when we turn to his discussion of the views of Dionysius about Thucydides' methods as a historian. As a literary critic he exhibits himself to greater advantage than as a grammarian, and his defence of Thucydides is both just and sensible. Dionysius, whose whole treatment of Thucydides though not wanting in learning and acumen is marked by a lack of appreciation of his real merits, in cc. 9-20 of his *De Thucyd. Indic.* censures the historian's mode of dealing with his subject-matter, the following chapters (cc. 21-55) being concerned with his style. Dionysius' criticisms on the former topic are represented as coming not from himself but from *τινές*, i. e. his predecessors, and his objections fall under the three heads of *διαίρεσις*, *τάξις*, and *ἐξεργασία* (c. 9). Our author replies to the criticisms under the first two heads, briefly summarizing cc. 9-12 in i. 7-33. To Dionysius' strictures with regard to *διαίρεσις* on firstly Thucydides' choice of a division according to summers and winters in preference to the years of the archons or Olympiads or the geographical arrangement adopted by Herodotus, and secondly on the consequent want of connexion and abrupt transitions in his narrative, our author justly retorts that there was no reason why Thucydides should have chosen to reckon by archons or Olympiads (ii. 6 sqq.), and that the Herodotean method of narrating events according to localities was quite inapplicable to a history of the Peloponnesian war (ii. 15-27), concluding with an effective *argumentum ad hominem* against Dionysius (ii. 33-iii. 1), whose own theory of what system of chronology ought to have been followed is shown to be open to the objection concerning abrupt transitions which he had brought against Thucydides. A system of dating by the years of the archons or Olympiads which began in the summer would in fact disturb the sequence of the narrative far more than Thucydides' division of the year into summer and winter, which in describing military operations is the most natural one. In iii. 2-17, a passage which is much mutilated, our author deals with the supposed want of connexion in Thucydides' narrative, and shows that this charge is exaggerated. In iii. 18-iv. 9 he contradicts Dionysius' criticism directed against the *τάξις*, that in his account of the origin of the war Thucydides ought to have begun by describing the true cause of it, the rise of Athens, instead of postponing this to his description of the commonly alleged causes, the Corcyrean and Potidaean incidents. The point at issue between our author and Dionysius is here more debateable. No doubt a modern historian

of the Peloponnesian war would in agreement with Dionysius prefer to begin with a sketch of the rise of Athens rather than to introduce this subsequently as a digression. But looking at Book I from the point of view of Thucydides' aims as expressed in his preface, the arrangement adopted by him is quite defensible. As our author points out (iii. 22-30), Dionysius was wrong in thinking that Thucydides was under an obligation to give an elaborate account of events preceding the Peloponnesian war. Probably his desire to avoid becoming involved in this so serious an undertaking was one of the chief reasons for the postponement of the sketch of the rise of Athens. Further, our author's dictum in iii. 30-iv. 1 about the duty of a historian to relate the obvious before the remoter causes of events is at least as true as Dionysius' opposing aphorism in c. 11 that true causes ought to precede false ones, the fact being that no *a priori* rule can be laid down on the subject, which has to be settled with regard to expediency. Whatever his demerits as an annotator, our author must on the points in dispute be credited with a fairer appreciation of Thucydides than his adversary, one of the ablest critics of the day.

Can our author be identified with any of the known commentators upon Thucydides? The answer, is, we think, in the negative. The extant scholia mention three of their sources, Antyllus, Asclepius (or Asclepiades), and Phoebammon. Of these Phoebammon, who lived in the fourth century, is out of the question. The dates of Antyllus and Asclepius, who is generally thought to have been a rhetorician rather than a grammarian, are quite uncertain, and might therefore fall within the period (about 10 B. C.-A. D. 140) in which the author of our commentary wrote; but the slightness of the connexion between it and the extant scholia (cf. p. 110) excludes the likelihood of an identification with writers utilized in them. Nor is much more to be said in favour of identifying our author with any of the other rhetoricians or grammarians who composed commentaries upon Thucydides; cf. E. Schwabe, *Leipz. Stud.* iv. pp. 81 sqq., Doberentz, *De Scholiis in Thuc.*, Halle, 1876. Numenius, who wrote *περὶ τῶν τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων, ὑποθέσεις τῶν Δημοσθένους καὶ Θουκυδίδου, χρειῶν συναγωγή, &c.*, probably lived in the time of Hadrian, which barely falls within the right period, and to judge by the title his work seems to have consisted of short arguments, not a detailed commentary. Julius Vestinus, who also lived under Hadrian, and wrote an *ἐκλογή ἐκ τῶν Θουκυδίδου*, was apparently a lexicographer, not a regular commentator upon Thucydides. The title of Claudius Didymus' work, composed probably in the first century, *περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων παρὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν Θουκυδίδου*, indicates that it was quite different from our commentary, as were the *ζητήσεις κατὰ στοιχείον Θουκυδίδου* or *τῶν παρὰ Θουκυδίδου ζητουμένων κατὰ λέξιν* written by Evagoras of Lindus, also probably in the first century. Didymus *χαλκέντερος*,

though a contemporary of Dionysius, is also, we think, out of the question, for it is very doubtful whether he wrote on Thucydides (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encycl.* v. p. 460), and his recently discovered commentary on Demosthenes is almost entirely historical, not grammatical, and abounds in quotations, being thus far removed in character from our papyrus. Caecilius Calactinus, who was also coeval with Dionysius, has no stronger claims than Didymus to be identified with our author. He discussed and quoted Thucydides (cf. pp. 57-8 and 193-6 of Ofenloch's edition), and though Dionysius (*Ep. ad Cu. Pomp.* 3. 20) calls Caecilius *φίλτατος*, the two critics seem to have had controversies (cf. Ofenloch, p. xiii). But Caecilius was primarily a rhetorician, and that he wrote a grammatical commentary on Thucydides is improbable. Sabinus (time of Hadrian), Tiberius, and Heron son of Cotys (dates unknown) wrote *ὑπομνήματα* upon Thucydides about which nothing further has been recorded, and since our commentary is technically a *ὑπόμνημα*, it is possible that one of these writers is identical with our author; but it is more likely that he was some obscure Alexandrian grammarian whose works were not long preserved, and whose name even is lost. Of his influence on later grammarians (apart from the Thucydides scholia already discussed) we have not discovered any clear trace, though cf. x. 36-7, note.

It remains to examine our author's text of Thucydides, in so far as this can be ascertained from the lemmata. The chief MSS. fall into two main families, CG and ABEFM, of which the former is now generally considered to be superior. As usual, the text of the papyrus is of an eclectic character and does not consistently agree with either family; but it supports the ABEFM group seven times (cf. notes on i. 6-7, xiii. 13, xiv. 4, xv. 15, xvii. 20, 30, xviii. 24) against only four agreements with the other (cf. notes on vii. 37, xiv. 25, xvi. 29, 31). Several new readings occur, of which we append a list.

- (1) i. 7 (c. 1. 1) v. l. *θερη και χειμῶνας* above the line for *θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα*.
- (2) v. 5 (c. 2. 4) *χρησθαι* for *χρήσασθαι*.
- (3) v. 21 (c. 4. 2) *εκφυγειν* for *ἐκφεύγειν* (*ἐκφυγεῖν* only in a late Paris MS.).
- (4) v. 30 (c. 4. 3) *στυρακι* for *στυρακίφ*.
- (5) vii. 15 (c. 11. 9) *υμιν* for *ἡμῖν*.
- (6) vii. 29 (c. 12. 2) *εκστρατενομενων*, with v. l. *στρατενοντων*, for *ἐξεστρατενομένων*.
- (7) ix. 3 (c. 13. 7) *υπο* for *ἀπό*.
- (8) x. 15 (c. 15. 4) *αρχαιοτατα* for *ἀρχαιότερα*.
- (9) xiii. 20 (c. 22. 3) *Φαρσαλιοι Πειρασιοι* (*Κραννωνιοι*) for *Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι Κραννώνιοι Πειράσιοι*.
- (10) xv. 34 (c. 37. 2) *δρα τι* for *τι δρᾷ*.

(11) xvi. 25 (c. 39. 1) *διαιωμεθα* for *διαιτώμενοι*.

(12) xvii. 35 (c. 40. 3) *αντοι* for *οι αυτοί*.

Of these (5), which confirms a conjecture of Hude, and (9), where the note shows that *Παράσιοι* is an interpolation, are undoubtedly better than the readings of the MSS. On the other hand (7) is certainly wrong and (1), (11), and (12) may be merely due to mistakes on the part of the copyist of the papyrus (cf. his omission in ix. 3) and in any case are not likely to be right. In respect to the other new readings there is little to choose between them and the MSS., the sense being hardly if at all affected by any of them. As regards the passages in Thucydides which have been suspected of being corrupt, the explanation of *Παράσιοι* supports the conclusions of modern editors, and there is some reason to believe that the formidable anacoluthon in the MSS. reading at c. 7. 2 did not occur in our author's text (cf. vi. 16, note); but elsewhere the papyrus, like other Thucydides papyri (cf. 878-880), tends to confirm the ordinary text even where alterations have generally been accepted. Thus in c. 15. 4 (x. 15) the words *τῇ ιβ'*, usually regarded as a gloss, are found, and neither Cobet's insertion of *τοῦ* in c. 15. 4 (x. 7, note) nor Lipsius' transference of *πανοικησίᾳ* in c. 16. 1 (x. 31) nor the proposals to omit words in c. 4. 2 (v. 21-2, note) and c. 16. 1 (x. 25, note) are confirmed. On the whole our author's text, though not on a level with the first-century fragments of Book IV (16 and 696), and perhaps affected to some extent by errors of the copyist, is a good one, and its early date gives it considerable value.

In the restoration of the very imperfect text of this papyrus, we have received much assistance from Professors U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff and J. B. Bury; some suggestions are also due to Dr. C. Hude and Mr. H. Stuart Jones. We give the text and reconstruction in parallel columns, the lemmata being distinguished in the latter by thick type. In the notes Schol. = the extant scholia on Thucydides.

Col. i (= A col. i).

[	]	1. 1. [ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε.]
[. . . .] . ρ[	[. . . .] . ρ[	
[. . . .] ἐστιν[. . . . .] ιτοξινθα	[. . . .] ἐστὶν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ἐνθα.	
[. . . .] λλήλου[. . . . .] υπροσαλλη	[παρ' ἀ]λλήλου[ς· ἀντὶ τοῦ] πρὸς ἀλλή-	
5 [ . . . .] συνη[. . . . .] ι	[λους] συνή[θει λέξε]ι.	
[. . . . .] ταιδε[. . . . .] ησῶ[. . . . .] κασταεγιγνε	[γέγραπ]ται δ' ἐξ[. . . .] ὥ[ς] ἐ[. . . .] καστα ἐγίγνε-	
[. . . . .] καταθεροσκαίχ[. . . . .] μοναδιονν	[τ]ο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χε[ι]μῶνα· Διονύ-	

σιος[.]αλικαρνασσευσεντωιπερι  
 θουκυδιδο[.]συνταγματιπεριου  
 10 πολλωνμ[.]μφεταιτονθουκυδι  
 δηνταδαν[.]τατωιτριακεφαλαια  
 διεξεισινο[.] .]τεουκαρχοντασκαι  
 ολυμπιαδα[.] . .]σοιλοιποισπροτε  
 θεικετωνχ[.] . .]ναλλ'ιδιωσ  
 15 θερηκαιχει[.] . .]ασκαιοτιδιεσπα  
 κεκαιδιη[.] . .]ετηνῖστοριαν >  
 καισυνκο[.] . .]ταπραγματου  
 καπα[.]τιζω[.] .]α[.]περικεαστων  
 διηγ[.]σεισα[.] .]απαλλωνεπαλλα<sup>α</sup>  
 20 τρεπομενοσπρ[.]ντελειωσαικαι >  
 οτιτηναληθητουπολεμουαιτ[.]  
 ανεπιωνωσσοφδραυτοσεξη  
 τακωσοτιδιευλαβειαντησιςχυοσ  
 τωναθηναιωνεπολεμησαναν  
 25 τοισοιλακεδαιμονιοιουμαδια  
 διατακορκυραικαηποτειδαιατι  
 κακαιτασπαραιοισπολλοισλεγο >  
 μεναιαιτιασμοσσυκαποτου >  
 τωνανεκρινεναυτοσδιηγειται  
 30 εκ[.]ιθenaρξαμενοσαφοιωνπρα  
 γματωνμεταταπερσικαηυξη  
 θησανοιαθηναιοιαλλαπαλινεπι  
 τασκοινασαιτιαστρεπεται· τοιαυ >  
 ταμενοδιονυσιοσεικοτωσδαν  
 35 τισπροσαντονπροπετωσoutωσ >

σιος [δ] Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 Θουκυδίδου[ν] συντάγματι περὶ οὗ  
 πολλῶν μ[έ]μφεται τὸν Θουκυδί-  
 δην, τὰ δ' ἀν[ω]τάτω τρία κεφάλαια  
 διεξείσιν, ὅ[τι] τε οὐκ ἄρχοντας καὶ  
 Ὀλυμπιάδα[ς ὥ]ς οἱ λοιποὶ προτέ-  
 θεικε τῶν χ[ρό]νων ἀλλ' ἰδίως  
 θέρη καὶ χει[μῶν]ας, καὶ ὅτι διέσπα-  
 κε καὶ διή[ρ]κε τὴν ἱστορίαν  
 καὶ συγκό[πτει] τὰ πράγματα οὐ-  
 κ ἀπα[ρ]τίζω[ν τ]ᾶ[ς] περὶ ἐκάστων

διηγ[ή]σεις ἀ[λλ]ὰ ἀπ' ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλα  
 τρεπόμενος πρ[ὶ]ν τελειῶσαι, καὶ  
 ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτ[ί-]  
 αν εἰ[π]ῶν ὡς σφόδρα αὐτὸς ἐξη-  
 τακῶς, ὅτι δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς ἰσχύος  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπολέμησαν αὐ-  
 τοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ μὰ Δία  
 διὰ τὰ Κορκυραϊκὰ ἢ Ποτειδαιατι-  
 κὰ καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς λεγο-  
 μένας αἰτίας, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ-  
 των ὧν ἔκρινεν αὐτὸς διηγεῖται  
 ἐκ[εῖ]θεν ἀρξάμενος ἀφ' οἷων πρα-  
 γμάτων μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ ηὔξη-  
 θησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐπὶ  
 τὰς κοινὰς αἰτίας τρέπεται. τοιαῦ-  
 τα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος· εἰκότως δ' ἂν  
 τις πρὸς αὐτὸν προπετῶς οὕτως

Col. ii (= A col. ii).

[ . . . . . ]σε[.]εν[.]τι  
 [ . . . . . ] . τοσο[.] . . . ] . ε . [ .  
 τ[ . . . . . ]τωνπραγμάτων

[μεμφόμενον ἀντεγκαλέ]σε[ι]εν [δ]τι  
 [ . . . . . ] . τοσο[ . . . . ] . ε . [ .  
 τ[ . . . . . ] τῶν πραγμάτων

σ[.....]ν λογισμορσκαι  
 5 α[.....]νρσπαρεδωκεν >  
 ε[.....]ανηγαρκατααρ >  
 χ[.....]καικατολυμπια  
 δ[.....]ενπλάτεικαιου  
 κ[.....]νουδωσηροδο  
 10 τ[.....]ντουσυνεχωσ  
 τ[.....]νσποικι  
 λον[.....]μονγρα  
 φω[.....]οιοντη  
 του[.....]σ[.]αστους  
 15 α[.....]πλα[.]αῖκααπο  
 [.....]μεχριτωνϋστατων  
 [.....]ταειταπαλινπασας  
 τασ[.]βολαστωνπελοπονην[.]  
 ων[.]παλληλουςγραφειν[.]κ[.]  
 20 κυραικαεφεξησδιαφεροντ[.]  
 τοισχρονοισπανταγαρρανσυν[.]  
 χεενηπαλινεπιτουσσαντουσχι[.]  
 νουσανετρεχεναπρεπωσκα[.]  
 αλογωσουγαρμιαϋποθεσισην[  
 25 ουδεενενιχρονωιητοπωιαλλα[  
 πολλαικαιπολλαχουκαικατα  
 και ρ  
 πολλουσχρονοουσ καιμην >  
 εικαικατααρχονταεγραφενα > >  
 ναγκηπαλινηνδιαιρεινταπρα  
 30 γματαεπαλλωνγαρκαγιαλλων  
 ταυτααρχοντωνσυνεβαινε  
 οτανδετισενκεφαλαιονγραφη  
 μονονσυνεχωσειρειεαυτωιον  
 εαντιαλεγειοδιονυσιοσκαιγαρ >  
 35 εικαταρχοντασεδειγραφεινωσ  
 φησινομοιωσεχρηνδιαιρειντα

σ[.....]ν λογισμὸν δὲ καὶ  
 α[.....]νος παρέδωκεν  
 ε[.....]αν. ἡ γὰρ κατὰ ἄρ-  
 χ[οντας διάθεσις] καὶ κατ' Ὀλυμπιά-  
 δ[ας οὐπὼ ἐγεγόνει] ἐν πλάτει καὶ οὐ  
 κ[.....]ν οὐδ' ὥς Ἡρόδο-  
 τ[ος .....]ντου συνεχῶς  
 τ[.....]νς ποικί-  
 λον [.....]μον γρά-  
 φων .....] οἶον τῇ  
 τοῦ [.....]σ[.]αస్తుs  
 α[.....]τὰ] Πλα[τ]αῖκα ἀπὸ  
 [τῶν πρώτων] μέχρι τῶν ὑστάτων  
 [διεξελθόν]τα, εἴτα πάλιν πάσας  
 τὰς [έσ]βολὰς τῶν Πελοποννησί-  
 ων [έ]παλλήλους γράφειν, [τὰ] <δὲ> Κ[ορ-  
 κυραῖκα ἐφεξῆς διαφέροντ]α  
 τοῖς χρόνοις. πάντα γὰρ ἂν συν[έ-  
 χεεν ἢ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χ[ρό-  
 νους ἀνέτρεχεν ἀπρεπῶς κα[ὶ  
 ἀλόγως. οὐ γὰρ μία ὑπόθεσις ἦν  
 οὐδὲ ἐν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ ἢ τόπῳ, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλαὶ καὶ πολλαχοῦ καὶ κατὰ  
 πολλοὺς καιροὺς. καὶ μὴν  
 εἰ καὶ κατὰ ἄρχοντα(ς) ἔγραφεν, ἀ-  
 νάγκη πάλιν ἦν διαιρεῖν τὰ πρῶ-  
 γματα· ἐπ' ἄλλων γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων  
 ταῦτα ἀρχόντων συνέβαινε·  
 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν κεφάλαιον γράφῃ  
 μόνον συνεχῶς εἴρει. ἐαυτῷ οὖν  
 ἐ(ν)αντία λέγει ὁ Διονύσιος· καὶ γὰρ  
 εἰ κατ' ἄρχοντας ἔδει γράφειν ὥς  
 φησιν, ὁμοίως ἐχρῆν διαιρεῖν τὰ



αιτιαστωνπραγματωνενπρω >  
 τοισακριβωσαφηγεισθαιειδετι >  
 35 νωναφανεστερωνυπονοειτου

αίτίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν πρώ-  
 τοις ἀκριβῶς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰ δέ τι-  
 νων ἀφανεστέρων ὑπονοεῖ τοῦ-

Col. iv (= A col. iv).

τοεπι[	το ἐπι[	
σθαιοδ[	σθαι ὁ Δ[ιονύσιος	
τοικατ[	τοι κατ[	
καιπε[	καὶ πε[	ἀ-
5 ναμεσ[	νὰ μέσ[ον	
ομηρικ[	Ὅμηρικ[ως	
χωνα . [	χων α . [	ἐ-
πικκη[	πικκῇ [	
συκοφ[	συκοφ[αντ	
10 αιτριακ[	2. 1. αἰ τριακ[οντούτεις σπονδαί· αὐ-	
ταικατα[	ται κατα[ τριακοντού-	
τεισκα[	τεισ κα[	
κονωσ[	κον ὡς [	
δησκ . [	δης κ . [	
15 εσπλατα[	ἐς Πλάτα[ιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας· ἡ πό-	
λισενι[	λις ἐν[κῶς λέγεται. καὶ Ὁμηρος	
οιτεπλα[	οἷ τε Πλά[ταιαν ἔχον.	
[. . . .]ε[	[τῷ δὲ π]έ[μπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔ-	
τ[	τ[ει ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἀργεῖ τότε	
20 π[	π[εντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη	
ἱερ[	ἱερ[ωμένης·	
τι[	τι[	
κ[	κ[	
πρ[	πρ[	
25 τη . [	τη . [	
ταουκε . [	τα οὐκ ε . [	
φασιτινο[	φασί τινος	
καικατολ[	καὶ κατ' Ὀλ[υμπιάδας (?)	
ορισαιτου[	ὀρίσαι του[	

- 30 ουδοκιμα[ οὐ δοκιμα[  
τοπροστα[ τὸ προστα[  
θεμενοιδ[ 2. 4. θέμενοι δι' ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὄπλα·  
αντιτουθ[ ἀντὶ τοῦ θέντες  
θεμενος[ θέμενος [  
35 καιθρεψαμ[ καὶ θρεψάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ θρέψας.

Col. v (= B col. i).

- τοδεθεμενοιαν[. .]τουαπο[.]εμε  
νοικαιστρατοπ[. .]υσαμενοιεν  
τηαγορα  
γνωμηνδεπο[. .]υντοκηρυγμασιν  
5 τεχρησθαιεπιτηδε[.]οις εγνωσαν >  
δεφιλικοισκηρυγμασινχρησθαι  
καιεισφιλιανυπαγαγεσθαιλεγουσι  
γαρ επιτηδεϊουσ τουσφι[.]ουσ  
εδοκειουνεπιχειρηταειναι τωι  
10 συνηθεισχηματικεχρηταιαντι  
τουεπιχειρητεον  
καιεισχειρασησανκαταταχος δι >  
συλλαβωσαναγνωστεονησανοι  
μεγαριωνεσκαιαιολεισδιαιρου  
15 σινουτοιδαδιαιρετω  
οιπλειουσενσκοτωκαιπηλωι >  
τωνδιόδα[.]ηιχρησ[.]θηναι σκω  
τωιανωμάλωσχηταιεινιοτεωσ  
αρσενικωεινιοτεδεωσουδετερωι  
20 εμπειρουσδεχοντεσ τουσδιωκον  
τασ τουμηεκφυγεινωσ τε διεφθει  
ρον τοιοι πολλοι ητοιουτωσρητεον  
εμπειρου[.]δεχοντεσ τουσδιωκον  
τασειστομηεκφυγειν διεφθειρον  
25 τοιοι πολλοιωσ τε παρελκεσθαι το  
ωσ τε η το αρθρον πλεονασει το
- το δὲ θέμενοι ἀν[τὶ] τοῦ ἀπο[θ]έμε-  
νοι καὶ στρατοπ[εδε]υσάμενοι ἐν  
τῇ ἀγορᾷ.  
γνώμην δ' ἐπο[ιο]ύντο κηρύγμασιν  
τε χρῆσθαι ἐπιτηδε[ί]οις· ἔγνωσαν  
δὲ φιλικοῖς κηρύγμασιν χρῆσθαι  
καὶ εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαγαγέσθαι· λέγουσι  
γὰρ ἐπιτηδεῖους τοὺς φί[λ]ους.  
3. 3. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι· τῷ  
συνήθει σχήματι κέχρηται ἀντὶ  
τοῦ ἐπιχειρητέον.  
3. 4. καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος· δι-  
συλλαβῶς ἀναγνωστέον ἦσαν. οἱ  
μὲν γὰρ Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς διαιροῦ-  
σιν, οὗτοι δὲ ἀδιαίρετω(s).  
4. 2. οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ  
τῶν διόδα[ν] ἢ χρῆ σ[ω]θῆναι· σκό-  
τῳ ἀνωμάλως χρεῖται, ἐνίοτε ὥς  
ἀρσενικῷ, ἐνίοτε δὲ ὥς οὐδετέρῳ.  
ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκον-  
τας τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν ὥστε διεφθεί-  
ροντο οἱ πολλοί· ἦτοι οὕτως ῥητέον,  
ἐμπείρου[s] δ' ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκον-  
τας εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν διεφθείρον-  
το οἱ πολλοί, ὥστε παρέλκεσθαι τὸ  
ὥστε· ἢ τὸ ἄρθρον πλεονάσει τὸ

τουεμπειρουσδεχοντε[.]τους >  
διωκοντασσωστεμηεκφυγειν  
διεφθειροντοοιπολλοι

30 στυρακιακοντιου τωισαυρωτηρι  
καλουμενωιστιδετοεσχατον  
τουδορατος

ξυνεβησαντοισπλαταιευσι συνε  
θεντοεισσυμβασεισηλθονμετα  
35 φορικωσαποτουεισταυτοβαιν[.]ν  
τουσενπαραταξειδιεστωτας >  
αλληλων

του, ἐμπείρους δ' ἔχοντε[s] τοὺς  
διώκοντας ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν  
διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί.

4. 3. στύρακι ἀκοντίου· τῷ σαυρωτήρι  
καλουμένῳ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἔσχατον  
τοῦ δόρατος.

4. 7. ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι· συνέ-  
θεντο, εἰς συμβάσεις ἦλθον, μετα-  
φορικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ταῦτὸ βαίν[ει]ν  
τοὺς ἐν παρατάξει διεστῶτας  
ἀλλήλων.

Col. vi (= B col. ii).

πανστρατιαι φ[.] . . . . .  
\ πανσυδιηπασ[.] . . . . .  
δῑααπροσδοκητου[.] . . . . .  
τωῑᾱτεαπροσδο[.] . . . . .

5 [.]ποτ[.] . . .]αντεσ[.] . . . . .  
πτευσαντεςκαικ[.] . . . . .  
τινεςλεγουσι [

[.]εισαντεςπεριτοις[.] . . . . .  
περιτωνεξωμοι[.] . . . . .

10 δ̄αμασθεισγραφετ[.] . . . . .  
βουλευσωσιπεριαυτ[.] . . . . .  
τωιτοιουτωιλεγειδ[.] . . . . .  
σιτοντεεσηγαγον [.] . . . . .  
κανομηροσνησ[.] . . . . .

15 παρεστασαν[.] . .]ονα[.] . . . . .  
ε̄ξιταλιασκα[.] . .]κελιασ ε[.] . . . . .  
φησινοθ[.]υκυδιδησκα[.] . . . . .  
λιωταισκα[.]τοισαποσικ[.] . . . . .  
λακεδαιμονιουανυσπ[.] . . . . .

20 ειστηνσυμμαχανουδ[.] . . . . .  
κειθενπαρεδωκενπε[.] . . . . .

5. 1. πανστρατιᾶ· ὡ[s] . . . . .  
πανσυδὴη πασ[.] . . . . .

5. 4. οἶα ἀπροσδοκῆτου [κακοῦ· ἴσον  
τῷ ἅτε ἀπροσδοκῆτου.

5. 5. [ύ]ποτ[οπήσ]αντες· [ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπο-  
πτεύσαντες καὶ κ[.] . . . . .  
τινὲς λέγουσι.

[δ]είσαντες περὶ τοῖς [ἔξω· ἀντὶ τοῦ  
περὶ τῶν ἔξω, ὁμοί[ως] . . . . .  
δαμασθείς. γράφετ[αι] δὲ . . . . .

6. 2. βουλευσῶσι περὶ αὐτ[ῶν] . . . . .  
τῷ τοιούτῳ λέγει δ[.] . . . . .

6. 4. σῖτόν τε ἐσῆγαγον· [σῖτον ἐσῆνεγ-  
καν· Ὅμηρος νῆες [δ' ἐκ Λήμνοιο  
παρέστασαν [οἶν]ον ἄ[γουσαι].

7. 2. ἐξ Ἰταλίας κα[ὶ] Σικελίας· ἐπέταξαν,  
φησὶν ὁ Θ[ο]υκυδίδης, κα[ὶ] τοῖς Ἰτα-  
λιώταις κα[ὶ] τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικ[ελίας] οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς ποιῆσθαι  
εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν· οὐδ[είς] δὲ ἐ-  
κεῖθεν παρέδωκεν πε[μφθῆναι]

ναυσησυμμαχισαντας[. . . . .  
 σχατ[.]σαποσυρακουσσω[. . . . .  
 ἰωνιαντασμεθ[.]ρμοκρατ[. . . . .  
 25 ὀρωντεσείσφισι ἐγκλιτεο[. . . . .  
 ὀσονοιοντεδειςωζειν[. . . . .  
 πολλακισδεξαντιουτα[. . . . .  
 περιτασμεταβασειστωνδ[. . . . .  
 αρχομενοιγ[.]ρπαντεσοξυτ[. . . . .  
 30 τιλαμβανονται δηλωνωσ[. . . . .  
 πεπληγμενοιουδεκεκακ[. . . . .  
 ωσμετανοησαιεπιφερειγου[. . . . .  
 νεοτησουκακουσιωσυνπ[. . . . .  
 ηπτετοτουπολεμουγλυκ[. . . . .  
 35 λεμοσαπειροισινωσφη[. . . . .  
 πολλαδεχρησμολογοιηιδω[. . . . .

ναῦς ἢ συμμαχήσαντας, [εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἐ-  
 σχάτ[οι]ς ἀπὸ Συρακουσσῶν εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰωνίαν τὰς μεθ' [Ε]ρμοκράτους.

7. 3. ὀρῶντες εἴ σφισι· ἐγκλιτέον . . . . .  
 ὅσον οἶόν τε δεῖ σῶζειν [τὸν τόνον,  
 πολλάκις δὲ ἐναντιοῦτα[ι . . . . .  
 περὶ τὰς μεταβάσεις τῶν δ[. . . . .  
 8. 1. ἀρχόμενοι γ[ὰρ] πάντες ὀξύτερων ἀν-  
 τιλαμβάνονται· δηλὸν ὡς [οὐ κατα-  
 πεπληγμένοι οὐδὲ κεκακ[ωμένοι  
 ὡς μετανοῆσαι. ἐπιφέρει γοῦν ὅτι ἡ  
 νεότης οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπ[ὸ ἀπειρίας  
 ἤπτετο τοῦ πολέμου· γλυκ[ὺς δὲ πό-  
 λεμος ἀπείροισιν ὥς φη[σι Πίνδαρος].  
 8. 2. πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾔδον[. . . . .

One or more columns lost.

Col. vii (= C col. i).

[. . . . .]σaiτιασπολλακισκαιδι >  
 [. . . . .]εξηλθονκαισυνεβα >  
 [. . . . .]ναντιοισ  
 [. . . . .]μωιελαχισταχρωμενοι >  
 5 [. . . . .]εισταεσεργω[. . .]θισταν[  
 [. . . . .]ογι[. . .]υντεσ[. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]στησιγαρταπ[. . . . .  
 [. . . . .]νειστον[. . .] . [ . . . . .  
 [.π . [ . . . . .]ονδετονπολεμον  
 10 [.μ[. . . . .]ενθακενουκετι[.]ρ[. .]ν  
 [.ν[. . . . .]σαιτομετελθωνουκε  
 τιπρον[. . .]σιτοιουτοικαταπολε  
 [.ονθυμ[. .]εξορμωσιν  
 [.αιμεγιστηνδοξανοισομενοι >  
 15 [. .]ιστεπρογονοισκαινμιναντοις >  
 [.παμφοτεραεκτωναποβαινον >

(11. 4.) [. . ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας πολλάκις καὶ δι'  
 [ὀργῆς . . .] ἐξήλθον καὶ συνέβα-  
 [λον τοῖς ἐναντίοις].  
 11. 7. [καὶ οἱ λογισ]μῶ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι  
 [θυμῶ πλ]εῖστα ἐς ἔργον κα[θίσταν-  
 [ται· οἱ ἀλ]ογι[στο]ῦντες [τολμηρό-  
 [τατοι, ἐξί]στησι γὰρ τὰ π[άθη] . . . .  
 [. . . . .]ν εἰς του . . [.] . [ . . . . .  
 [.π . [ . . . , ἔργ]ον δὲ τὸν πόλεμον  
 [Ὀ]μ[ηρικῶς], ἔνθα κεν οὐκέτι [ἐ]ρ[γο]ν  
 [ἀ]ν[ήρ ὀνό]σαιτο μετελθών. οὐκέ-  
 τι προν[οῦ]σι τοιοῦτοι, κατὰ πόλε-  
 [μον θυμ[ῶ] ἐξορμῶσιν.  
 11. 9. [κ]αὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι  
 [το]ῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς  
 [ἐ]π' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόν-

[.]ων εἰμηπροσεκειτοτοεπαμφο >  
 τεραην[. . . .] . [.]τομεγιστηνδο  
 ξανεπ[. . . . .]ξιασυννδεδε  
 20 [.]τεον[. . . . .]οληψινωστοι  
 [.]π[. . . . .]εξοντεςκαι  
 [.]καιοιπρογονοιηχρηστην  
 [.]αντιανεκτωναποβαινον  
 [.]ωνοποιοιεναποτωνεργων >  
 25 [.]φεκατερονοφθητε  
 [.]λλουσοντα[.]ενικοσμωι κοσμοσ  
 [.]ιαταξισωστ[.] . [.]αρεπεικοσμη  
 [.]εναμηγεμ[.] .  
 [.]αιμονιω[.]εκστρατευομενων  
 30 [.]ετα[.]καισ[.]ατευ[.]ντ[.]νον  
 [.]εδεχον[.]ρεσβεια[.]πολε  
 [.]ντωνπ[.]διαλυσαιτοστρα  
 [.]επ[.]ικ[.]ναναχωρησαι  
 [.]τει  
 35 [.]νγενηται μηδενισυν  
 [.]ηδαιομοιλιανελθη  
 [.]διαλυεσθαι διακρινε  
 [.]ωριζεσθαι

[τ]ων· εἰ μὴ προσέκειτο τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφό-  
 τερα ἦν [ἀκοῦ]σ[αι] τὸ μεγίστην δό-  
 ξαν ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς εὐδοξίας, νῦν δὲ δε-  
 [κ]τέον [ἀντὶ] τοῦ ὑπ[ὲρ] ὀληψιν ὥς τοι-  
 [αύτην] ὑπ[ὲρ] ὀληψιν] ἔξοντες καὶ  
 [ὑμείς] καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἢ χρηστὴν  
 [ἢ ἐν]αντίαν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόν-  
 [τ]ων ὁποῖοι <ᾶ>ν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων  
 [ἐ]φ' ἑκάτερον ὀφθῆτε.

[πο]λλοὺς ὄντα[ς] ἐνὶ κόσμῳ· κόσμος  
 [δ]ιάταξις, ὥς τ[ὸ] αὐτ[ὸ]ν ἀρ[ε]πέει κόσμη-  
 [θ]εν ἄμ' ἡγεμ[ό]νεσσι[.]  
 12. 2. [Λακεδ]αιμονίω[ν] ἐκστρατευομένων·  
 [γράφ]ετα[ι] καὶ σ[τ]ρατευ[ό]ντ[ω]ν. οὐ  
 [γὰρ] ἐδέχον[το] π[ρ]εσβεῖα[ν] πολε-  
 [μού]ντων π[ρὶν] διαλῦσαι τὸ στρά-  
 [τευμα] ἢ ἐπ' [ο]ἷκ[ο]ν ἀναχωρῆσαι  
 [ἀμαχ]ητεί.  
 [μηδενὶ] ξυ[γ]γένηται· μηδενὶ συμ-  
 [μίσγη] μ[ηδ'] εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἔλθῃ.  
 12. 3. [ἔ]μελλε[ν] διαλῦεσθαι· διακρίνε-  
 [σθαι, χ]ωρίζεσθαι.

Col. viii (= C col. ii).

[.]περκαί[.]ο[.] . . . . .  
 [.]νενεκαεκ[.] . . . . .  
 κενοτι[ν]μίζ[.] . . . . .  
 κλεακαιαμ[.] . . . . .  
 5 τωαγειε[.]ελ[.] . . . . . αυ[.]ιτ[.] . . .  
 ἡ[.]περῖσχυο[.]σι [.]αθοῖσχυουσ[.] . . .  
 [.]χειροσεχειν ενχερσιν[.] . . . . .  
 [.]εταχειριζεσθαιδιατη[.] . . . . .  
 [.]υσησεπιμελειασ  
 10 [.]ωμηκαιχρηματωνπ[.] . . . υσι[.] .

13. 2. [ᾗ]περ καὶ [πρ]ότερον· . . . . .  
 [.]ν ἔνεκα εκ[.] . . . . .  
 κεν ὅτι ν[ο]μίζ[.] . . . . . Περι-  
 κλέα καὶ αμ[.] . . . . .  
 τῷ ἄγει ἐ[ξ]ελ[α] . . . . . αυ[.]ιτ[.] . . .  
 ἡπερ ἰσχύου[σιν]· [κ]αθ' ὃ ἰσχύουσ[ιν]  
 [διὰ] χειρὸς ἔχειν· ἐν χερσὶν [ἔ]χειν,  
 [μ]εταχειρίζεσθαι διὰ τῆς αἰεὶ δε-  
 [ο]ύσης ἐπιμελείας.  
 [γν]ώμη καὶ χρημάτων π[εριο]υσί[α]

- [. . .]σθ[.]ι προνοιαικ[. . .]ηματ[. . .]  
 [. . . . .]πολ[.]κατορθου[. . .]  
 [. . . . .]σκαιδημ[. . .]  
 14 [. . . . .]νωτ[. . . . .]  
 7 lines lost.
- 22 [. . . . .] . [ . . . . .]διοπ[. . . . .] . [ . . . . .]αι . [ . . . . .]ανέθεσαν[. . . . .]υδημου  
 25 [. . . . .]σι[. . . . .]μοσιον > [ . . . . .]ν  
 α[. . . . .]ε[.]εχο[. . . . .]γαλματεσ  
 σ[. . . . .]ταταλαν[. . . . .]θμον[. . . . .]ν  
 [. . . . .]θουκαι[. . . . .]ρετο[. . . . .]  
 30 [. . . . .]οπε[ . . . . .]ε[ [ . . . . .] ]  
 [. . . . .] [ . . . . .] [ . . . . .]ρονεληθ[ . . . . .]  
 35 οτανκαθ[ . . . . .]καιπεριαιρ[ . . . . .]
- [κρατεῖ]σθ[α]ι· προνοία καὶ χρ[η]μάτ[ων]  
 [παρασκευῇ] πολ[λῶν] κατορθοῦ[σθαι].  
 13. 4. [ἐν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις] καὶ δημ[ο-]  
 [σίοις] . . . . .] . [.]νωτ[. . . . .]  
 13. 5. ἀ[πέφαι]νε [δ]ὲ ἔχον τὸ ἄ[γαλμα] τεσ-  
 σ[αράκον]τα τάλαν[τα] στα[θμὸν] [χρ]υ-  
 [σίου ἀπέφ]θου καὶ [περιαι]ρετὸν εἰ-  
 [ναι ἅπαν·] ὁ Π[ερικλῆς]  
 [. . . . .]ε[ [ . . . . .] ]  
 [. . . . .] [ . . . . .] [ . . . . .]ρον ἔλθῃ [ . . . . .]  
 ὅταν καθ[ . . . . .]  
 13. 6. καὶ περιαιρ[ετόν·]

Col. ix (=D with Fr. 1).

- [.]αιτωνπαρεπαλξιν τωνφυλα  
 [. . .]οντωνατειχη[.]ωναιεπαλξεισ  
 [. . .]ουτοιγαρεφυλασσονυποτετων  
 [. . .]σβυτατων αντιτουαποτων  
 5 [.]ρεσβυτατωνωσδαϊδωνυπο >  
 λαμπομε[.]ων  
 τουτε[.]αρφαληρικουτειχουσσταδι  
 οισαν[.]εντ[.]καιτρι[.]κονταπροσ  
 [.]ον[. . . . .]ντ[.]υαστε[. . . . .]ντι[.]ου  
 10 [. . .]στουκυ[.]λουην[. . .]χητο  
 μ[.]νφαληρ[. . .]οδετο[.]π[.] . [.]ε[  
 εφ[.]απαριθ[.]ειταιδε[.]σου[.]ν
13. 6. [κ]αὶ τῶν παρ' ἑπαλξιν· τῶν φυλα-  
 [σ]όντων τὰ τεῖχη [ἐφ'] ὧν αἱ ἐπάλξεις.  
 13. 7. [τοσ]οῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον ὑπὸ τε τῶν  
 [πρ]εσβυτάτων· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 [π]ρεσβυτάτων, ὥς δαΐδων ὑπο  
 λαμπομε[ν]άων.  
 τοῦ τε [γ]ὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδι-  
 οὶ ἦσαν [π]έντε καὶ τρι[ά]κοντα πρὸς  
 [τ]ὸν [κύκ]λον τ[ο]ῦ ἄστε[ως]· ἀντὶ [τ]οῦ  
 [έ]ως τοῦ κύ[κ]λου· ἦν [β'] τεί[χη] τὸ  
 μ[έ]ν Φαλήρου τὸ δὲ το[ῦ] Π[ειρα]ι-  
 έ[ως] ἀπαριθ[μ]εῖται δὲ [το]σοῦ[το]ν

τοδιαστημα[.]ποτουφαληρι[.]υ  
 αχριτουκυκ[.]υτουαστεωσ[.]υκλον  
 15 δελεγειτονπ[.]ριβολοντουα[.]εω[.]  
 [.]αιπαλινοποσονηνε[.]ει[.]...  
 [.]...χριτουκυκλου  
 [.]...υνυχ[.]αι λ[.]μηνα[.].....

τὸ διάστημα [ἀ]πὸ τοῦ Φαλήρ[ι]κ[ο]υ  
 ἄχρι τοῦ κύκ[λο]υ τοῦ ἄστεως, [κ]ύκλον  
 δὲ λέγει τὸν π[ε]ρίβολον τοῦ ἄ[στ]εω[ς],  
 [κ]αὶ πάλιν ὁπόσον ἦν ἐ[κ] Π[ε]ραιέ-  
 [ως] ἄ[χρι] τοῦ κύκλου.

[ξὺν Μο]υνυχ[ί]α· λ[ι]μὴν Ἀ[ττικῆς]

About 3 lines lost.

Fr. 1.

22 ητ[  
 ευβο[  
 αλλ[  
 25 καιγαρ[  
 ξ[.]χισνο[  
 [.]ειτο[  
 ο[ι]

ητ[  
 14. 1. Εὐβο[ιαν·  
 ἀλλ[  
 καὶ γὰρ [  
 ξ[.]χίς νο[  
 [.]ειτο[  
 ο[ι]

Col. x (= E col. i).

[  
 [.]...μετευμο[.]...  
 [.]...χθειευριπι[.]...  
 [.]...  
 5 ἡα[.]...ηδηξυντ[.]...  
 εσαυ[.]...ντελουντω[.]...  
 τοενλ[.]...ισ διονυσο[.]...  
 μενφησ[.]...ευδεδιονυ[.]...  
 [.]ητον[.]...τελευθηρει[.]...  
 10 [.]...οροστά[.]...ασηγογε[.]...  
 [.]...οσδεουτ[.]...σφησιν[.]...  
 [.]...ατοεκλελ[.]...μνασθαι[.]...  
 [.]...τιδεκαιεν[.]...ηιλακωνι[.]...  
 [.]...ουλιμνατ[.]...σεστιναρτ[.]...  
 15 [.]...ααρχαιοταταδιονυσιατηιβποι  
 [.]...επιτρεισμε[.]...εσ[.]...νεορτηγημε

[  
 15. 1. Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμό[λπου]...  
 [.]...ἐν Ἐρε[χ]θεὶ Εὐριπίδ[ου]...  
 [.]...  
 15. 2. ἡ ἀ[πάντων] ἤδη ξυντ[ε]λούντων  
 ἐς αὐ[τήν]· ξυντελούντων...  
 15. 4. τὸ ἐν Λίμνα[ις] Διονύσο[υ]· Καλλιμάχος  
 μέν φησ[ιν] εἶ δὲ Διωνύ[σ]...  
 [.]η τόν [πο]τ' Ἐλευθ[ήρ]ει· Λιμναίω  
 [δὲ] χ[οροστάδ]ας ἦγον ἐ[ορτάς],...  
 [.]...ος δὲ οὐ[τ]ως φησὶν [καλεῖσθαι]  
 [δι]ὰ τὸ ἐκλελ[ι]μνάσθαι [τὸν τόπον].  
 [ἔσ]τι δὲ καὶ ἐν [τ]ῇ Λακωνί[α] ἱερὸν  
 [ὅ]που Λιμνα[τί]ς ἐστιν Ἀρτ[εμις].  
 [ᾧ] τὰ ἀρχαιοτάτα Διονύσια τῇ ιβ' ποι-  
 [εῖται]· ἐπὶ τρεῖς μέ[ν] ἐσ[τιν] ἐορτὴ ἡμέ-

[. . .]ἰαῖβιγ̃επισ[. . . . .]τιδεηιβ̃  
 [. .]καιειπεναν[. . . .]  
 20 [. . .]λ[.]ιστουαξ[.]εχρωντ[.] ειστα  
 [. . . . .]τ[.]αξια  
 [. . . .]εγαμικωνκαιεσαλλα[.]ωνι̃ε  
 [. . .]νομιζεταιιω̃δατιχ[.]σθαι  
 [. .]μιζεταιινομιμονεστι . [. . . . .] .  
 [. . . .]εουνεπιπολυκατατη[. . . . .]  
 25 [. .]υτονομωιοικησειμετατο[. . . . .]  
 [ο]ιαθνηαιοδιατηνκατα[. . . . .]  
 ραναντονομονο[.]κησινα[. . . . .]  
 κατατηνχωραν[.]υτονομ[. . . . .]  
 σεωσειρηταιδευπερβατω[. . . . .]  
 30 ξησεπιπολυμετειχονοια[. . . . .]  
 [. .]ν[.]κησι̃αγενομενοι ολ[. . . . .]  
 μ[.]πανοικιαιενταυτ[. . . . .]  
 το[.] . .]κουντες  
 καιτ[.]ηρωαπαντα τατων[. . . . .]  
 35 ω[.] . .]μενηαφωενειωνκ[. . . . .]  
 φ[.]αιλεγουσιδερηωνμε[. . . . .]  
 σηκουσθεωνδενουσκαλλ[. . . . .]  
 αιιδέχονέντομασηκοι

[ρας] ια' ιβ' ιγ', ἐπίσ[ημός ἐσ]τι δὲ ἡ ιβ',  
 [ώς] καὶ εἶπεν αὐ[τός.]  
 15. 5. [τὰ π]λ[ε]ίστου ἄξι[α] ἐχρῶντ[οι] εἰς τὰ  
 [πλείσ]τ[ον] ἄξια.  
 [πρὸ τ]ε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα [τ]ῶν ἰε-  
 [ρῶν] νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χ[ρῆ]σθαι.  
 [νο]μίζεται νόμιμόν ἐστι . [. . . . .] .  
 16. 1 [τῇ τ]ε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τῇ[ν] χώραν  
 [α]ὐτονόμῳ οἰκῆσει· μετὰ τοῦ μετεῖχον  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ τὴν κατὰ [τὴν] χώ-  
 ραν αὐτόνομον οἰ[κ]ησιν ἀντὶ <τοῦ> τῆς  
 κατὰ τὴν χώραν [α]ὐτονόμου οἰκῆ-  
 σεως. εἴρηται δὲ ὑπερβατῶ[ς], τὸ γὰρ ἐ-  
 ξῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀ[θηναῖοι].  
 [πα]ν[οι]κησι̃α γενόμενοι· ὅλ[. . . . .]  
 μ[.] . .] πανοικί̃α ἐν ταύτ[ῃ] . . . . .  
 το[.] οἰ[κ]οῦντες.  
 17. 1 καὶ τ[ὰ] ἡρῶα πάντα· τὰ τῶν [ἡρώ-  
 ω[ν] τε]μένη ἀφ' ὧν ἐνίων κ[αλοῦ]νται  
 φ[υλ]αί. λέγουσι δὲ ἡρώων με[ν] τοὺς  
 σηκοὺς, θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς· Καλλ[ί]μαχος  
 ἀεὶ δ' ἔχον ἔντομα σηκοί.

Col. xi (= E col. ii. with Fr. 2).

καιειτιαλλοβε[  
 καιειτιαλλοα[  
 [. . . .]καιφυλα[

καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βε[βαίως κληστὸν ἦν·  
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀ[σφαλῶς] . . . . .  
 [. . .] καὶ φυλα[σσύμενον]

10 lines lost.

Fr. 2.

[. . . . .]πα[. . . . .]  
 15 [. .]ιη[. . . . .]κονάρ[. . . . .]  
 εξ̃ω[. . . . .]ωικη[. . . . .]  
 δυγαρ[. . . . .]γομ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]ρομω[. . . . .]

[. . . . .] πά[σης] μὲν  
 [γα]ι̃η[ς τὸ Π]ελασγι̃κὸν Ἀρ[γος] ἄμεινον.  
 ἐξ̃ω[κῆθη] . . . . .]ωκῆ[θη].  
 17. 2. οὐ γὰρ [διὰ τὴν παρά]νομ[ον] ἐνοίκη-  
 [σιν] . . . . . παρα[νόμω]. . . . .

20 [. . . . .]σεχρη[. . . . .]      [. . . . .]ς ἐχρη[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]ληκ[. . . . .]      [. . . . .]ληκ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] . ο[. . . . .]      [. . . . .] . ο[. . . . .]  
 . . . . .      . . . . .

## Col. xii (= F col. i).

[. . . . .]φορικωσαποτων 17. 4. [ἐξαρτύνοντες· μετα]φορικῶς ἀπὸ τῶν  
 [. . . . .]νοιερεταιετοι > [πλοίων λέγεται ὅτα]ν οἱ ἐρέται ἔτοι-  
 [. . . . .]πην [μοι ὧσι πρὸς τὴν κώ]πην.  
 [. . . . .]πολεμουμα > 18. 3. [ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ] πολέμου μα-  
 5 [. . . . .]αθροισικαι [λακός· . . . . .] ἀθροίσει καὶ  
 [. . . . .] . εανειμενος [. . . . .] . ε ἀνειμένος  
 [. . . . .]τησ [. . . . .]της.  
 [. . . . .]καθεδραιει 18. 5. [τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ] καθέδρα εἰ-  
 [. . . . .]αμ[. . .]λεινκαι [χεν· . . . . .]α μ[έλ]λειν καὶ  
 10 [. . . . .]αθησθαιαργωσ [. . . . .]κ[αθῆσθαι ἀργῶς  
 [. . . . .] [ . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]ταφορικωσ [ἀνείχεν· . . . . .] με]ταφορικῶς  
 [. . . . .]εχειναφου [ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ὄπλα ἀν]έχειν ἀφ' οὗ  
 [. . . . .]χειριαι [καὶ ἀνοχαὶ αἱ ἐκε]χειρίαι.  
 15 [. . . . .]ναιωνίπ 19. 2. [καὶ τροπὴν τινα τῶν Ἀθη]ναίων ἱπ-  
 [. . . . .]ουμενουσ [πέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥεῖτους καλ]οιμένους  
 [. . . . .]ιτοπ[. . .]ς [ἐποίησαντο· . . . . .]ι τοπ[ο . . .]ς  
 [. . . . .]ηια[. . .] [ . . . . .]η α[. . .]  
 Some lines lost (?).  
 [. . . . .]αιππεων[. . . . .] [. . . . .]α ἱππέων [. . . . .]  
 20 [. . . . .] . λωστο . [ . . . . .] [. . . . .] . λως το . [ . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]εληλυθο[. . . . .] [. . . . .]εληλυθο[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]ανειλεμ[. . . . .] [. . . . .] ἀνείλεν [ . . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] . . . . . ἀδεεν[. . . . .] [. . . . .] . . . . . ἀδε ἐνν[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .]ηναι ηδειςανει . [ . . . . .] 20. 1. [οὐ καταβ]ῆναι· ἥδειςαν ει . [ . . . . .]  
 25 [. . . . .]ναι [ . . . . .]ναι.  
 [. . . . .]ιειτο ηλπιζενδιε[. . . . .] 20. 3. [πείραν ἐπο]ιείτο· ἥλπιζεν, διε]νοεῖτο.  
 [. . . . .]ασιγ αντιτ[. . .]νιεπεξέ[. . . . .] [εἰ ἐπεξί]ασιν· ἀντὶ τ[ο]ῦ εἰ ἐπεξ[ελεύ-

[. . . . .]τογεγεστωτααντιτο[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]τον ενεστωτα αντι το[υ] μέλλον-
[. . . . .]τοτο . . . [.]ικριτιθ[. . . . .]	[τος . . .]τοτο . . . [.]ικρι τιθ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]ε[. . .] . σ . [.]ο[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]ε[. . .] . σ . [.]ο[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]στοήρ[. . . . .]	[. . . . .]ς το ήρ[. . . . .]
[. . . . .]καιμε[. . . . .]	[. . . . .] και με[. . . . .]
. . . . .	. . . . .

Col. xiii (= F col. ii).

καιεπαίνεσ[.]σθαιαντιτουεπα[. . . . .]	(20. 4.) καὶ ἐπαινέσ[ε]σθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπα[ινέ- σειν σύνηθες τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς.
30 θριῶξε τοπικωσαντιτουεισ[. . . . .]	21. 1. Θριῶξε τοπικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς τὸ Θριά- σιον πε{ι}δίων, συνήθ[ω]ς· ἡκολού[θει 5 γαρωςολυμπιαζεκαιοικαδεθρι[. . . . .]
σιονπειδιονσυννηθ[.]σηκολού[. . . . .]	21. 2. ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς [γ]ῆς τεμν[ο- μένης· ὑπέρβατόν ἐστι, τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς αλλαντοισωσεικοστησ[.]ηστεμν[. . . . .]
μενησ υπερβατονεστιτογαρε[. . . . .]	αὐτοῖς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διὰ μέσου.
αυτοισδεινονεφαινετοταδα[. . . . .]	21. 3. κατὰ ξυστάσε[ι]ς τ[ε] γιγνόμενο[ι]· συνιστάμενοι, συστρεφόμενο[ι] διαμεσου
10 καταξυνστασε[.]στ[.]γεινομενο[. . . . .]	κατὰ μέρη. ὡς ἕκαστος ὥργητο· ὡς ἕκαστο[ς] ὠρέ- γετο, ἐπ[ε]θύμει. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ γράφ[ε- συνῆσταμενοιςυνστρεφομενο[. . . . .]
καταμερη	κατὰ μέρος.
ωσεκαστοσωργητο ωσεκαστο[.]ω[. . . . .]	ὡς ἕκαστος ὥργητο· ὡς ἕκαστο[ς] ὠρέ- γετο, ἐπ[ε]θύμει. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ γράφ[ε- γετοεπ[.]θυμειενενιοισδεγραφε[. . . . .]
15 ταιώρητο	ταῖς ὥρμητο.
ενφρυγιοισ τοποσδημουαθμονεω[. . . . .]	22. 2. ἐν Φρυγίοις· τόπος δήμου Ἀθμονέω[ν]. τέλει ἐνὶ τῶν ἱππέων· τάγματι, ἡ[ν] μενδορπονελεσθεκαταστρα[.]ον[. . . . .]
τέλειἐνιτωνιππεων ταγματι[ν]. .	μὲν δόρπον ἔλεσθε κατὰ στρα[τ]ὸν ἐν τελέεσσι.
μενδορπονελεσθεκαταστρα[.]ον[. . . . .]	22. 3. Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι· ἀπ[ὸ] Πηρείας, τὰ[ς] εντελεεσσι
20 φαρσαλιοιπειράσιοι απ[.]πηρειαστα[. . . . .]	ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος. ἀμαρ- τάνουσι δὲ οἱ γράφοντες Παράσι- ο[ι,] ἔστιν γὰρ τῆς Ἀρκ[αδίας].
ενπηρειιθρεψαργ[. . . . .]	23. 1. ἄραντες· ἀπάραντες, [ἀποσ]τάντες.
τανουσιδαιοιγρα[. . . . .]	23. 3. παριόντε[ς] δὲ Ὀρωπό[ν] μεθ[ό]ριος ο[.]εστινγαρτησαρκ[. . . . .]
άραντεσ απαραντεσ[. . . . .]ταντεσ	γῆς Βοιωτῶν] καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν,
25 παριοντε[.]δεωρωπο[. . . . .]οριος	
γησβοιω[. . . . .]καιαθην[. . . . .]στιν >	

[. . . . .]βήτησαν[. . .]akis [ἔθεν ἡμφισ]βήτησαν [πολλ]akis  
 [. . .]ον [αὐτ]οῦ.  
 [. . . . .]α[. . .]δαυ[. . . . .]οιαθη[. 24. 1. [ἀναχωρησ]ά[ντων] δ' αὐ[τῶν] οἱ Ἀθη-  
 . . . . .  
 Some columns lost.

Col. xiv (= G col. i).

	[. . . . .]υτηκοτωναρσε	34. 5.	[. . . . . τετελε]υτηκότων. ἀρσε-
	[. . . . .]σιτονμαραθωνα		[νικῶς δὲ λέγου]σι τὸν Μαραθῶνα.
	[. . . . .]φιος		[ ἐπιτᾶ]φιος.
	[. . . . .]δριπολλωναρετας	35. 1.	[καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀν]δρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς
5	[. . . . .]ευτεκαιχειρονει		[κινδυνεύεσθαι] εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰ-
	[. . . . .]ηναι καιμηνενει		[πόντι πιστευθ]ῆναι· καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ
	[. . . . .] σου[. . . . .]απο		[ἀνδρὶ . . . . .] σου[. . . . .] ἀπο-
	[. . . . .]ντασαρετασκινδυνε[.		[θανόντων] τὰς ἀρετὰς κινδυνε[ύ-
	[. . . . .]ποντικαικακωστοιου		[ειν εὖ εἰ]πόντι καὶ κακῶς τοιου-
10	[. . . . .]σπιστευεσθαιωσαν >		[τοτρόπου]ς πιστεῦεσθαι ὥς ἂν
	[. . . . .]ιπη		[οὗτος εἰ]ῆπη.
	[. . . . .]μετριωσειπειν >	35. 2.	[χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ] μετρίως εἰπεῖν·
	[. . . . .]καιικανωσ		[. . . . .] καὶ ἱκανῶς.
	[. . . . .]οκησιστησαλη		[ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δ]όκησις τῆς ἀλη-
15	[. . . . .]υσκολονεστιν		[θείας βεβαιού]ται· δ[ύσκολόν] ἐστιν
	[. . . . .]πραγματιμο		[. . . . .] πράγματι μο-
	[. . . . .]ασῦπολη >		[. . . . .]ας ὑπολή-
	[. . . . .]αιδυσκολον		[ψ . . . . .]αι δύσκολον
	[. . . . .]πιστεται		[. . . . .] ἀ]πιστεῖται
20	[. . . . .]ουπραγμα		[. . . . .] τ]οῦ πράγμα-
	[. . . . .]δοξακαι		[τος . . . . .] δόξα καὶ
	[. . . . .]του[. . .]		[. . . . .] του . [.] .
	[. . . . .]		[. . . . .]
	[. . . . .]λεοναζε		[ὃ τε ἄπειρός] ἐστιν ἃ καὶ π[λεονάζε]-
25	[. . . . .]τηναν >		[σθαι διὰ φθόνον εἴ τι ὑπὲρ] τὴν αὐ-
	[. . . . .]οουντεσ		[τοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι· οἱ ἀγν]οοῦντες
	[. . . . .]μισει		[. . . . .] νο]μίσει-



διατηναρετη[. . . . .] . ν[.]ρετῶνοι  
 25 [.] . κ[. . . . .]ε[. . . . .]νταξιν  
 [.] . . . . .]εκαστοσ  
 [.] . . . . .]ννομων  
 [.] . . . . .]ιαρετη >  
 [.] . . . . .]σ  
 30 [.] . . . . .]τοκοινων  
 [.] . . . . .]νπροσ >  
 [.] . . . . .]καθ[. . .]ρανεπιτη  
 [.] . . . . .]ψιαν[. . .]ιοργησ >  
 [.] . . . . .]δονη[.]δρατιεχον  
 35 [.] . . . . .]σφησινπολ[.]τευομεθα  
 [.] . . . . .]νοισκαιπ[.]σαλλη >  
 [.] . . . . .]αθημερανεπιτη >  
 [.] . . . . .]χυποπτευουσιν

διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἣ ἐκ τῶν ἀρετῶν οι-  
 [.] . κ[. . . . .]ε[. . . . .]νταξιν  
 [.] . . . . .] ἕκαστος  
 [.] . . . . .] τῶν νόμων  
 [.] . . . . .]ι ἀρετῇ  
 [.] . . . . .]ς.

37. 2. [ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς] τὸ κοινὸν  
 [πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν] πρὸς  
 [ἀλλήλους τῶν] καθ' [ἡμέ]ραν ἐπιτη-  
 [δευμάτων ὑπο]ψίαν [οὐδ' ὀργῆς  
 [τὸν πῆλιν εἰ καθ' ἡ]δονὴν[.] δρᾶ τι ἔχον-  
 [τες· ἐλευθέρως]· φησὶν πολ[ι]τευόμεθα  
 [ἐν τε τοῖς κοι]νοῖς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλή-  
 [λους ἐν τοῖς κ]αθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτη-  
 [δεύμασιν οὐ]χ ὑποπτεύ[σ]οντες

Col. xvi (= G col. iii). Plate IV.

το[. . . .]ασουδοργ[. . . . .]  
 πρ[. . . .]ονηντ[. . . . .]  
 ουδε[.]ζημιου[. . . . .]ηι  
 οψ[. . .]αχθηδονα[. . . . .]  
 5 ουλυπουμεν . [.]ν . [.] . . . .]σ  
 τοισηδεωσδια[. . .]σιν[. . . .]ριμεν  
 ζημιαστησκατα[.]κειν[. . .]ονκα  
 τηγορ[. . .] . [.]ιπροστιμου[.]εὐθέρως  
 ζην[. . .]ρεπομεναλλωσδεεκ  
 10 του . . [.]αχθόμενοι και βασκαίνον  
 τεσεπ[. . .]αλλωνηδοναισδιατελουμ

ανεπα[. . .]σδεταῖδιαπροσομιλουν  
 τεσταδ[. . .]οσιαδιαδεοσμαλισταιον  
 παρανομ[.]μεν ἐν τοῖς ἰδιοῖς ἀπλ[. . .]  
 15 στερον[. . .]ηλοισσυνοντεσεντοισ  
 κοινοισ[. . .]αβωσκαινομιμωσπο

τὸν πῆλιν οὐδ' ὀργιζόμενοι εἰ  
 πρὸς ἡδονὴν τ[ι] δρᾶ.  
 οὐδὲ ἀ[.]ζημιού[ς] μὲν λυπηρὰς δὲ τ[ι]ῇ  
 ὀψ[ει] ἀχθηδόν[ας] προστιθέμενοι[.]  
 οὐ λυποῦμεν . [.]ν . [.] . . . .]ς  
 τοῖς ἡδέως δια[ι]τῶσιν, οὐδὲ ἄχ[.]ρι μὲν  
 ζημίας τῆς κατὰ [ἐ]κείν[ων, οἷον] κα-  
 τηγορ[ί]ας κ[α]λὴ προστίμου, [ἐλ]ευθέρως  
 ζῆν ἐ[πι]τρεπομεν, ἄλλως δὲ ἐκ  
 τοῦ . . [.] ἀχθόμενοι καὶ βασκαίνον-  
 τες ἐπ[ὶ ταῖς] ἄλλων ἡδοναῖς διατε-  
 λου(μεν).

37. 3. ἀνεπα[χθῶ]ς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦν-  
 τες τὰ δ[ημ]όσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ  
 παρανομ[οῦ]μεν· ἐν τοῖς ἰδιοῖς ἀπλ[οῦ]-  
 στερον [ἀλλ]ήλοισ συνόντες ἐν τοῖς  
 κοινοῖς [εὐλ]αβῶς καὶ νομίμως πο-

λιτενο[. .]θα

των τε α[.]ειεν αρχηιον των ακροασει

τωικατ[.]κουειν κα[.]πειθεσθαι τοις

20 αρχου[. .]ν

και θυσιας[. .]τησιοις οιονδιολου του ετους

τολυπηρον[. .]πλησσει εξαιρειται εξαγει

την τε γαρ[. .]λιν κοινην παρεχο >

μεν ακ[. . .]λιζει λακεδαιμονιους

25 ανειμεν[. .]δαιτωμεθα ουκ αντι

του αργ[. .]αλλα αδεωσ

και τοις[. .]υμμαι μαλλον ηπονων

μελετη[. .]μη μετανομων τοπλε

ονητροπ[. .]ανδρειας θελομεν >

30 κινδυνε[. . .]περιγιγνεται ημιν

τοις τε μ[. . .]υσινα λγεινοισι μη

προκαμν[. . .]και εσαντα ελθουσιν

μη ατολμ[. .]ουστωνα ιεμοχθουν

των φαιν[. . .]ι και τοις[. .]ενανεσει

35 μαλλον[. . .]αιστων η[. .]ζωμεν

μη κακ[. . .]θουν τεστησκησει

μηδυπονομωνα ανακαζομε

νοιαλλα διατηνεμφυτο[. .]ανδρει

λιτενό[με]θα.

τῶν τε α[ι]εὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροάσει·

τῷ κατ[α]κούειν κα[ὶ] πείθεσθαι τοῖς

ἄρχου[σι]ν.

38. 1. καὶ θυσίαις [διε]τησίοις· οἶον δι' ὅλου τοῦ  
ἔτους.

τὸ λυπηρὸν [ἐκ]πλήσει· ἐξαιρεῖται,  
ἐξάγει.

39. 1. τὴν τε γὰρ [πό]λιν κοινὴν παρέχο-  
μεν· ἀκ[ροβο]λίζει Λακεδαιμονίους.

ἀνειμέν[ως] δαιτῶμεθα· οὐκ ἀντὶ

τοῦ ἀργ[ῶς]· ἀλλὰ ἀδεῶς.

39. 4. καίτοι εἰ [ῥαθ]υμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων  
μελέτῃ [καὶ] μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέ-  
ον ἢ τρόπ[ων] ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν

κινδυνε[ύειν] περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν

τοῖς τε μ[έλλο]υσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ

προκάμν[ειν] καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσιν

μὴ ἀτολμ[οτέρ]ους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούν-  
των φαίν[εσθα]ι· καίτοι εἰ[δ] ἐν ἀνέσει

μᾶλλον [καὶ ῥ]αστώνῃ ζῶμεν

μὴ κακ[οπα]θοῦντες τῇ ἀσκήσει

μηδ' ὑπὸ νόμων ἀνακαζόμε-

νοι ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτο[ν] ἀνδρεί-

Col. xvii (= G col. iv). Plate IV.

ανυπο[. . . . .]γουσ κινδύνους

[. . .]ι εστ[. . . . .]οτων δεινῶν >

[. . . . .]αι και εστουσκιν

[. . . . .]αντα σμη ανα νδ[. .]ο

5 τ[. .]ρουστωνα ιεκακοπαθουντων

φαινεσθαι οι μεν γαρ Λακωνες αιει

πονειν υπο των νομων ηναγκα-

ζοντο οι δ' Αθηναιοι παρα τους κιν-

αν ὑπο[φέρ]οντες τοὺς κινδύνους,

[περ]ι εστ[ιν] ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν

[μὴ] ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐς τοὺς κιν-

[δύνους] ἀπαντήσ[αντας] μὴ ἀνανδ[ρ]ο-

τ[έ]ρους τῶν αἰεὶ κακοπαθούντων

φαίνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λάκωνες αἰεὶ

πονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἡναγκά-

ζοντο, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι παρὰ τοὺς κιν-

δυνουσεπονουντο

δύνους ἐπονούντο.

- 10 <sup>Ε</sup>πλουτῶιτε<sup>Ε</sup>ργο[[ν]]μαλλονκαιρωιηλο  
 γουκομπωι<sup>Ε</sup>χρωμεθα οπλουτοσημων  
 επιτωνε[. . .]ωνενκαιρωιφαινεται >  
 ουλογων[. . .]ζονειαιλεγομενπλουτειν  
 καιτοπεν[. . .]ιουχομολογειντινιαι
- 15 σχροναλλα[. . .]διαφευγεινεργωιασχειον  
 ουχωσκαιτ[. . .]πενεσθαιαισχροναυται  
 λεγομενουαλ[. . .]νκριτικοναντι >  
 απλουτεθεικ[. . .]σομηροσαιειδε  
 νεωτεροιαφρ[. . .]υσιν
- 20 εντε[. . .]ο[. . .]αυτοι[. . .]ιωναμακαιπολι  
 τικωνεπιμελια[. . .]τεροισπροσεργα  
 τετραμμενοις[. . .]τικαμηνδε  
 ωσγωνναι ελ[. . .]τουπαρχειοιον  
 εντοιςαντοις[. . .]σινεστιντων
- 25 τειδιωνκαιτ[. . .]ινωνκατα >  
 τηνπολινηε[. . .]ελειακαιετε  
 ροισεστιπρροσε[. . .]ρμηκοσιτατησ  
 γεωργιασκαιταπ[. . .]ικαμηδεν >  
 ηττονδιαγιγ[. . .]ειν
- 30 καιαντοιητοικρι[. . .]νγενθενθ  
 μουμεθαορθω[. . .]αγματακρινο  
 μεν οιονεπικρι[. . .]νωσετερων  
 ευροντων
- διαφεροντωσγαρ[. . .]δεεχομεν
- 35 ωστετολμαντα[. . .]μα[. . .]ακαι  
 περιωνεπιχει[. . .]ιζε  
 σθαιοτοισαλλ[. . .]

40. 1. πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μάλλον καιρῷ ἢ λό-  
 γου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα· ὁ πλούτος ἡμῶν  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐν καιρῷ φαίνεται,  
 οὐ λόγων [ἀλλὰ] ζονεῖα λέγομεν πλουτεῖν.  
 καὶ τὸ πέν[εσθα]ι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινι αἰ-  
 σχρὸν ἀλλὰ [μὴ] διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἰσχιον·  
 οὐχ ὥς καὶ τ[οῦ] πένεσθαι αἰσχροῦ αὐτῷ  
 λεγομένου, ἀλλὰ συγκριτικὸν ἀντὶ  
 ἀπλοῦ τέθεικεν, ὡς Ὁμηρος αἰεὶ δὲ  
 νεώτεροι ἀφρ[αδέο]υσιν.
40. 2. ἔν τε τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς οἰκεῖων ἅμα καὶ πολι-  
 τικῶν ἐπιμέλεια [καὶ ἐ]τέροις πρὸς ἔργα  
 τετραμμένοις [τὰ πολι]τικά μὴ ἐνδε-  
 ῶς γνῶναι· ἐλ[λιπές] τὸ ὑπάρχει, οἶον  
 ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς [ἀνδρά]σιν ἐστὶν τῶν  
 τε ιδίων καὶ τ[ῶν] κοινῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἢ ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἐτέ-  
 ροις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἔργα ὡς ρηκόσι τὰ τῆς  
 γεωργίας καὶ τὰ πολιτικά μὴδὲν  
 ἥττον διαγιγ[ώσκ]ειν.
- καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρι[νομέ]ν γε ἢ ἐνθυ-  
 μούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πρ[ά]γματα· κρίνο-  
 μεν οἶον ἐπικρί[νομε]ν ὡς ἐτέρων  
 εὐρόντων.
40. 3. διαφερόντως γὰρ [δὴ τόδε] ἔχομεν  
 ὥστε τολμᾶν τε αὐτοῖς μά[λιστα] καὶ  
 περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογ[ί]ζε-  
 σθαι· ὁ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις] ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος,

Col. xviii (= G col. v).

λο[

ο[

τ[

λο[γισμός] δὲ ὅκνον φέρει·

ο[

τ[

μετ[  
 5 μωμ[  
 ανθρ[  
 αμαλ[  
 μενο[  
 σιναφ[  
 10 οντες[  
 απειρι[  
 αδεωστι[  
 καικαθεκ[  
 αυτοναν[  
 15 στανείδ[  
 στανευτρ[  
 κεςπαρεχ[  
 αθηναιο[  
 πλεισταε[  
 20 τωσμαλι[  
 εαυτονα[  
 παρασχοι[  
 τουευκολ[  
 μονηγαρτ[  
 25 σωνεσπειρ[  
 κρεισσων[  
 νηγαρπε[  
 γωνεντοι[  
 καιμονητ[  
 30 τωνουκα[  
 δεεστερω[  
 τωνυπη[  
 αρχησου[  
 ουτετωιυπ[  
 35 αποκοινο[  
 τοεχειουτ[  
 κατάμεμψ[

μετ[  
 μωμ[  
 ανθρ[ωπ  
 αμαλ[  
 μενο[  
 σιν αφ[  
 οντες [  
 απειρι[  
 40. 5. αδεως τι[να ωφελουμεν· . . . . .  
 41. 1. και καθ' εκ[αστον δοκειν αν μοι τον  
 αυτον αν[δρα παρ' ημων επι πλει-  
 στ' αν ειδη και μετα χαριτων мали-  
 στ' αν ευτρ[απέλως το σωμα αυταρ-  
 κες παρέχ[εσθαι·  
 Αθηναϊο[ς επι  
 πλειστα ε[ιδη . . . . . χαριέν-  
 τως мали[στα  
 εαυτον αν αυτάρκη τῷ σώματι  
 παράσχοι. [ευτραπέλως δὲ ἀντι  
 τοῦ εύκόλ[ως.  
 41. 3. μόνη γὰρ τ[ῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείσ-  
 σων ἐς πείρ[αν ἔρχεται· . . . . .  
 κρείσσων [  
 μό-  
 νη γὰρ πε[ . . . . . τῶν λό-  
 γων ἐν τοῖ[ς ἔργοις . . . . .  
 και μόνη τ[ῶν πολεμίων . . . . .  
 των οὐκ ἀ[γανάκτησιν ἔχει ὡς ἐν  
 δεεστέρω[ς . . . . . οὐδὲ  
 τῶν ὑπη[κόων . . . . . ὡς τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἀξία οὔσα.  
 οὔτε τῷ ὑπ[ηκόῳ κατὰμεμψιν·  
 ἀπὸ κοινο[ν . . . . . ληπτέον  
 τὸ ἔχει. οὔτ[ε ἀγανάκτησιν οὔτε  
 κατὰμεμψ[ιν ἔχει.

Some columns lost.

Col. xix (=H).

	[. . . . .]φύσεωσ[. . . . .]		[. . . . .] φύσεως.
	[. . . . .]αχιστονα[.]ετ[. . . . .]	45. 2.	[ἡ δόξα καὶ ἥς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλ]αχιστον ἀ[ρ]ετ[ῆς
	[. . . . .]ἄρρεσι κλέος[.]		[πέρι ἡ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς] ἄρρεσι κλέος ᾗ.
	[. . . . .]νσυνδεσμον[. . . . .]		[. . . . .]ν σύνδεσμον[. . . . .]
5	[. . . . .]αντιτουκᾶιτε[. . . . .]		[. . . . .] τὸ ἥ' ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ τέ[θει-
	[. . . . .]μεγωλαονσοον[. . . . .]		[κεν "Ομηρος βούλο]μ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σόν
	[. . . . .]λεσθαι αποκοιν[. . . . .]		[ἔμμεναι ἡ ἀπο]λέσθαι. ἀπὸ κοιν[οῦ
	[. . . . .]ληπτεοντοφυ[. . . . .]		[δὲ . . . . .] ληπτέον τὸ φύ-
	[. . . . .]φύσεωσ ελαχιστο[. . . . .]		[σεως . . . . .] φύσεως ἐλάχιστο[ν
10	[. . . . .]μηψογου παρα >		[. . . . .] μὴ ψόγου παρα
	[. . . . .]κλ[. . .]σηκαιησαν		[. . . . .] κλ[έο]ς ἡ καὶ ἥς ἂν
	[. . . . .]λεοσῆ περιαρ >		[ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον κ]λέος ἡ περὶ ἄρε-
	[. . . . .]ογονεντοισαν[.]ρα[. . . . .]		[τῆς . . . . .] ψ[ό]γου ἐν τοῖς ἀν[δ]ρά-
	[. . . . .]κασδηλονοτ[.]πο		[σι . . . . .] γυναι[κ]ας δηλονότ[ι] πο-
15	[. . . . .]ατουνοηματο[.]παρ[. . . . .]		[. . . . .]α τοῦ νοήματο[ς] παρ[α
	[. . . . .]δοξαισγυν[. . . . .]		[. . . . .] δόξα ταῖς γυν[αιξί
	[. . . . .]φανηταιη[. . . . .]		[. . . . .] φανῆναι τη[. . . . .]
	[. . . . .]καιπαρα[. . . . .]		[. . . . .] καὶ παρα[. . . . .]

## Unplaced Fragments.

(a) To Cols. i-vi.

Fr. 3.	Fr. 3.
[κρ[	[κρ[
]εδυνα[	]εδυνα[
]εξερχε[	]εξερχε[
]καιπο[	] καὶ πο[
] . . [	] . . [

## (b) To Cols. viii-xiii.

	Fr. 4.	Fr. 5.		Fr. 4.	Fr. 5.
	]ατρίδα[	. . .		(?) π]ατρίδα [	. . .
	]ασαρετ[	]τηι		]ας ἀρετ[ὰς	]τηη
	]δετη[	]τας		] δὲ τη[	]τας
	]στινὸ[	] . σ		ἐ]στιν ο[	] . s
5	]σαττ[	] .		]σαττ[	] .
	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .

	Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.		Fr. 6.	Fr. 7.	Fr. 8.
	. . .	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .
	]ενο[. .	]α	]ινε[		]ενο[. .	]α	]ινε[
	]κατε[.	] >	] . ου[		] κατε[.	] .	] . ου[
	]νδια	]αι	. . .		]ν δια	]αι	. . .
	. . .	. . .	. . .		. . .	. . .	. . .

## (c) To Cols. viii-xix.

Fr. 9.	Fr. 10.	Fr. 9.	Fr. 10.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] . [	] . ε[	] . [	] . ε[
]περ . [	]μαξ[	]περ . [	]μαξ[
]εσθ . . [	]ητωστι[	]εσθ . . [	]ητως τι[
]ντογ[	]υτοήδ[	]ντογ[	]υτο ήδ[
5 ] . αι[	]ντεσ [	] . αι[	]ντες [
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.	Fr. 11.	Fr. 12.	Fr. 13.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
] [	[.] . [	] . [	] [	[.] . [	] . [
]τομαντ[	μ[	]φο[	]το μαντ[	μ[	]φο[
]ρο[.]επ[	η . [	] . [	]ρο[.] ἐπ[	η . [	] . [
]τ[	[.]η[	. . .	]τ[	[.]η[	. . .
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

## (d) To Cols. xiv-xix.

Fr. 14 (to col. xv?).

. . .  
 ]ινκ[  
 ]ντοισι[  
 ]ρωνε[  
 ]ετουδ[  
 5 ]ται . [  
 . . .

Fr. 15.

. . .  
 ]εω . [  
 ]σαλη[  
 ]ε . [  
 . . .

Fr. 14.

. . .  
 ]ιν κ[  
 ]ν τοῖς ι[  
 ]ρων ε[  
 ]ε τουδ[  
 ]ται . [  
 . . .

Fr. 15.

. . .  
 ]εω . [  
 ]ς ἀλη[  
 ]ε . [  
 . . .

## (e) Uncertain.

Fr. 16.

. . .  
 ] . ρ[  
 ]ματ[  
 ]ρεξ[  
 ]λιστα[  
 5 ] . εικαι[  
 ]υνπ[  
 ]δοτ[  
 . . .

Fr. 17.

. . .  
 ]καλλ[  
 ] . υτοσ[  
 ] . ναστη[  
 ]λυσα[  
 5 ]αντι[  
 ] . [  
 . . .

Fr. 16.

. . .  
 ] . ρ[  
 ]ματ[  
 ]ρεξ[  
 μά]λιστα [  
 ]ει καὶ [  
 ]υνπ[  
 ]δοτ[  
 . . .

Fr. 17.

. . .  
 ] καλλ[  
 ] . υτοσ[  
 ] . ναστη[  
 ]λυσα[  
 ] ἀντι[  
 ] . [  
 . . .

Fr. 18.

. . .  
 ]αλ[  
 ] . επ[

Fr. 19.

. . .  
 ]ια[  
 ]σ[  
 . . .

Fr. 20.

. . .  
 ]α[  
 ]ρ . [  
 . . .

Fr. 18.

. . .  
 ]αλο[  
 ] . επ[

Fr. 19.

. . .  
 ]ια[  
 ]σ[  
 . . .

Fr. 20.

. . .  
 ]α[  
 ]ρ . [  
 . . .

Fr. 21.

. . .  
 ] . [  
 ] . αφο[  
 . . .

Fr. 22.

. . .  
 ]ασ[  
 ]ερ[  
 ]μη[  
 . . .

Fr. 23.

. . .  
 ]ρι . [  
 . . .

Fr. 21

. . .  
 ] . [  
 ] . αφο[  
 . . .

Fr. 22.

. . .  
 ]ασ[  
 ]ερ[  
 ]μη[  
 . . .

Fr. 23.

. . .  
 ]ρι . [  
 . . .

Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.	Fr. 24.	Fr. 25.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
]ερ[	] . επ[	]ερ[	] . επ[
]τιν[	] . [	]τιν[	] . [
]μ[	. . .	]μ[	. . .
. . .		. . .	

i. 1-3. A note on ἐνθένδε. δ[μοίως κα] (so W(ілamowitz)-M(öllendorff) and Bury) τὸ ἐνθα means that ἐνθα is sometimes used in a temporal sense like ἐνθένδε. Cf. Hesych. s. v. ἐνθα and Bekker, *Anecd.* i. p. 250. 32 ἐνθένδε· ἥτοι τοπικὸν ἐστὶν . . . ἢ χρονικόν . . . Our author, interpreting ἐνθένδε in a temporal sense, thus avoided the wrong explanation of it given by Schol., ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς αἰτίας.

6-7. [γέγραπ]ται δ' : so most MSS. (δέ), Stuart Jones ; καὶ γέγραπται C, Hude. For the alternative reading θέρη . . . χειμῶνας there is no MS. authority, and it may be merely due to θέρη καὶ χειμῶνας in l. 15.

i. 7—iv. 1. 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on Thucydides blames Thucydides on a few grounds, and discusses three chief points, first that he has not fixed his dates by archons and Olympiads, like other historians, but according to a system of his own by summers and winters ; secondly that he has disturbed and divided the narrative and breaks up the events, not completing his accounts of the several incidents, but turning from one subject to another before he has finished with it ; and thirdly that although he declares, as the result of his own elaborate examination, the true cause of the war to be this, that it was precaution against the power of the Athenians which induced the Lacedaemonians to make war on them, not really the Corcyrean or Potidaean affairs or the causes generally alleged, nevertheless he does not begin at the point which he has chosen and start with the events which led to the growth of Athens after the Persian war, but reverts to the commonly accepted causes. Such is Dionysius' view ; but in opposition to this rash criticism one might reasonably retort that . . . For the system of dating by archons and Olympiads had not yet come into common use . . . (it was impossible) to relate Plataean affairs from first to last, and then go back to describe all the invasions of the Peloponnesians one after the other, and Corcyrean affairs continuously, differing as they did in date ; for he would have thrown everything into confusion, or turned back again to periods which he had treated, in a fashion both unsuitable and unreasonable. For he was not dealing with a single subject or events at one time or one place, but with many subjects in many places and at many periods. Moreover, even if he had dated by archons, he would still have been obliged to divide the events, for these occurred some under one archon, some under another ; it is when a person is only writing about a single subject that his narrative is continuous throughout. Hence Dionysius contradicts himself ; for even if Thucydides ought to have dated by the archons, as he asserts, he would have been equally obliged to divide events according to the archons. If, however, the events are connected and the chronology offers no obstacle, Thucydides' narrative is continuous, as for instance . . . in the seventh book . . . As for the charge that Thucydides has not made the beginning of his history start with the growth of the Athenians, which he asserts was the truer cause of the war, in the first place it must be remarked that it was not his intention, after setting out to write a history of the Peloponnesian war, to introduce by way of a supplement several other wars since the Persian war itself, which may almost be regarded as the origin of the growth of Athens ; for that would have lain altogether outside

his subject. Secondly it must be remembered that it is the duty of every historian to describe accurately first of all the obvious and commonly alleged causes of events, and if he suspects the existence of any more obscure reasons (to add these afterwards . . .).

i. 8-9. ἐν τῷ περὶ Θουκυδίδου[ν] συντάγματι: of the two extant MSS. of this treatise one has no title, the other has ἐπὶ περὶ Θουκυδίδου πλατύτερον, this book following upon the *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.*

ii. 34. The passage of Dionysius here summarized is *De Thucyd. Ind.* ed. Radermacher, pp. 335 sqq. (cc. 9-12). Of Dionysius' three objections, the first, relating to the division into summers and winters (ll. 12-15), corresponds to 335. 20-336. 12, the second, concerning the want of connexion (ll. 15-20), to 336. 12-338. 3, and the third, concerning the causes of the war (ll. 21-33), to 338. 4-343. 4. On the first two points similar criticisms are also made, but more briefly, in the same author's *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* c. 3, and by Theon, *Progymn.* pp. 184-5 ὅπερ ἐγκαλοῦσιν τινες τῷ Θουκυδίδῃ. διελών γὰρ κ.τ.λ., and Doxopater, *ad Aphthon.* ii. p. 220 τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην τινὲς αἰτιῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, ὅτι κατὰ θέρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα κ.τ.λ.

22. For the correction of εἰπων to εἰπων, suggested by W-M, cf. Dionys. *op. cit.* c. 10 (p. 338) τὰς αἰτίας βούλεται πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ἀφ' ὧν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε.

ii. 7-8. The restorations διάθεσις (or διαίρεσις) and οὕτω ἐγεγόνει are due to Bury, who in ll. 8-9 suggests οὐ κ[οινοὺς] λογισμὸς ἦν (cf. l. 4).

10. ἵππου is very likely ἀἵππου, referring to Herodotus. Bury suggests ἐν τῇ βύβλῳ as the preceding words.

11. Perhaps κατὰ τόπους, as Bury suggests; cf. Dionys. *op. cit.* c. 9 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων συγγραφέων ἢ κατὰ τόπους μεριζόντων τὰς ἀναγραφὰς κ.τ.λ.

15. The construction of ll. 15-7 is not certain. W-M, who proposed [διεξελεθόν]τα in l. 17, would supply something like οὐ γὰρ ἦν in l. 15; Bury, reading [εἴρειν πάν]τα in l. 17, would restore ll. 13-5 οἷον τῇ | τοῦ [πολέμου ἀρχῇ] ἐ[άσ]ας τοὺς | Ἀθηναίους τὰ μὲν | Πλα[τ]αῖκά κ.τ.λ. The vestiges of writing before [ . ]αστους, however, do not suit ε: if not ο or ω, they are probably parts of two letters, e. g. αι or λη.

19. A conjunction, i. e. δέ or τε, seems to have been omitted through γράφειν being wrongly connected with what follows.

31. ταῦτα: or ταῦτά, i. e. affairs belonging to the same series, which is preferred by Bury.

iii. 3-5. ἐφεξ[ῆς] and συν[ε]χ[ῶς] were suggested by W-M and Bury. τῇ ζ' presumably refers to the seventh, not the sixth, book of Thucydides. That in reckoning the eight books our author's notation followed the letters of the alphabet, as in the books of Homer, rather than the numerals is unlikely, though cf. iii. 10-5, note. The existing division of Thucydides' work into eight books was already known to Dionysius, who mentions the eighth in *op. cit.* c. 16, and though there were other ancient divisions of the work into nine or thirteen books, our author no doubt agreed with Dionysius in employing the system which Marcellinus (*Vit. Thuc.* 58), quoting Asclepius, calls ἡ πλείστη καὶ ἡ κοινή.

5-6. Bury suggests τὰ Σικελικὰ διηγέ[ι]ται.

8. The absence of a diaeresis above ]ικα makes it probable that the preceding letter was a consonant, e. g. Σικελ]ικά rather than Πλατ]αικά. It does not seem possible to find a suitable second adjective ending in ικ]ικα, for Ἑρ]αικ]ικά cannot be read, although the supposed ο is very uncertain. κα[τ]ροικ]ίαν or some part of κατοικί[ζ]ειν is more probable, especially as κατ[οικ]ία . [ could be read in l. 7. ]ροι there seems to be an optative, possibly συνεί[ροι]. In ll. 9-10 something like εἰς] πολλὰς κεφαλὰς μεμερισμένα ἐξετάζ[ειν] (Bury) is likely.

10-5. The restorations in ll. 12-3 are due to Bury. It is tempting to read *ισ[τορίαν]* in l. 14, but the stroke above *ι* must then be ignored, for it is not a rough breathing. Since Herodotus' history contained only nine books, *ι'* in this context seems to mean the ninth book, the notation following the letters of the alphabet, while *προκειμένην* indicates that it had just been mentioned, possibly in l. 12. But the narrative in the ninth book is particularly free from *μεταβάσεις*, and we should expect the ninth book to be called *θ'* (cf. iii. 3-5, note), so that the suggested explanation is not satisfactory. The passage in Dionysius which our author seems to have had in his mind is in *op. cit.* c. 9 (p. 336) *οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς τόποις ἐν οἷς αἱ πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν ἀκολουθῶν ἐμέρισε τὰς διηγήσεις, ὡς Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἑλλάνικος κ.τ.λ.*; cf. also the praise of Herodotus in c. 5.

iv. 4-5. ἀ[νὰ μέσ]ον: there is probably a reference, as Dr. J. E. Sandys suggests, to what Quintilian (v. 12. 14) calls the *Homeric dispositio* (cf. l. 6 Ὀμηρικ[ῶς]), i. e. placing the weakest part of one's rhetorical forces in the middle (*Il.* iv. 297-300); cf. Cic. *Orator* 50, Cornificius, *Rhet.* iii. 10, 18, Quintil. vii. 1. 10.

10-4. Perhaps κα[λοῦνται] in l. 12 and Θουκυδ[ε]ῖ[δ]ος in l. 13.

15-7. The restorations in ll. 16-7 are by W-M. The Homeric quotation is from B 504.

18-31. This note is out of place and should have preceded that in ll. 15-7. In l. 27 τιν[ε]ς is possible, but the doubtful letter is more like *ο*.

33-5. The first part of this note on *θέμενοι*, as was perceived by W-M and Bury, refers to the use of the middle for the active, *θρεψάμενος* being adduced as a parallel.

v. 1. ἀπο[θ]έμενοι: *θέμενοι* is wrongly explained by Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ περιθέμενοι ἑαυτοῖς. "Ὀμηρος" σάκε' ὤμοισιν ἔθεντο. ἀνόητον γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The correct interpretation given by our author is supported by Schol. Aeschin. i. 29 τὰ ὅπλα μὴ τίθεσαι· τὸ τίθεσθαι λέγεται καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ περιτίθεσθαι καὶ ἐνδύεσθαι, ὡς ἔγνωμεν ἐν τοῖς Θουκυδιδεῖοις ἐν τῇ β'. ἐνταυθα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀποτίθεσθαι (corr. to περιτίθεσθαι by Reiske, but wrongly) λέγει.

5. χρῆσθαι: χρήσασθαι MSS.

7-8. Cf. Schol. ἐπιτηδεῖοις· πρὸς φιλίαν.

12. εἰς: ἐς MSS., which, however, have the form *ἦσαν* or *ἦσαν* here as elsewhere in place of the more correct *ἦσαν* (i. e. *ἦσαν*) found in our author's text. Cf. the first century Thucydides papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (16), which in iii. 7 has *ἀπησαν* with the variant *απησαν*. The object of the note is to distinguish the Attic *ἦσαν* with iota adscript from *ἦσαν* as a trisyllable, the form found in Homer, &c.

17-9. This is the only place where Thucydides uses the masculine form of *σκότος*; the neuter occurs in Thuc. iii. 23 and viii. 42. The Clarendonianus and Aeneas Tact. 2 have *σκότει* in the present passage, but the papyrus supports the overwhelming majority of the MSS.

21-2. ἐκφυγεῖν: so Parisinus 1735; ἐκφεύγειν other MSS. The papyrus text agrees with most MSS. in reading *οἱ πολλοί* in place of *πολλοί*, the reading of A, which is preferred by many recent editors, but not by Stuart Jones. The construction of *τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν* is difficult, and has been explained in several ways. Classen connects the words with *ἐμπίρους*, which is the most satisfactory view, while Poppo constructs them with *διώκοντας* as an infinitive of purpose 'in order that they might not escape', and Krüger regarded the phrase as expressing the effect 'so that they could not escape', an explanation which produces a tautology with the following words *ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί*. Hude, following Herwerden, would omit *τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν* altogether. Our author's criticism is not very illuminating. He remarks that either *ὥστε* is redundant (ll. 22-6) or else *τοῦ* should be omitted and *ὥστε* put in its place. Since he renders *τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν* by *εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν* in the one case, and *ὥστε μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν* in the other, both his interpretations approximate to that of Krüger rather than the rival explanations (unless *εἰς τό* means 'in respect of', in which case our author's first

explanation agrees with Classen's), but both seem to rest upon a misapprehension of the construction of the whole sentence. For the omission of *ὥστε* or the transference of it to the place occupied by *τοῦ* would have the effect of leaving *διεφθείροντο* without any construction, unless indeed in our author's text a fresh sentence began where the MSS. have *ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες* connected with what precedes. No variant, however, upon *μὲν* in that passage is known, and it is more likely that our author simply misunderstood the sentence.

30. *στύρακι*: *στυρακίω* MSS.; but there is possibly a reference to the reading of the papyrus in Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* iii. p. 84. 3 *τὸν σαυρωτῆρα στύρακα φησὶ Θουκυδίδης*. With the note cf. Schol. *στυράκιόν ἐστιν ὁ καλούμενος σαυρωτὴρ τῶν δораτων*, Hesychius *στύραξ* . . . ὁ σαυρωτὴρ τοῦ δόρατος, and the similar explanations in other lexicographers.

33. *συνέθεντο*: cf. Schol. *ἀπὸ συνθήκης δηλονότι*.

vi. 1-2. The lacuna at the end of l. 1 may have contained another parallel for *πανστρατιᾷ*, e. g. *πανοικία* (cf. x. 31) or *πανδημεί*, or, as W-M suggests, *ὡς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ | πανσυνδίῃ*. If *πασ* in l. 2 is right, *πᾶσι* *τῇ στρατιά* is a natural restoration, but this is rather long, and the reading *παι* (e. g. *πανδημεί* or *παιτι τῶι στρατῶι*) is not excluded. The meaning, if any, of the stroke in the margin against l. 2 is obscure. There is in the top margin another stroke /, which seems to be accidental.

3. It is of course doubtful whether *κακοῦ* (or *τοῦ κακοῦ* as conjectured by Bredow and Baumeister) occurred in the lemma, which may have ended with *ἀπροσδοκῆτον*.

6-7. Perhaps *καὶ κῖονῃ ὥς | τινες λέγουσι*, as Bury suggests, meaning that this use of *ὑποποτέω* was not confined to Attic. To the doubtful *κ* the only alternative is *ι*.

9-10. A note on the dative in place of the genitive after *περί*. *δαμασθεῖς* must belong to a quotation, which would be expected to be from Homer; and though neither of the two instances of *δαμασθεῖς* in the *Iliad* (II 816 *θεοῦ πληγῇ καὶ δουρὶ δαμ.*, and X 55 *ἦν μὴ καὶ σὺ θάνῃς Ἀχιλλῇ δαμ.*) is really at all apposite, W-M nevertheless may be right in restoring *ὅμοιον Ἀχιλλῇ*, and supposing that the latter passage was referred to. Schol. A had noted that the dative there was used for *ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως*. A more relevant illustration would be one in which *ὑπό* with the dative was used in place of *ὑπό* with the genitive, but it is difficult to see whence this is to be obtained without altering *δαμασθεῖς*. *γράφεται* (cf. vii. 30) points to a variant upon *περί τοῖς ἔξω* (*περὶ τῶν ἔξω?*), though none is known.

11-2. Bury suggests *τρόπῳ | τῶι τοιούτῳ λέγει δὲ κάζωσι*: but the letter following *δ* is much more likely to be *α*, *ε*, or *ο* than *ι*.

14-5. The Homeric quotation is from H 467.

16. There is not room for *ὥς* after *ἐπέταξαν* unless the line was exceptionally long, but *δ* might be inserted. It is unfortunate that the text of this passage, in which a well-known difficulty occurs, is not quoted in extenso. The chief MSS. have *καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰτ. καὶ Σικ. τοῖς τᾶκείνων ἐλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιέειν*, which will not construe. Hude follows Herbst in emending *ἐπετάχθησαν* to *ἐπέταχθη σ'*, i. e. *διακοσίας*; Poppe and Stuart Jones read *ἐπετάχθη* (with apparently one late MS.); Classen preferred the alteration of *ναῦς* to *νῆες*, while Cobet boldly met the difficulty by reading *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐπετετάχσαν* (*ἐπέταξαν* Böhme). It is impossible to argue with certainty from our author's paraphrase in ll. 16-20 back to his text of Thucydides at this point; but seeing that he ignores any grammatical difficulty, it is improbable that such an anacoluthon as *Λακεδαιμονίοις . . . ἐπετάχθησαν ναῦς* existed in his text. With regard to the various emendations the paraphrase does not favour *νῆες* in place of *ναῦς* or *ἐπετάχθη σ'*, and with *ἐπετάχθη* simply a note on the dative of the agent *Λακεδαιμονίοις* would be expected. On the other hand Cobet's *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπετετάχσαν* (or *ἐπέταξαν*) would suit the paraphrase very well, especially as the construction of the sentence would then be quite easy, and no grammatical note would be

necessary. But the great difficulty would still remain of accounting for the origin of the corruption.

21. πε[μφοθῆναι] W-M. The expedition of Hermocrates to Ionia is described in Thuc. viii. 26.

25-8. The rules for the accentuation of σφίσι and similar pronouns are given by Herodian, ed. Lentz, i. p. 555 sqq. ὅτε μὲν οὖν ἀπολελυμένως λέγονται καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς ἕτερον πρόσωπον ἀντιδιαστέλλονται, ἐγείρουσι τὴν πρὸ αὐτῶν ὀξεῖαν· ὅτε δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τι ἕτερον διαστολὴν ἐκφέρονται, ὀρθοτονοῦνται κ.τ.λ.; cf. the rules quoted in the notes *ad loc.* from the Homeric scholia. The general sense of the passage seems to be 'σφίσι here is enclitic, for although one ought to keep its accent (τὸν τόνον W-M) as far as possible, the rule concerning μεταβάσεις (i. e. the reference of a pronoun to another person than the subject of the sentence) often prevents this'. But the lacunae make the whole passage obscure. Modern editors accentuate σφίσι here.

34-5. Cf. Schol. ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας· παροιμία, γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος, Stob. *Flor.* 50. 3 Πίνδαρος ὑπορχημάτων· γλυκὺ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείροισιν, Schol. *Il.* Δ 227 ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος· γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος. Schroeder (Fr. 110, ed. 1908) writes γλυκὺ δ' ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος, but this now seems hardly satisfactory in view of the uncertainty of the metre and the agreement of our author with Stobaeus. The precise restoration of the lacuna at the end of l. 34 is uncertain. γλυκ[υ] δὲ πο- | is hardly long enough, but γλυκ[υ]ς γὰρ ὁ πο- | is possible, if our author was not aiming at an exact quotation.

vii. 1. The extent of the gap between Cols. vi and vii cannot be determined by the writing on the recto; cf. introd. p. 108. Ll. 1-3 are the end of a note on καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίνονται in c. 11. 4.

6-9. The restorations are due to W-M.

10. For 'Ο[μ]ηρικῶς cf. iv. 6. The quotation is from Δ 539.

12-3. προ[οῦ]σι is far from certain; the supposed σ is more like γ or τ, but with δ[τ]ι it is difficult to find anything suitable for the previous word. W-M proposes οὐκέτι προ[νο]ίαι· οἱ τοιοῦτοι κατὰ πόλε[μ]ον, θυμ[ῶ]ι δ' ἐξορμῶσιν. The article is certainly wanted before τοιοῦτοι and there is just room for [νο]ίαι and [ωιδ] in the two lacunae, but ]οι, though not impossible, is less suitable than ]σι. ἀλλά might be read in place of κατὰ, but it is not satisfactory to make ἐξορμῶσιν transitive.

15. ὑμῖν: the papyrus confirms the conjecture of Hude; ἡμῖν MSS., Stuart Jones.

18. ἦν [ἀκοῦ]σ[αι]: or possibly ἡκ[ούομ]ε[ν] ἄν, as W-M suggests; but though κ can be read in place of ν, and the vestige which we regard as the tip of an σ might belong to ε or ν or several other letters [ακοῦ]σ[αι] suits the space better, and the author of the commentary does not elsewhere employ the first person plural. With this lengthy note on ἐπ' ἀμφότερα cf. the brief remark of Schol. δόξα ἐπ' ἀμφότερα καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ δυσκλείας.

20-1. [ἀντὶ τοῦ and ὑ]π[ὸ]ληψιν W-M.

27-8. The Homeric quotation (identified by W-M) is from Γ 1.

29. ἐκστρατευόμενον: neither this reading nor στρατευόντων, a variant mentioned in l. 30, was known previously, the MSS. all having ἐξεστρατευμένων. The perfect middle of this verb is not found elsewhere in Thucydides, and the present is quite defensible.

34. [ἀμαχη]τεῖ was suggested by Bury.

37. διαλύεσθαι: διαλύε[ε]σθαι (sic) C, διαλύσεσθαι other MSS., but cf. Schol. διαλύεσθαι ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ἀγωγῶν. Thucydides employs the future infinitive after μέλλειν somewhat more often than the present, and where the MSS. are divided on the point, e. g. here and in i. 107. 3 and viii. 6. 5, editors prefer the future.

viii. 4. Hude proposes to restore the line ἄμ[α] αὐτῶι τοὺς ἐνόχους.

5. The word following ἄγει is probably some part of ἐξελαύνω; cf. Thuc. i. 127. 1 τὸ ἄγος . . . ἐλαύνειν, to which ll. 4-5 refer.

7-9. Cf. Schol. διὰ χειρός· δι' ἐπιμελείας ἵνα μὴ ἀποστῶσι. αἶν in l. 8 was suggested by Bury.

11. Probably the scribe wrote [κρατῖσθαι, for the lacuna is hardly sufficient for six letters.

12. [προσόδωι] and [πορισμῶι] are both too short for the lacuna, which requires 9 or 10 letters. Perhaps κατορθοῖν should be restored in place of κατορθοῖσθαι, which makes this line rather long.

33-4. Perhaps καθάρων ἔλθῃ with καθάρων in l. 35, as Hude suggests.

36. καὶ περιαιρετόν has already been quoted in the lemma in l. 29.

ix. 3-6. The MSS. have τοσοῖτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἀπὸ τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὀπλῖται ἦσαν. The omission of τὸ πρῶτον . . . ἐσβάλοιεν in the lemma is probably a mere accident, and does not imply that the words were wanting in our author's text, though this seems to have gone astray at this point. The reading ἐπὶ, which stood there in place of ἀπὸ, is indefensible if ἐπὶ τε τῶν πρεσβ. κ.τ.λ. is to be connected with τοσοῖτοι ἐφύλασσον, as our author clearly intended; for ἐπὶ cannot be used as equivalent to ἀπὸ in this sense, and the Homeric parallel which he cites, δαῖδων ἵπο λαμπομενάων (Σ 492), is irrelevant, since ἵπο there has its not uncommon sense 'to the accompaniment of'.

10. [ἔω]ς: cf. Schol. ἔως τοῦ κύκλου. The reading ἀν[θ], though possible, is less suitable. The insertion of θ was suggested by Bury.

14-6. [κ]ύκλον δὲ . . . ἀστ[ρ]εω[ς] is a parenthesis, and [κ]αι πάλιν ὁπόσον κ.τ.λ. depends on ἀπαριθμεῖται, referring to Thucydides' words a few lines later than the lemma, τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων. Π[ρ]αιέως was suggested by W-M and Bury; ἐκ τοῦ [Π. or ἐκ τῷ Π. cannot be read. The second s of αστεως in l. 14 has been rewritten.

18. Μοῦνυχ[ι]α: so MSS.; Μονυχία Hude, Stuart Jones.

22-8. The position assigned by us to Fr. 1 is not certain. On the one hand the colour and general appearance of the fragment suggest that it belongs to this column, and when placed where it is λιβός at the beginning of a line giving a new entry of the land-survey on the recto of Fr. 1 will come just underneath λιβός at the beginning of another entry which is on the recto of the upper part of Col. ix, while the lines on the recto of the fragment containing the ends of viii. 22-9 (the position of which is fixed) may be the continuation of the lines on the recto of Fr. 1, though there is no certain connexion. The chief objection to the position assigned to Fr. 1 is that on the recto of the upper part of Col. ix there seems to be a junction between two selides, which would be expected to appear also on Fr. 1, but does not. We have, however, been unable to find any suitable place for the lemma in l. 23 commencing εἰβε[ ] except Εἰβο[ ] in 14. 1, and if that restoration is accepted, the position given to Fr. 1 must be approximately correct. A difficulty arises in l. 26 where ἄ[ ] χισιν[ ] is a very unsatisfactory combination of letters, and probably there is some corruption. The ξ projects somewhat to the left, but not enough to justify the inference that it belongs to a lemma.

ix. 2-4. Bury suggests παράγει ἐν Ἑρε[ ] χεῖ Εὐριπίδης τὸν [ Εὔμολπον].

6. The word following ξυ[ ] τελοῦντα[ ] may, as Bury remarks, have been χρήματα or εἰσφοράς.

7. τὸ ἐν Δίμναις Διονύσο[ ] so MSS.; τὸ (τοῦ) ἐν Δ. Δ. Hude, following Cobet. The scribe has left a blank space after Δίμναις as if the lemma ended there, but probably this is a mistake; cf. x. 25. The remains of l. 10, as was perceived by W-M and Bury, belong to a quotation from the *Hecale* of Callimachus (Fr. 66 a ed. Schneider); see Schol. Ar. *Frogs* 216 Δίμναι χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐν ᾧ Διονύσου ἱερὸν. Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἑκάλῃ Διμναίῳ δὲ χοροστάδας

ἦγον ἑορτάς, and Steph. Byz. Λίμναι ἔνθα ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτιμᾶτο. Καλλιμάχος· Λιμναῖος δὲ κ.τ.λ. (καὶ οἱ λιμναῖοι codd.). W-M, restoring Καλλιμάχος in l. 7, regards the quotation as beginning with εὖ δέ in l. 8 and containing two complete hexameters, but this view is open to some objections. The restoration Καλλιμάχος at the end of l. 7 implies that 11 letters are lost after διονυσό[, whereas elsewhere in this column the corresponding space contains only 5-8 letters. This difficulty can be got over by supposing that Καλλιμάχος was abbreviated, but in l. 9 a similar and more serious obstacle arises; for Λιμναῖοι (which is certain) is sufficient by itself to fill the lacuna at the end of the line, and since Ἐλευθήρ will be the conclusion of the first hexameter, the first foot of the second hexameter seems to be reduced to εἰ. W-M proposes εἴσατο, which makes excellent sense, but involves a supplement of 12 letters in the lacuna. The ε of εἴ[ has been corrected from a straight stroke (probably ι) but the reading is practically certain, η being the only alternative for εἰ and less satisfactory. Bury on the other hand would restore a shorter name than Καλλιμάχος in l. 7 (Δίδυμος?), and regard the Callimachus quotation as beginning with [Λιμναῖοι in l. 9, reading the preceding word as Ἐλευθηρεί, i. e. Ἐλευθερεί. But that Callimachus' name was mentioned in l. 7 (cf. x. 37), and that ll. 8-9 belong to the quotation, seem to us more probable. On Eleuther, the eponymous hero of Eleutherae, who is said to have made the first image of Dionysus subsequently brought by Pegasus to the temple ἐν Λίμναις at Athens, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encycl.* s. vv. Dionysos, Eleuther, Eleuthereus.

11-2. Apparently the point of the contrast between this statement and the Callimachus quotation is that according to the latter the temple at Limnae was called after Dionysus as god of marshes in general, while according to the other explanation Limnae was merely a local name. With οὔτ[ω]s in l. 11 ]os is the termination of a proper name, e. g. Δίδυμ]ος; but it is possible to read ]ος δὲ οὗτ[ο]s, ]ος being the termination of an adverb or a substantive in the genitive with e. g. διὰ. οὗτ[ο]s would however then have to mean Thucydides, which is not satisfactory.

15. ἀρχαιότατα: ἀρχαιότερα MSS. The reading of the lemma may be a mere error, but is in itself defensible; for accepting Boeckh's view that there were four distinct Dionysiac festivals at Athens, the Greater and Lesser Dionysia, the Anthesteria, and Lenaea, the Anthesteria might be called the 'most ancient' instead of the 'more ancient', i. e. than the Greater Dionysia. Thucydides' statement that the Anthesteria was a general Ionic festival is intended to prove its high antiquity, and cf. Schol. ἀρχαιότερα εἶπε διότι ἔστι καὶ νεώτερα ἄλλα.

τῇ ιβ': so MSS; most modern editors follow Torstrick in regarding the words as a gloss. With a mention of the day μηνός, not ἐν μηνί, would be expected. The papyrus shows, however, that the interpolation, if it be such, is very early. Our author's note concerning the date of the festival is in accord with the extant evidence on the subject; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encycl.* i. p. 2372.

19-20. π[λ]ίστον: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; πλείστα AB (corr. A 2nd hand), which Torstrick wished to read, omitting ἄξια. With εἰς τὰ κ.τ.λ. cf. Schol. λείπει ἡ εἰς, ἢ εἰς τὰ πλείστον ἄξια.

25. There can hardly be any doubt that the lemma ends at οἰκήσει, although the scribe fails to leave a blank space; cf. x. 7, note. The following words in Thuc. are μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and the construction of the dative οἰκήσει with μετεῖχον being extremely difficult, some recent editors, including Hude, would omit the latter word. That our author's text had μετεῖχον is clear from l. 30, and the difficulty of connecting it with οἰκήσει is discussed by him in ll. 25-9, but the nature of his explanation is somewhat obscure. Apparently he regarded τῇ αὐτ. οἰκήσει in place of τῆς αὐτ. οἰκήσεως as equivalent to διὰ τὴν αὐτ. οἰκῆσιν, thus approximating to the view of Herbst, who explained the dative as instrumental and supplied αὐτῆς (i. e. τῆς αὐτονόμου οἰκήσεως); this, however, produces a very redundant construction. If μετὰ τοῦ μετεῖχον is rightly restored in l. 25, the beginning of the note seems

to mean 'τῇ αὐτ. οἰκῇσιν goes with μετείχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι', and διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ. is a distinct remark; if οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι with either μετείχον or a different verb in l. 25 be connected with διὰ τὴν κατὰ κ.τ.λ., μετὰ τοῦ must be abandoned: ε or ω might be read in place of the doubtful ο. Schol. merely remark that αὐτονόμω οἰκῇσιν is for αὐτονόμου οἰκῆσεως.

29-30. εἴρηται δὲ ὑπερβατῶ[ς κ.τ.λ. refers to the position of ἐπὶ πολὺ which is to be connected with μετείχον. τὸ ἐξῆς (restored by W-M) means 'the grammatical sequence is'; cf. xiii. 7, note.

31. [πα]ν[οι]κησία γενόμενοι: so MSS. (v. l. πανοικεσία); Hude and Stuart Jones follow Lipsius in placing πανοικησία after οὐ ραδίως.

33. The ο following τ is almost certain, υ being the only alternative. [οι] does not fill up the lacuna, so that το is not the termination of e.g. διεγέγοντο. διὰ παν[τό]ς[ς] is possible. Schol. remark πανοικησία καὶ οὐ πανοικία λέγεται.

35-6. κ[αλοῦνται] | φ[υλ]αί was suggested by Bury and Hude.

36-7. This distinction between σηκός and ναός is also stated by Ammonius; ναός καὶ σηκός διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ναός ἐστὶ θεῶν, ὁ δὲ σηκός ἡρώων. The distinction is not always observed; cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v. σηκός. The quotation from Callimachus (from the *Hecale*?; cf. x. 7, note) is new.

xi. 14-5. The accent of ἀργος points, as W-M perceived, to the restoration of these lines as a quotation of the well-known oracle, which occurs e.g. in Schol. Theocr. xiv. 48. The beginning of the line is commonly cited as γαίης μὲν πάσης, but here γαίης and πάσης have changed places. A difficulty arises in connexion with the reading [γα]ίης, that, since it belongs to the note, not the lemma, there ought to be only one letter lost, but the scribe sometimes begins his lines unevenly (e.g. in ix. 26) and occasionally treats words belonging to the note as if they were part of the lemma (e.g. in xvii. 31). Possibly, however, he wrote [α]ίης.

16. Perhaps ὅλως] φκίθη.

17. ον is given the barytone accent in order to distinguish it from οδ. The note probably began with something like οὐ διὰ τὸ παρα]νόμω[ς οἰκεῖν | τοσαύταις συμφοραῖς ἐχρή]σαντο, as Stuart Jones suggests.

xii. 2-3. The restorations are due to W-M.

5. εἶναι may have been added in the lemma after μαλακός. The occurrence of ἀθροίσει in the paraphrase indicates that our author explained ξυναγωγῇ as referring to the assemblage of the allies at Sparta not to the conduct of the war, thus agreeing with Herbst against the ordinary view; cf. Classen, *ad loc.*

6. ] . ε: the vestige of the first letter would suit δ or λ best.

7. Stuart Jones suggests [Ὅμηρος μαλθακός αἰχμη]τής (P 588).

10. ἀργῶς: cf. Schol. ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ τῇ ἀργίᾳ τῆς πολιορκίας δηλονότι.

12. The word before με]ταφορικῶς was probably an equivalent of ἀνείχεν, perhaps ἔμενεν (Bury) or ἐκώλυνεν (W-M, who compares Bekker, *Anecd.* i. p. 400. γ λέγεται ἀνείχεν καὶ τὸ κωλύειν. Θουκυδίδης ἐν ἑκτῷ κ.τ.λ.). In place of τὰ ὅπλα (W-M) Bury suggests χεῖρας. Line 14 clearly contains a comparison between ἀνοχή and ἐκεχειρία, but the reconstruction is uncertain. There is certainly a letter after ἐκε]χειρία, and the vestige suits ι better than σ. If ἐκε]χειριαί is nominative plural this may be accounted for by the plural use of ἀνοχαί; if it is dative singular something like ἀνοχῇ ὅση τῇ ἐκε]χειρίᾳ is required. [ἀνοχαὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκε]χειρίας (W-M) would have been more satisfactory.

17. It is tempting to restore οἱ ῥεῖτο]ι τόπ[ο]ς | τῆς Ἀττικῆς, but ο does not fill the lacuna before σ. Possibly Ρε]ιτοι τ[.]ς should be read, but the letter following το is more like π than ιτ and there is not room for τ[.]πο[.]ς.

19. Lines 19-32 are on a detached fragment. The writing on the recto confirms the

internal evidence of ll. 24-7 that these lines belong to the lower portion of Col. xii, but the extent of the gap, if any, between ll. 18 and 19 is uncertain.

23. The accent of *ἀδε* suggests, as W-M remarks, a form like *Ἑλεσ[τ]ινάδε*, but though the letter before *ἀδε* might be *ν*, the letter before that is more like *ε*, *ο*, or *υ* than *ι*.

24. The letter before *ναι* may be *ι* instead of *η*, but [*ταξάμενον με*]ναι does not suit the size of the initial lacuna, and [*περιδεῖν τμηθ*]ῆναι is also too long, so that [*οὐ καταβ*]ῆναι is practically certain. To the form *ῥδισαν* there is no objection, but the word does not seem very suitable in this context. The doubtful *δ* might be read as *α*, *λ*, or *μ*.

27-9. The restoration of the beginning of the note is due to W-M, who further suggests ] *τότ(ε)* (?) *οἱ Ἀτ[τ]ικοὶ τιθ[έ]ασιν* but *Ατ[τ]ικοὶ* does not suit the vestiges. For *ἐπεξ-ελεύσονται* cf. Schol. *εἰ ἐπεξίασιν* *εἰ ἐπεξελεύσονται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς πόλεμον*.

xiii. 1. This line, restored by Hude, and the next clearly belong to a note on the use of the middle in place of the active in *χωρήσασθαι* (c. 20. 4), *ἐπαινέσασθαι* being adduced as an illustration; cf. iv. 32-5. The first two letters of *ἐπαινεσ[ε]σθαι* have a stroke through them, but this is to be regarded as accidental, not as implying deletion.

7. A note on the construction of *αὐτοῖς*, which depends on *δενὸν ἐφαίνετο* after a long interval. The reading [*ξῆς*] is not very satisfactory, for the traces of ink suit *ο*, *σ*, or *τ* better than *ε*, but *τὸ ξῆς* is the technical phrase required here; cf. the close parallel in x. 29-30.

13. *ὥρμητο*: MSS. are divided between this reading and *ὥρμητο* (CEG), which according to our author (l. 14) was found 'in some copies', and must have been a very early variant. Editors also differ; Hude and Stuart Jones prefer *ὥρμητο*.

16. Apart from the present passage in Thuc. Phrygia in Attica is only mentioned twice, (1) Schol. Arist. *Birds* 493 *Φρυγίων ἐρίων ἢ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας ἢ ἀπὸ δήμου. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔρια*, (2) Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Φρύγια*, . . . *ἔστι καὶ τὰ Φρύγια οὐδετέρως τόπος μεταξύ Βοιωτίας καὶ Ἀττικῆς*. Bursian (*Geogr.* i. p. 334) conjecturally placed it in the neighbourhood of Acharnae at the north-east foot of Mount Aegaleus. Since the site of Athmonon is fixed (*ibid.* p. 343) at the modern village of Marusi, which is 7 kilometres west of Acharnae, the statement of our author that Phrygia belonged to the Athmonian deme does not accord with the position assigned to the village by Bursian, although Athmonon being an important deme may have stretched some way to the west. Our author is likely to be right on the point, in spite of Steph. Byz.'s assertion that Phrygia was 'between Boeotia and Attica', which suggests quite a different position.

17. *τάγματι*: so Schol. *τάγματι ἐνί*. The Homeric quotation is from Σ 298.

20. *Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι*: *Φαρσάλιοι Παράσιοι* MSS. (cf. 878. 6; *Περάσιοι* B), which continue *Κραννώνιοι Πειράσιοι*. *Παράσιοι*, a term nowhere else applied to a Thessalian tribe, has generally been rejected by critics as an interpolation due to a misspelling of *Πειράσιοι* and a confusion with the *Παρράσιοι* in Arcadia, who are out of place here, while the form *Πειράσιοι* is generally altered to *Πυράσιοι* in accordance with Strabo ix. p. 435, and Steph. Byz. *s. v.* *Πύρασος*. The reading of the lemma proves that *Παράσιοι* did not stand after *Φαρσάλιοι* in our author's text of Thuc., while his note shows that he knew of *Παράσιοι* (or *Παρράσιοι*) as a variant on *Πειράσιοι*, but rightly rejected it. That *Παράσιοι* was originally a marginal variant which found its way into the text, causing the transposition of *Πειράσιοι*, is now clear, and the hypothesis of an interpolation is confirmed. As regards the form *Πειράσιοι* the lemma supports the traditional spelling of the MSS. against *Πυράσιοι*, and in view of the fact that Steph. Byz. mentions a certain *Πειρασία πόλις Μαγνησίας*, the alteration to *Πυράσιοι* seems to us unnecessary. Our author's explanation of *Πειράσιοι* as connected with the *Πηρεία* mentioned in B 766 is however very doubtful, for the reading *Πηρείη* is there somewhat uncertain (there are variants *Φηρή* and *Πιερίη* besides *Πειρήη*), and Steph. Byz. distinguishes *Πηρεία Θεσσαλίας χωρίον* from *Πειρασία*.

22-3. The restoration of these two lines was proposed by W-M, Stuart Jones, and Hude; cf. Schol. Παράσιοι Παρράσιοι Ἀρκάδες, Παράσιοι Θετταλοί.

29. The restoration of this line is far from certain, especially as [των] does not fill the lacuna after αν, unless those letters were unusually spread out. Perhaps the lemma ended with αἰ[τῶν], which would then be followed by a blank space, and οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι belongs to the note.

XIV. 1-2. Part of a note on αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. The restoration in l. 2 is due to W-M, who is no doubt right in regarding ἐπιτά[φιος] in l. 3 as a title.

4. That before ἐνί the papyrus had ἐν, which is omitted by CG, is certain not only from the size of the lacuna but from ἐν ἐνί in the paraphrase, l. 6.

6-11. The proposed restoration of the paraphrase is very doubtful in several respects. For κινδυνέ[υ]ειν κινδυνέ[υ]εσθαι may be substituted, or possibly κίνδυνος | γάρ, as W-M suggests, with εἶναι τῶν in l. 7; τοιοῦτοτρόπου]s is not very satisfactory, but there is not room for τοιοῦτους αὐτοῦ]s. In l. 7 either πολλῶν or an equivalent is required. τ[ρο]σούτων ἀνδρῶν] is possible, with another word in place of ἀνδρί. The doubtful σ may be π, but neither εἰ[π]ό[τι] nor ]πολ[λῶν] can be read. Our author seems to have interpreted πιστευθῆναι, like Poppo and Classen, as epexegetic of κινδυνεύεσθαι and not as the subject of it (τό being omitted), which latter view is supported by Schol. (ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐν κινδύνῳ γίνεσθαι τὸ πιστευθῆναι) and now advocated by Steup; cf. Classen's Thucydides, ed. iv. p. 221.

13. Perhaps [συμμέτρως], as W-M suggests (cf. Schol. μετρίως· συμμέτρως, ἀξίως), or [ἐπιτηδείως] (Bury).

15-20. Bury restores these lines δ[ύ]σκολόν ἐστιν | τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τῷ | πράγματι μό[νον] βεβαιοῦν κατὰ τ[ῆ]ς ὑπολή[ψ]εις τῶν ἀκρατῶν, κ[αὶ] δύσκολον | ἀληθεύειν δοκεῖν | ἀ[π]ιστεῖται | γὰρ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τ[οῦ] πράγματος.

22. The letter (beginning with a vertical stroke) following του has a horizontal line above it, indicating either a numeral or word cited like καὶ in xix. 5.

25. αὐ[τοῦ]: so CG; ἐαυτοῦ ABEFM. It is of course possible, but less likely, that our author meant αὐτοῦ.

27-31. Bury suggests νο[μί]σει[αν] ἂν ἔνια πλεονάζεσθαι | εἴ τινα | ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ἀκούειν | μόνο]ν γὰρ τὸ | . . . καὶ ὁ ἑ[κ]αστος | αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαι | ἡγείται.

32-3. Bury is probably right in assigning these lines to a fresh lemma, not to the preceding note, although ll. 30-1 paraphrase words not included in ll. 24-6.

XV. 2. π[άλ]ιν, which can hardly be evaded, may be explained, as W-M suggests, as a reference back to δίκαιον γὰρ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ. in c. 11. 2. Our author's note on that passage, if he had one, is lost in the gap between Cols. vi and vii. The word after εἴρηκε]ν is probably an adverb.

4. καθεστηκῖα[ι]: the papyrus follows the ordinary spelling of the MSS.; καθεστηκῖα Hude. After τῇ it is difficult to see what other word than παρακμῇ can have been meant, but that was certainly not written; the letter following παρα is conceivably κ, but is much more like γ or τ, and μ is out of the question.

6. οἰκεῖν: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; ἡκειν C (second hand) and superscr. G.

7-11. In regarding οἰκεῖν as equivalent to διοικεῖσθαι our author is quite correct, but in paraphrasing ἐς as 'for the advantage of' he conflicts with modern editors, who practically all adopt the view that ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν = διοικεῖσθαι ὥστε πλείονας εἶναι τοὺς διοικοῦντας. This is supported both by the variant ἡκειν for οἰκεῖν and by several parallels for this use of ἐς (especially Thuc. viii. 53), and suits the context much better. The interpretation which our author rejects in ll. 7-8 seems to be right in its interpretation of ἐς, but is wrong with regard

to the meaning of *οικεῖν*, which cannot mean in this context 'inhabit', as seems to be implied by the contrast between *οικεῖν* in l. 7 and *διοικεῖσθαι* in l. 10.

14. *τῶι* has the barytone accent to distinguish it from *τῶι*.

15. *τὸ πλέον*: so AB EFM (*πλείον*), Hude, Stuart Jones; *τὰ πλέω* CG.

16. *διάφορά νυν τὰ διαφέροντα*: cf. Schol. *τὰ διαφέροντα ταῖς ιδιώταις*.

21-2. This explanation of the obscure phrase *οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους* is novel. Schol. remark *τοῦτο λέγει διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας, βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακώνων, οἵτινες ἀπὸ μέρους ἤρχον διὰ μόνην τὴν εὐγένειαν κἂν μὴ εἶχον ἀρετὴν*, and in accordance with this supposed reference to the Spartan kings the phrase has generally been interpreted 'not because he is sprung from a particular class', while Classen thinks that the meaning is 'not because he is supported by a political party', and Herwerden wished to read *γένους* for *μέρους*. Our author on the other hand interprets it 'not according to the equal share to which he is entitled as a member of a democratic state', i.e. honours are distributed not in equal shares but in accordance with merit. In l. 25 Bury suggests *οἵ[δ]ε* (which is possible) followed by a participle or infinitive meaning 'will be assigned' (*κ[ατα]νεμ[ηθήσεσθαι τῇ]ν τάξιν* is too long, but *κ[ατα]νεμ[ηθησομένην]ν (τῇν) τάξιν* could be read), and in l. 26 [*αὐτῶι ἐν τῇ πολιτείαι*] *ἐκαστος*.

33. *ὑποψίαν*: or possibly *ἀνυποψίαν*; cf. note on l. 38.

34. *δρᾶ τι*: *τι δρᾶ* MSS. *δρᾶ τι* may be a mere slip of a copyist. *τι δρᾶ* apparently occurs in the paraphrase (xvi. 2).

38. *οὐ[χ] ὑποπτεύ[σ]οντες*: if our author's text had the ordinary reading *ὑποψίαν* in l. 33, his paraphrase is not very accurate at this point. Thucydides' phrase *ἐς τὴν . . . ὑποψίαν* does not harmonize well with the following words *οὐ δι' ὀργῆς κ.τ.λ.*, and Madvig conjectured *ἔποψιν*, Reifferscheid *ἀνυποψίαν*, to which *οὐ[χ] ὑποπτεύοντες* would be appropriate enough. To read *ἀνυποψίαν* in l. 33 is possible, for though it would produce 13 mostly broad letters in the lacuna as against only 11 in l. 32, there are 14 letters in the corresponding lacuna in l. 34, and in the lower part of this column the beginnings of lines seems to have sloped away to the left. But it is more probable that our author read *ὑποψίαν* and in *οὐ[χ] ὑποπτεύοντες* was merely giving the general sense, obtaining his negative from *οὐ δι' ὀργῆς*; cf. Schol. *ἐλευθέρως δέ' ὥσανει ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἐσμέν ἀλλήλοις ὑποπτοι*.

xvi. 5. The vestige of a letter following *λυπουμεν* would suit e. g. *τ*, but hardly *ο*, so that *λυπούμενο[ι]* is improbable. *ν* may be read in place of the doubtful *ν*. *ἐ[πισκ]υθρ[ωπάζοντε]ς* (Bury) is unsuitable, but *ς* may well be the end of a participle.

9-10. *ἐκ τοῦ . . . [ . . . ]* probably refers to *τῇ ὕψει*. *ἐκ τοῦ δῆ[λου]* (Bury) does not suit; the first letter seems to be *α*, *κ*, or *λ*, the second to be a round letter, e. g. *ο*; or possibly *μ* might be read.

18. *αἰ[ε]ί*: so Hude with E; *αἰί* other MSS.; cf. l. 33.

19-20. *τοῖς ἀρχουσιν*: cf. Schol. *τῶν ἀρχόντων*.

21. *οἶον δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους*: cf. Schol. *δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους θύουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καθ' ἐκάστην πλὴν μιᾶς ἡμέρας*.

24. *ἀκροβόλίζει Λακεδαιμονίους*: similar remarks (e. g. *αἰνίττεται πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους*) are frequent in Schol. on cc. 37-9; cf. also xvii. 6-9.

25. *διατῶμεθα*: *διατῶμενοι* MSS., the verb being *χωροῦμεν*. Whether *διατῶμεθα* is an inadvertence, or implies a different arrangement of this sentence in our author's text (e. g. *διατῶμεθα . . . χωροῦντες*) is uncertain.

29. *ἐθέλομεν*: so CG, Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἐθέλοιμεν* other MSS. and Dion. Hal.

31. *τοῖς τε*: so BCG, Hude, Stuart Jones; *τε τοῖς* other MSS.

33. *ἀτολμωτέρους*: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἀτολμοτέροις* suprascr. G<sub>1</sub>, ex corr. f, and Dion. Hal.

*αἰεί*: so E, Hude, Stuart Jones; *αἰί* other MSS.; cf. l. 18.

xvii. 1-2. *ανυπο* and *λειστ* are on a separate fragment, and the margin is broken away immediately to the left of *ανυπο*; but the position assigned to the fragment admits of practically no doubt, especially as it belongs to the top of a column.

3. *ταλαιπωρείσθαι*: so Bury and Hude; *καταπονείσθαι* W-M.

10. *καιρῶ*: so the best MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *ἐν καιρῶ* F<sub>1</sub> g. It is disputed whether *καιρῶ* is a predicate of *πλούτῳ*, *ὡς* being omitted (so Poppo and Steup), or is a kind of adverbial dative (so Classen, 3rd ed.): our author's paraphrase in spite of the use of *ἐν καιρῶ* is compatible with either view.

16-8. This explanation of *αἰσχιον* as a comparative used in place of the simple adjective agrees with that of the ancient grammarian quoted by Poppo (who practically accepts this view) *αἰσχιον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ*, *Θουκυδίδης*, while other explanations, e.g. Classen's, attach greater significance to the comparative.

18-9. The quotation is from η 294. A slight error has crept in, for the MSS. have *αἰεὶ γάρ τε*, not *αἰεὶ δέ*, which will not scan.

20. *ἐν*: so ABEF; *ἐν* CGf<sub>3</sub>, Hude, Stuart Jones. With *ἐν* it is necessary to supply the verb, as is remarked in l. 23; and *ἐν* is no doubt preferable.

21. *ἐτέροις*: so MSS., Poppo and Stuart Jones; *ἕτερα* Classen; *ἐτέροις ἕτερα* Hude following Richards. The traditional reading is defended by Poppo on the view that *ἕτεροι* refers to the poorer classes of Athenians who were too busy to take part in the administration of public affairs, but able to form a judgement on them, and that the persons meant by *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* are the richer classes, an interpretation which is rather arbitrary. With *ἕτερα* or *ἐτέροις ἕτερα* both halves of the sentence refer to the Athenians in general, the second half emphasizing the same idea as that expressed by the first. Our author does not explain precisely who are meant by *ἕτεροι*, but since he took *ἔργα* in the sense of *τὰ τῆς γεωργίας ἔργα* he seems to agree with Poppo's view that *ἕτεροι* refers to the poorer classes.

30. *αὐτοί*: so ABEF, Poppo, Classen; *οἱ αὐτοί* CG, Hude, Stuart Jones. Cf. l. 35. note.

31. The scribe has by mistake included *κρίνομεν* in the lemma. The note explains *κρίνομεν* as meaning 'decide upon proposals invented by others', implying a contrast with 'originate new ones ourselves' (*ἐνθυμούμεθα*). Our author's interpretation thus supports Poppo's translation *aut iudicamus certe (ab aliis proposita) aut excogitamus (nova) recte*, against Classen's 'entweder bringen bringen wir die Sachen zur Entscheidung, oder suchen über sie richtige Einsicht zu gewinnen'.

34. [*δὴ τόδε*]: *δὴ* (δ*ε* AB) καὶ τόδε MSS., Stuart Jones; *δὴ καὶ τῷδε* Hude. The papyrus may have had [*καὶ τόδε*].

35. *αὐτοί*: *οἱ αὐτοί* MSS.; cf. *αὐτοί* in l. 30, where the MSS. are divided. *αὐτοί* may be right there, but here *οἱ αὐτοί* is distinctly better.

xviii. 12. The note was doubtless on *ἀδεῶς*, upon which Schol. remark *ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγάλως*, *μεγάλως* may have occurred here, or, as W-M suggests, *ἀφθόνως*.

14. *πλείστ'*: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *πλείστον* AB.

18-23. *χαρίεντως* in l. 19 and the restoration of l. 22 were suggested by Bury and Stuart Jones, the restoration of l. 21 by Bury, who proposes *Ἀθηναίος ἀνὴρ* in l. 18 and *μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων* in l. 20. *ἐπιχαρίεντως* (W-M) is an alternative in l. 19. Schol. explain *εὐτραπέλως* by *εὐκινήτως*, *ἐνδεξίως*.

24. *κρείσσων*: so most MSS., Hude, Stuart Jones; *κρείσσον* C.

27. Perhaps *περιγίνεται*, as W-M proposes. *λόγων . . . ἔργοις* was suggested by both him and Bury.

29-33. These lines paraphrase the sentence of Thucydides following the lemma. The restorations are mainly due to Bury, who further proposes *νικηθέντων* in l. 29, *ἐχουσα ἐκείνων*

in l. 31, and *μομφὴν ἔχει* in l. 32. The paraphrase does not help in regard to the difficult reading *τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπελθόντι*, which many critics have wished to alter.

35-7. A note (restored in part by Bury) to the effect that *ἔχει* governs *κατάμεμψιν* as well as *ἀγανάκτησιν*.

xi. 1-3. There is a blank space after *φύσεως* before the lacuna, and if *φύσεως* was the end of the line, l. 1 probably belongs to a note on *τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως* and ll. 2-3 are a lemma. It is possible, however, that a couple of letters are lost in the lacuna after *φύσεως*, in which case that word belongs to the lemma and ll. 2-3 to the note. That all three lines belong to a note is less likely, for l. 1 would then be too short; and the same objection applies to regarding all three as a lemma, while in addition it would then be necessary to suppose the omission of a whole line (*μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη*).

4-7. The Homeric quotation (from A 117) is cited in order to illustrate the use of *ἦ* for *καί*, and if our author considered that Thucydides also employed *ἦ* for *καί* his comment must apply to *ἦ ψόγον*, though in reality there is no justification for interpreting *ἦ* there as *καί*. It is possible, however, as W-M points out, that the quotation is intended to illustrate the converse of Thucydides' use; in that case our author's remark applies to *καὶ ἦς*, which in his opinion was for *ἦ ἦς*; i. e. he thought that the construction was *τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μεγάλη δόξα ἐστὶν μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ἢ ἐκείνη ἢ φύσις ἦς ἂν κ.τ.λ.*, which makes no sense. Whichever view we credit him with, our author seems to have completely misunderstood the meaning of the sentence, and the Homeric parallel makes matters worse; for *ἦ* is not there used for *καί*, though on this point he is only following the singularly perverse interpretation of that passage by the Alexandrian critics; cf. Schol. A *ὁ δὲ λόγος τοιοῦτος· θέλω, φησὶν, ἐγὼ τὸν ὄχλον μᾶλλον σφίζεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ἦ σύνδεσμος ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ παρείληπται τῷ ποιητῇ.* Our author's lack of judgement in explaining Thucydides' meaning is made still clearer by ll. 7-8 *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ . . . ληπτέον τὸ φύσεως*, meaning that *φύσεως* is to be supplied with *ἦς*, for the real antecedent of *ἦς* is *ἐκείνη τῇ γυναικί* understood, and the words which are truly *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* are *μεγάλη ἢ δόξα*. It is impossible to acquit him of having committed a series of errors in his attempt to elucidate this badly constructed, but not particularly difficult sentence.

## 854. ARCHILOCHUS, 'Ελεγεῖα.

3.7 × 3.3 cm.

Late second century. Plate I.

The extreme smallness of this fragment is very unfortunate, since the coincidence of the last four lines with a quotation in Athenaeus proves the author to have been Archilochus; cf. Athen. 483 d *μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ* (sc. τοῦ κώθωνος) *καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν Ἑλεγεῖοις ὡς ποτηρίου οὕτως· ἀλλ' ἄγε κ.τ.λ.* (=Fr. 4 Bergk<sup>4</sup>). An addition to the 22 lines which, including these four cited by Athenaeus, are all that survive of the 'Ελεγεῖα, would have been very welcome; but in its present mutilated state the fragment is practically worthless. It seems to have come from an extensive roll (cf. note on l. 2), the recto of which was occupied by a cursive document dating probably from about the middle of the second century; the seventh year of an emperor (Antoninus?) is mentioned. The literary text on the verso, written in rather small round uncials, need not be

referred to a much later period, and may well fall within the same century. Two accents occur, besides some marginal marks of uncertain significance.

. . . . .

[.]φ . [

]θ̄ φρα[

ξεινοι . [

δειπνον δοῦ[

5 — ουτ εμοι ως αι[

αλλ αγε συν κω[θωνι θοης δια σελματα νηος

φοιτα και κοῖλω[ν παματ αφελκε καδων

αγρει δ οινον [ερυθρον απο τρυγος ουδε γαρ ημεις

νηφέ[ι]ν εν [φυλακη τηδε δυνησομεθα

. . . . .

2. The marginal  $\theta$  is most naturally explained as marking the 800th line of the manuscript; cf. e. g. 852. The papyrus is broken immediately above the  $\theta$ , but a slight vestige is left which we suppose to represent a stroke over the letter. Of the marks below  $\theta$  the second horizontal line and the vertical one beneath should perhaps be combined as a critical sign referring to l. 3, to which they are really opposite; cf. the dash opposite l. 5.

6. αλλ αγε: ἀλλά τε A, corrected by Musurus.

7. κοῖλω[ν: κοῖλων A and editors, but κοῖλων, an Aeolic form found in Anacreon 9. 2, may well be right here.

9. νηφέ[ι]ν εν: ν. μέν A, ἐν Mus. But the reading in the papyrus is not satisfactory; one letter between  $\phi$  and  $\nu$  would be better than two, and the traces after the second  $\epsilon$ , if not absolutely inconsistent with  $\nu$ , suggest a round letter like  $\sigma$ . Moreover the accent is wrong. But we can find no suitable alternative; the fourth letter can hardly be  $\sigma$ , and therefore νήφονες does not suit; νηφέμεναι (conj. Bergk) is inadmissible.

#### 855. MENANDER?

13 × 16.3 cm.

Third century.

This fragment of an unidentified New Attic comedy, though inconsiderable in size, is of more than usual interest, bringing before us with much vividness a scene to which we think there is no exact parallel in the extant remains of either Greek or Roman comedy. A slave Daus has been detected and caught by an indulgent (l. 13) master, Laches, in some act of villainy connected with an inheritance (l. 18), and Laches proposes to have him burnt alive. Daus is perhaps bound to a stake; his fellow-slaves, to whom the victim appeals

vainly for mercy, bring out faggots and pile them round him; and Laches himself carries the lighted torch. Wilamowitz, to whom we are much indebted in the reconstruction of this text, supposes that the slave had taken refuge at an altar, where however the right of asylum would not protect him from being burnt. At any rate the language plainly implies that it was not his master's object merely to dislodge him from a place of sanctuary. Of course the grim scene was not acted out, and no doubt Daus eventually escaped; but that it should be carried so far is a significant indication of the Athenian attitude towards slavery at this period, and the passage may be placed in contrast to some others where a more humane tendency is displayed, e.g. Philemon's ἐλευθέρους ἐπόησε πάντας τῇ φύσει δούλους δὲ μετεπόησεν ἢ πλεονεξία (Kock, Fr. 95). It is said that the position of slaves was peculiarly favourable at Athens, and though a master had the power of punishment he might not legally put them to death; cf. Antiphon, *de caede Herodis*, p. 728 οὐδὲ οἱ τοὺς δεσπώτας ἀποκτείναντες . . . οὐδ' οὗτοι θνήσκουσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων . . . κατὰ νόμους ὑμετέρους πατρίους: but perhaps the law was stricter in theory on this point than in practice. For the burning of slaves Wilamowitz cites the fragment from Euripides' *Syleus* (Nauck Fr. 687) in which Heracles in a servile position says πύμπρη, κάταιθε σάρκας κ.τ.λ. Murray suggests that Laches only wished to frighten Daus, and was playing a big practical joke. That is a quite tenable hypothesis, but perhaps not much is gained by it so far as the rights of Athenian slaves are concerned. Daus certainly thought that he was to be burned, and seems rather to take it for granted; he makes no protest against the illegality or the unheard of barbarity of the act. There is a general similarity between the scene in the papyrus and that in Aristophanes' *Thesmoph.* 726 sqq., with the essential difference that Mneciloehus, for whose burning preparations are there made, is a free man.

The identity of the play to which the fragment belongs and of its author is quite uncertain. Wilamowitz would refer it to some other poet than Menander on the ground of the occurrence of the article at the end of a verse at l. 23, to which there is no parallel in the Cairo papyrus. But this is not a very conclusive argument, and it seems to us to be more than outweighed by a remarkable linguistic coincidence between ll. 13-4 and a citation from the *Perinthia*; cf. note *ad loc.*

There are remains of two columns, the second of which is in fair preservation. The text is written in medium-sized sloping uncials of the common third-century type. Double dots and paragraphi are employed to denote the alternations of the dialogue, and, as in 211, 852, and the Cairo Menander, the names of the speakers are sometimes inserted, in a more cursive but perhaps not different hand. Stops, mostly a high point (one in the middle

position occurs at the end of ii. 5), are freely used, though not always with discrimination, and marks of elision are also frequent; two accents occur (one misplaced) and a mark of long quantity ( $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\nu = \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota$ ). All these lection signs seem to be due to the original scribe.

## Col. ii.

. . . . .  
[. . . . .]·συδακολουθει[  
[. . . . .]·ασέξεισιν·φερωντο·πυρ[  
και·πυρ·προδηλον·ωτι·βει·και·γετα  
επειτα·κατα·καυσει·μ'·αφειητ'·αγγετα  
5 [. . .]·δουλονοντα·και·διασωσαν[. . .]·υπανυ.  
[. . .]·ανμ'·αφειητ'·αλλα·περιοψεσθε·με·  
[. . .]·προσαλληλουσε·χομεν·προσερχεται  
[. . .]·ριασ·οσον·γεφορτιον·φερων  
[. . .]·λωλα·και·δαιδ'·αυτοση·μμενη·νεχων

## Col. i.

. . . . .  
]  
]  
]·χοι  
]  
]  
]·βω<sup>τ</sup>  
]  
.  
.  
.  
.  
.

10 [. . . . .]·ολουθει : περιθετ'·ε[.]·κυκλωιτα·χυ<sup>λαχ</sup>  
[. . . . .]·ιδειξαι·δαιτην·πανουργιαν  
τε·χνην·τινι·εν·ρων·διαφυγωντ'·εν·θεν·δε·με  
τε·χνην·εγώ : ναι·δαι·ετο·μενα·πραγμονα  
και·κουφον·εξ·απαταν·γαρε·στι·δε·σποτην  
15 φλυαρος : ηην : ει·δε·τι·στην·των·φρενων  
στακτην : εκ·νισθησ : ου·χι·προ·σου·δε·σποτα  
ο·μεν·πον·ηροσ·οθρα·συ·σεν·θαδ'·αρτιωσ  
κατα·των·σκελων·την·κληρονομιαν·φι[.]·τατο[  
[. . . . .]·οδων·εξ·ειν·χαριν<sup>λαλ</sup>  
20 [. . . . .]·συ·φημων : κα·ετ[.]·  
[.]·[.]·ιασ  
[. . . . .]·ω·σα·φικετο  
[. . . . .]·φερο·μενο·σγαρκ·αν·κυκλω[  
[. . . . .]·ρτων·τε·στιτο

Unplaced fragment . . .

]τιβ[  
.  
.

## Col. ii.

- [. . . . .]· σὺ δ' ἀκολουθεῖ μοι, Γέτα.
- (Δῶος) [κληματίδ]ας ἔξεισιν φέρων· τὸ πύρ[ιδανον]  
καὶ πῦρ πρόδηλον· ὦ Τίβιε καὶ Γέτα,  
ἔπειτα κατακαύσει μ' ἀφείητ' ἄν, Γέτα,  
5 [σύν]δουλον ὄντα, καὶ διασώσαν[τ'; ο]ὐ πάννυ  
[νῦν] ἄν μ' ἀφείητ'· ἀλλὰ περιόψεσθέ με;  
[τί δ]ὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν; προσέρχεται  
[ὁ Πυρ]ρίας ὅσον γε φορτίον φέρων·  
[ἀπό]λωλα· καὶ δᾶδ' αὐτὸς ἡμμένην ἔχων  
10 [Λάχ]ης ἀκ[ολουθεῖ]. Λάχ(ης). περίθετ' ἐ[ν] κύκλῳ ταχὺ  
[τὰ ξύλ'· ἐπ]ίδειξαι, Δᾶε, τὴν πανουργίαν  
τέχνην τιν' εὐρὼν διαφυγῶν τ' ἐνθένδε με.  
(Δα.) τέχνην ἐγώ; (Λάχ.) ναί, Δᾶε, τὸ μὲν ἀπράγμονα  
καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾶν γάρ ἐστι δεσπότην  
15 φλύαρος. (Δα.) ἡήν. (Λάχ.) εἰ δέ τις τὴν τῶν φρενῶν  
στακτὴν—ἐκνίσθης; (Δα.) οὐχὶ πρὸς σοῦ, δέσποτα.  
(Λα.) ὁ μὲν πονηρός, ὁ θρασύς, ἐνθάδ' ἀρτίως  
κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν φι[λ]τάτο[υ]  
[. . . . .] π[οδων]. (Δα.) ἔξειν χάριν  
20 [. . . . .]ς ὑφ' ἡμῶν. Λάχ(ης). κάετ[ε]  
[. . . . .] Π[υρ]ρίας. . ὥς ἀφίκετο  
[. . . . .] φερόμενος γὰρ κἂν κύκλῳ  
[. . . . .]ρτων τ' ἐστὶ τὸ

' *Tibius* (?) . . ., and do you, Getes, follow me.

*Daus.* He is coming out with faggots; there is the fuel and the fire. O Tibius and Getes, would you then leave me to be burnt, Getes, me your fellow slave, and your preserver? Surely you will not desert me now! Will you disregard me? What have we against each other? Here comes Pyrrhias, with what a load on his back! I am undone! Laches himself is following with a lighted torch.

*Laches.* Put the logs quickly all round him. Give an exhibition, Daus, of your cunning by finding some device and escaping me here.

*Da.* I find a device?

*La.* Yes, Daus; for to deceive an easygoing and careless master is mere foolery.

*Da.* Oh!

*La.* But if one feels his brains turning to ashes—were you hurt?

*Da.* Not by you, master.

*La.* This rascal, this rogue, has lately in a cowardly manner (made away) here with the inheritance of my dearest . . .

Col. i. βωσ( ) is in the same hand as the interlinear *dramatis personae* in the next column. In the Cairo Menander papyrus the names of speakers are frequently added in the right-hand margin of the column to which they refer, and that might be the case here, though βωσ( ) suggests no likely name. Perhaps σωσ( ), e. g. Σωσ(ias), a name frequent in comedy, may be read, though there would then remain an unexplained mark below the first σ; cf. note on l. 21. But of course the word may not be a name at all.

Col. ii. 2. The supplements were suggested by Wilamowitz. For [κληματίδ]as cf. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 728 and, for πύρδανον, 661. 19.

3. Τίβιος and Γέτης were common names of slaves. In the line cited from Menander's *Thellale* as εὐθυμία βίε τὸν δοῦλον τρέφει (Kock, Fr. 231) Bentley proposed to read εὐθυμία τοι Τίβιε κ.τ.λ., but as the second syllable of the name is now shown to be long, the τοι is superfluous.

4. κατακαυσει is quite clearly written, and there is no necessity to emend to κατακαῦσαι, though that might have been expected.

6. [νῦν], which makes an apposite contrast to the aorist διασώσαντ', is due to Wilamowitz. The only objection to it is the stop after πανν, but as the scribe's pointing is not always accurate (cf. e. g. l. 3) this is not a fatal obstacle. If the presence of the stop is to be pressed, we might read οἱ πάνν, [οὐκ].

7. The letter before προς, of which only a very slight vestige remains, may be ω, but there does not seem to be room for [οντ]ω.

8. [ὁ Πυρ]ρίας Wilamowitz. Cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 730 Πυρρίας and Schol. ὄνομα γὰρ δούλου ὁ Πυρρίας.

9. The ι of δαιδ' was inserted after the second δ had been written.

11. Restored by Wilamowitz. In l. 10 after ταχν an indistinct spot on the edge of the papyrus may represent a stop, but it is further away from the final letter than is the case e. g. in ll. 5 and 6 and, since an object for περίθετ' is desirable, it is better disregarded. Even if the stop were certain, this would not necessarily preclude the suggested supplement; cf. note on l. 6.

13-4. Cf. for the language Menander, *Perinthia* (Kock, Fr. 393) Ὅστις παραλαβὼν δεσπότην ἀπράγμονα καὶ κοῦφον ἐξαπατᾷ θεράπων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι οὗτος μεγαλείον ἔστι διαπεπραγμένος, ἐπαβελτερώσας τὸν (πρότερον) ἀβέλτερον. Such a striking similarity seems to us to point to Menander as the author of our fragment; cf. introd.

15. ἤν appears to be an exclamation not otherwise attested. Wilamowitz compares Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 906 ἤῃ (ῃ ἦ).

16. The sentence εἰ δὲ . . . στακτήν is not completed, a wince on the part of the slave at the idea of his brains' ashes leading Laches to break off with the question ἐκνίσθης. A single stop instead of double dots should have been placed between στακτην and ἐκνίσθης: the latter word is also wrongly accented. This passage seems to be much the earliest instance of the use of στακτή in the sense of τέφρα, for which cf. e. g. Demetrius Constantinop. *Hieracos.* 2. 18 μετὰ στακτῆς ἀπὸ κληματίδων.

18. κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν: cf. Aristoph. *Peace* 241 ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν and Schol. Rav. συμβολικὸν ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ δειλίαν ἀποπατοῦντων (Wilamowitz). Whether this explanation would suit the present passage remains uncertain owing to the mutilation of the context. ἐκπ]οδῶν(?) in l. 19 would be consistent with it.

19. There may have been two dots, not one, after ]οδῶν, the papyrus being damaged in the place where the lower dot would be placed. Since καετ[ε] in l. 20 is attributed to Laches, a change of speaker must have intervened in ll. 19-20. ἐκπ]οδῶν is probably to be restored rather than π]οδῶν.

21. Perhaps ] πῶς ἀφίκετο, but the vestige before ως might also represent double dots, and ὥς should then be read. With regard to the name of the speaker inserted above the line, we read Π[ε]ρ]ρίας on the strength of l. 8, but the traces preceding the termination ρίας are extremely slight, and though not inconsistent with ]υ[.]ρ they do not suggest those letters. Σ[ω]σίας, a name possibly to be recognized in the first column (cf. note *ad loc.*), would in some ways be more suitable.

23. The article τὸ at the end of a verse is noticeable; cf. introd. This line was apparently the last of the column.

24. We have failed to fix the place of this small fragment. The letters suggest Τίβ[ριος].

#### 856. SCHOLIA ON ARISTOPHANES' *Acharnians*.

Fr. (a) 11.9 × 5.9, Fr. (b) 10.2 × 5.1 cm.

Third century.

These scholia are contained in two fragments, preserving parts of two successive columns. The long interval between the subjects of the last line of Col. i and the first remaining line of Col. ii shows that the columns were tall, the probable height of the papyrus being over 30 cm. They were also proportionately broad, and the compact writing combined with extensive abbreviation enables the scribe to economize greatly in space. On the same scale another column would have brought him to the end of the play, and the commentary was thus completed in three columns. It may well have belonged to a series of similar commentaries, and is evidently not to be classed as a collection of school-notes. It is written in rather small sloping uncials, apparently of the third century; the several notes are divided off from each other by double dots, accompanied by paragraphi; a single high dot usually follows the lemmata, but is also occasionally used as an ordinary stop; accents and breathings are sparingly added. The system of abbreviation resembles that of the Berlin commentary of Didymus on Demosthenes and of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία; besides words shortened by the ordinary method of omitting the termination and writing a letter above the line, the following more conventional abbreviations occur: γ' = γάρ, δ' = δέ, κ' = καί, μ' = μέν, π' = παρά, π = ποιητής, π = πρὸς, τ = τῶν, φ = φησί or φασί, ε = εἰσί.

As will be seen from the excerpts quoted below, the scholia stand in no close relation to the extant scholia, of which the principal source for the

*Acharnians* is the Codex Ravennas. The papyrus notes are usually not only far shorter but also less frequent; vv. 392-444, for instance, are covered in five lines whereas in Dindorf's edition they occupy four pages. On the other hand words or phrases are sometimes here selected for comment which in the extant scholia are passed over (cf. ll. 9, 29, 35, 37, 38, 44, 68), and the notes are occasionally quite full, e. g. those on vv. 614-7; similarly a more precise explanation than that of the scholia is noticeable in l. 55. Verbal agreements occur here and there, but they are nowhere striking and scarcely amount to more than is natural in a treatment of the same subject. If, indeed, there be any historical connexion between the annotations of the papyrus and those represented in the mediaeval MSS., it is of a very slight and distant character.

In the commentary below Schol. means the extant scholia, which we cite from the edition of Dindorf, with some modification from Rutherford's transcript of the Ravennas.

Fr. (α)

Col. i.

			].μιν	
			] τινων	
			τ]αίς κω	
	μωιδιαίς		]ι περι	
5			]σιου	
			]οι δ(ε) φα(σι)	108?
			]ς Κλεισθ(ενης)	118
			]αβαλλω(ν):	
			πωγ]ωνα έχοντ )	120
10	... επι των πολλους	ξενου]ς δεχομ(ενων):		127
		Θε]ωρος:		134
	Θεογνις· τραγωιδίας]	ψυχρος πο(ιητης):		140
		]ν τῶν		
		κ]αταπελ		160
15	τασονται·	]ματος [ ]		
		φ]η(σι) πολιν:		
		]ηι α		
		]τις έχων		
		]ενοις		

20	]	οι (εισι):	
		]αν μυτ	174
τωτ		]s σκληροι.	180

## Fr. (b)

	[ . . . . . ]ινου: ουκ ενασπιδ[ω(σομαι)] οιον [	ψηφηδακειν.	368, 376
	[επει ψηφ]οις δικαζοντες χρωνται . [	την περυ	378
25	[σι κωμω]ιδιαν· εις τους Βαβυλωνιο[υς		
	[ . . . . . ]τους τ(ων) Αθηναιων κ(αι) πεδι[		
	[ . . . . . υ]πο Κλεωνος δικην εφυ[γε	Ιερωνυμου· πο(ιητης)	386
	[τις ην κο]μητης: του Σισυφου· οιον [		391
	[ . . . παρ]οιμιαν σκηψιν αγων ουτος . [		392
30	[ . . . . . δ]υσποτμος· εισαγεται γ(αρ) παρ[α τωι Ευριπιδηι ως εκπεπτωκως		419
	[εκ της βα]σιλειας κ(αι) πτωχος περιν[οστων		
	[ . . . . . ]ται παρ αυτωι υπο δ(ε) χειρων [		
	[ . . τα ρα]κη κ(αι) τα σχισματα: σκιμα[λίσω·		444
	[ . . . . . τ]οις ρημασι: Τηλεφωι δ αγ[ω φρονω·	χρεος	446, 455
35	[μεν ουδ]εν· πρ(ος) το χρεος λεγει: ωσπε[ρ η μητηρ·	ισχνα μοι	457, 469
	[φυλλεια] δος τα σαπρα φυλλα ἂ εκ τ[	σκαν	478
	[δικα· λα]χανιον τι: εμπορευτε[α·		480
	[ . . . . . ] υπερ Λακεδ(αιμονιων) ανδρων λεγ(ειν) ο . [	γραμμη·	482, 483
	[ . . . . . δρ]ομεων: παρακεκομμενα [		517
40	[σικ(υον) ιδο]ιεν ου(τ ) σικνωι τιθωνωι εοικ( ) [	πεφυσιγγωμενοι·	520, 526
	[εκκεκαυ]μενοι: πορνᾶ δυο· ως πορν[	σκολια·	527, 532
	[μελη πα]ροινια: Σεριφιων των Αθ[ηναι	παλλαδιων·	542, 547
	[ . . . τα] π(ερι) τας τριηρεις οντα Παλλαδ[ος αγαλματα		
	[εν δικτυο]ις λε(γει) εν γυργαθοις: τριχ[ιδων·		550, 551
45	[ . . . . . ]αι: τον δ[ε] Τηλεφον [		555
	[ . . . . . ] . . . . . ι . [ . . ]υκαν επ[		
	[	20 letters	] . αυτων [
	[	” ”	α]γωνιζο(μενων) τω[ν
	[	21 ”	] ουτος δειχ[θ
50	[ . . . . . φυλετα· ] απο της α(υτης) φυ[λης		568

Fr. (α) Col. ii.

- [. . . . .]κησι[  
 [. . .] τ(ων) α[. .]. τω[  
 [.]καλ( ) οι ετεροι του[ς  
 δειν ως φα(σι) κ(αι) οι ηθ[ πτερον αιτει 584  
 55 ἴνα καθεις εις την φαρυγα ἐ[ξέμεση κομπολακ(υθου)· ουτω λε(γει) 589  
 τον Λαμαχον οτ(ι) κομπαστης [ην σπουδαρχ(ιδης)· στρα 595, 596  
 τωνιδης π(αρα) το στρατευσθα[ι μισθαρχιδης δε οτι μισθον 597  
 λαμβανων εφ οις αν π[ κοκκυγες· ε 598  
 ρημιαν οι ορν(εις) : Τισαμεν[οφαιν(ιππους)· Πανουργιπ(παρχιδας)· πα 603  
 60 νουργiai : Γερητοθεοδ(ωρους) Γερ[ης 605  
 ἀλλ ὁ Κοισυρας· ο Μεγακλης· τ[ 614  
 δ(ε) κ(αι) οσοι προδοται (εισι) οι μ(εν) α[  
 εκεισε ειτα πυνθανετ(αι) λ[  
 την ταξι των αυτων η εμ[  
 65 τοι φη(σι) ο Κοισυρας κ(αι) Λαμαχ[ος 616-7  
 ελεγον εξίστω· το δ(ε) απο[νιπτρον  
 προφωνουσιν εξίστω ἴνα  
 Λαμαχος· ειθ ο Δικαιοπο(ολις) ουδ[ 619?  
 χαυνοπολ(ιτας) οιον χαυνους : ο[τε και βασιλευς· υ 635, 647  
και  
 70 περ εαυτου λεγων οτ(ε) βασιλε[υς  
 πρωτον μ(εν) ποτερον ταις ναν[σι κρατουσιν  
 μεγαλοφροσυνην εαυτου [  
 δια δ(ε) ταυτα φη(σι) Λακεδαιμο(νιους) [  
 πο(ιητην) φα(σι) γ(αρ) οι μ(εν) αυτον εκει . [  
 75 οιον εξ ὧν το δικαστικον [  
 κ(αι) προς χαριν λεγοντ . [  
 ειθ ουτω κατεπραττον [  
 φλεγυρα· ενθερμος· φ[ειψαλος· σπινθηρ : επανθρακιδες· ιχθυες 665, 668, 670  
 η κρεα : οι δ(ε) Θασιαν το[ 671

6. The remains of this line suggest Schol. 108 ἀχάνη μετρον ἐστὶ Περσικὸν . . . ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ὅτι κίστη ἐστίν.

7. Cf. Schol. οὗτος ὁ Κλεισθένης αἰὲ τὸ γένειον ἐξυρᾶτο ἐπὶ τὸ αἰε φαίνεσθαι νέος· διὸ εὐνούχῳ αὐτὸν εἰκάζει.

9. There is nothing in the extant scholia corresponding to πῶγ]ωνα έχο(ντ ); the ω is very uncertain, but πῶγωνα is strongly suggested by έχο(ντ ). The overwritten letter is plainly ο not ω.

10. Cf. Schol. on οὐδέποτε γ' ἴσχει θύρα: παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν πολλοὺς ξένους ἀποδεχομένων.

11. Cf. Schol. ὁ κῆρυξ καλεῖ ἄλλον πρεσβευτὴν ἐλθόντα παρὰ Σιτάλκους τοῦ Θρακῶν βασιλέως, πρὸς ὃν ἦσαν ἀποστείλαντες αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖοι· οὗτος δὲ ἐκάλετο Θέωρος. The double dots after Θε]ωρος indicate that the name is the end of the note, not of the lemma.

12. The note in Schol. is similarly worded; οὗτος ὁ Θέογνις τραγωδίας ποιητὴς ψυχρός.

14. καταπελτάσσονται is glossed in Schol. κατακοντίσουςι, καταπολεμήσουσι . . . καταδρα-  
μοῦνται.

16. The note perhaps relates to σωσίπολις in l. 163; but σωσ]ιπολιν cannot be read.

17-20. The remains of these lines give no clear clue to their subjects. In the extant scholia there are notes on 162 ὁ θρανίτης λέως, 163 about Dicaeopolis and the σκόροδα, 166 οὐ μὴ πρόσει κ.τ.λ., 171 διοσημία, 172 ἔννην, but coincidences do not occur here with their language. διοσημία cannot be read in l. 17; the first letter is certainly η. ]enois in l. 19 might be ἔnois referring to ἔννην, but is more likely to be the termination of a participle, or ἐν οἷς.

21. Cf. Schol. μυττωτόν: ἀντὶ τοῦ σκόροδα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μυττωτός γίνεται. κατασκευάζεται ἀπὸ τυροῦ καὶ σκορόδου καὶ ψοῦ.

22. σκληροὶ is probably a gloss on πρίννοι in 180 or ἀτεράμονες in 181. Cf. Schol. πρίννοι: στερεοὶ καὶ σκληροὶ . . . ἀτεράμονες: λίαν σκληροὶ . . .

23. The letter before ν can hardly be η, so ἐπιξ]ήνου (cf. ll. 355, 359, 365-6) is unsuitable. οὐκ ἐνασιπιδόσομαι is glossed in Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ καθοπλίσομαι, οὐκ ἀσπίδι περι-  
βαλοῦμαι σεμνυνόμενος, ἢ σκευασθήσομαι, ἐπειδὴ βραχύς εἰμι.

24. Schol. are quite different, ψήφω δακεῖν: οἷον καταδικάζειν. πανταχοῦ ὡς φιλοδίκους . . . τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κωμωδεῖ.

25-7. Cf. Schol. τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους λέγει. τούτους γὰρ πρὸ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ἐν οἷς πολλοὺς κακῶς εἶπεν. ἐκωμῶδησεν γὰρ τὰς τε κληρωτὰς καὶ χειροτονητὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Κλέωνα παρόντων τῶν ξένων . . . καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Κλέων ἐγράψατο αὐτὸν ἀδικίας . . . πεδι] in l. 26 seems strange.

27-8. Cf. Schol. οὗτος ὁ Ἰ. μελῶν ἐστὶ ποιητὴς καὶ τραγωδοποιὸς ἀνόμελος καὶ ἀνοικονόμητος, διὰ τὸ ἄγαν ἐπαθεῖς γράφει ὑποθέσεις . . . ἐκωμωδεῖτο δὲ ὡς πάνν κομῶν. The word κομήτης is used in connexion with him by Aristophanes in *Clouds* 348. ἀνοικονο]μήτης (τραγωδίας) would be a much less likely restoration.

28. του Σισυφου: τὰς Σ. MSS., on which Schol. have δριμύν τινα καὶ πανοῦργον παραδεδώκασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν Σίσυφον . . .

29. There is no comment in Schol. on this verse beyond the Victorian gloss σκῆψιν: ἤγονν πρόφασιν.

30-3. Cf. Schol. . . . ἀφῆρέθη τὴν βασιλείαν Οἰνεὺς διὰ τὸ γῆρας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγρίου παίδων καὶ περιῆει ταπεινός . . . l. 32 seems to be a continuation of the same note, and l. 33 τα ρα]κη . . . σχίσματα may also belong to it; the latter words may, however, be a gloss on 423 λακίδας or 431 σπάργανα, or go back to τρύχη in 418. Cf. Schol. in the note on Οἰνεὺς quoted above τρύχη τὰ ράκη τραγικῶς: similarly λακίδες in 423 are explained as διερωγῶτα ἱμάτια, or according to Gl. Vict. λακίς' ράχας . . . σχίσμα.

33-4. Cf. Schol. σκιμαλίσω: ἐξουθενίσω, χλενάσω κ.τ.λ. τ]οις ρημασι in l. 34 belongs to the same note.

34. Schol. have only a note to the effect that the verse is a parody of a line in Eurip. *Telephus* καλῶς ἔχοιμι, Τηλέφω δ' ἀγὼ φρονῶ.

35. πρ(ος) . . . λεγει: there is nothing corresponding to this in Schol. On 457 Schol. has σκάπτει αὐτὸν ὡς λαχανόπωλιν ἔχοντα μητέρα τὴν Κλειτώ.

36. Cf. Schol. οἷον μεμαραμμένα καὶ εὐτελῇ τῶν λαχάνων φύλλα . . . τὰ ἀπολεπίσματα τῶν λαχάνων. There was apparently no stop after *dos*.

37. Cf. Schol. . . . ἔστι γὰρ (ἡ σκάνδιξ) λάχανον ἄγριον εὐτελές. No note occurs on ἐμπορευτέα, a reading in which the papyrus supports R and other MSS. εὐπορευτέα A, ἐκπορευτέα Bentley.

38. There is no corresponding comment in Schol.

39. For δρ]ομεων cf. Schol. γραμμὴ δ' αὐτῇ : ἀρχή, ἀφετηρία, ἡ λεγομένη βαλβίς· ἐκ μεταφορῶς οὖν τῶν δρομέων. On παρακεκομμένα the note is μηδὲν ἐντελὲς ἔχοντα· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀδοκίμων νομισμάτων . . .

40. This line is obscure ; σικυωι indicates that the reference is to verse 520, and we therefore restore σικ(νον) ἰδοῖεν, though it is noticeable that there is no stop after ἰδοῖεν ; cf., however, l. 36. τιθωνωι seems to be corrupt ; τιθῶν ωι is as unsatisfactory here as Τιθωνῶι. Τιθωνόν occurs in *Acharn.* 688.

41. Cf. Schol. φῦσιγξ λέγεται τὸ ἐκτὸς λέπισμα τῶν σκορόδων . . . πεπλησμένοι (πεφυσημένοι R) ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς . . . ἀσκῶν ἢ φυσῶν. ἡ ἐκκεκουμένοι, οἰδοῦντες.

The note here on πορνα δυο apparently had no relation to Schol. πόρνα is the accepted reading ; πόρνas R and Athenaeus.

42. πα]ροινια : Schol. have no explanation of the term σκόλιον in the present passage, but cf. *Wasps* 1238 ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου προσηγορεύθησαν σκόλια τὰ παροίνια μέλη, and 1239 λέξεις σκόλιον : . . . ἐν τοῖς Πραξίλλης φέρεται παροινίοις. For Σεριφίων cf. Schol. ἡ Σερίφος νησὶς εὐτελεστάτη πρὸς τὴν Θράκην.

43. Cf. Schol. ἐν ταῖς πρῶραις τῶν τριήρων ἦν ἀγάλματά τινα ξύλινα τῆς Ἀθηνῶς καθιδρυμένα.

44. Schol. have no remark on δικτύοις. τριχίδες are explained as εἶδος ἰχθύων.

45. ]αι is probably part of a note on νιγλάρων in 554, e. g. μέλος ᾧ . . . χρών]αι or . . . οἱ κελευστ]αί ; cf. Schol. ὁ νίγλαρος κροῦμά ἐστι καὶ μέλος μουσικὸν παρακελευστικόν. On τὸν δὲ Τήλεφον the only remark is καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Τηλέφου Εὐριπίδου.

48. This line appears to be part of a description of the quarrel between the two halves of the chorus ; cf. Schol. 557 ἐνταῦθα διαιρεῖται ὁ χορὸς εἰς δύο μέρη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀργίζεται ἐφ' οἷς λέγει ὁ Δικ., τὸ δὲ καὶ ἀποδέχεται, and 563 τὸ ἡμιχόριον τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον αὐτῶ λέγει ὅτι μὴ ἀναχωρήσης . . .

49-52. Perhaps l. 51 or l. 52 should be combined with l. 50, but we have failed to make out any connexion. If l. 50 is rightly explained as a gloss on 568 φυλέτα it is not possible to put l. 51 higher up than l. 49. There is no note on φυλέτα in Schol.

53. The first letter may be λ or χ instead of κ ; the letter above the line seems to be λ or χ.

54-5. Cf. Schol. τὸ πτερὸν αἰτεῖ ἵνα ἐξεμέσῃ. εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ δυσεμεῖς πτερῶ χρησθαι.

55-6. Cf. Schol. κομπολακύθου : ματαιοκόμπου, κομπώδους ἐν τῷ καυχᾶσθαι. παρεποίησεν καὶ παρέπλασεν ὄνομα{τα} ὄρνιθος διὰ τὸ κομπαστὴν εἶναι τὸν Λάμαχον. On οὐ σπουδαρχίδης the gloss is οὐ σπουδάζων περὶ ἀρχῆς.

57-8. Schol. are similar, the glosses being, on στρατώνιδης, ἀντὶ τοῦ στρατευόμενος, στρατιώτης, and on μισθαρχ., μισθὸν λαμβάνων· ἢ ὅτι τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν μισθοὺς ἥσθιεν.

58-9. The note on κόκκυγες in Schol. is different : ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόκκυξ τὸ ζῶον ἄμυσσόν τι φθέγγεται. A similar idea, however, to that apparently expressed in ερημιαν is to be found in Hesychius κόκκυγες· ἐπὶ ὑπονοηθέντων πλειόνων εἶναι, καὶ ὀλίγων ὄντων.

59-60. Schol. have ὁ Τισαμενὸς ὡς ξένος καὶ μαστιγίας κωμωδεῖται, ὁ δὲ Φαίνιππος ὡς συνώδης καὶ ἡταιρηκός. . . . Πανουργιππαρχίδας : τοὺτους κωμωδεῖ ὡς πανούργους . . . εἰς μαλακίαν διεβάλλετο Γέρης καὶ Θεόδωρος, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ δούλων.

61-4. In Schol. ὁ Κοισύρας is similarly interpreted as Megacles, but here the resemblance ceases. What follows apparently corresponds to the explanation of the allusion to ὁ Κοισύρας

καὶ Λάμαχος quoted in the next note, but it is quite differently worded. In l. 62 the supposed δ of δ(ε) may be meant for an α, but the abbreviation α' here would be more difficult to explain.

65-7. Cf. Schol. εἴωθεσαν εἴ ποτε ἐκχέοιτο ἀπόνιπτρον ἀπὸ τῶν θυρίδων ἵνα μή τις βραχῇ τῶν παρίοντων ἐξίστω λέγειν . . . τοῦτο λέγει διασύρων Μ. καὶ Λ. ὡς πρότερον μὲν πένητας ὄντας εἶτα ἐξαίφνης πλουτήσαντας ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. τοῖς δανείζουσι παρήνουν οἱ φίλοι ἐξίστασθαι τοῦ δανείζειν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀφείλουσιν ἐράνους καὶ χρέα, or according to another explanation, οἱ φίλοι χθές καὶ πρῶην συνεβούλευον καταχρέους οὖσιν ὑπὸ τε ἐράνων καὶ ὀφλημάτων ἐξίστασθαι τῆς οὐσίας, ὡς μὴ δυναμένους ἀποδοῦναι. In l. 66 τ of το is corrected.

68. The paragraphus above this line indicates a new lemma, and the stop after Λαμαχος suggests (though it does not prove) that that name formed part of it; hence we refer the note to 619. There is nothing corresponding in Schol.

69. Cf. Schol. χαννοπ.: κεχαννωμένους περὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ τὴν πόλιν.

69-72. Schol. 648-9 have πότεροι ταῖς ναυσί: ποῖοι αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων (καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων?) ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κρατοῦσιν . . . ποτέρους εἴποι πολλά: ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ τούτου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἡρώτα τίνας διαβάλλει καὶ κωμῳδεῖ. ἔφασκε γὰρ ὅτι οὓς ἂν οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς σκώψῃ, τούτους σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι βελτίους. In l. 72 the first ν of εαυτου is written as a curved stroke above α, as if the word was to be abbreviated, and there has been some correction of the τ; possibly εαυ(του) του [ should be read.

73. δια δ(ε) κ.τ.λ. seems to have been tacked on to the previous note without a new lemma. Schol. have διὰ τοῦθ': διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην ποιητὴν ἄριστον. The papyrus agrees with R in reading ταυθ: τοῦθ' A<sup>2</sup>.

74. Cf. Schol. ἐντεῦθεν τινὲς νομίζουσιν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὰς κωμῳδίας ποιεῖν τὸν Ἀ. . . ταῖς ἀληθείαις εἰς ἣν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κληρουχισάντων . . . ἄλλως' οὐδεὶς ἰστόρηκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κέκτηται τι Ἀ. . . κ[ωμωιδίας might be read after ἐκεῖ.

75-7. These lines seem to give a paraphrase of 656-8; cf. Schol. 657 οὐθ' ὑποτείνων: οὐδέ τισι μισθὸν διδοὺς ἵν' αὐτὸν ἐπαίνεωσιν, 658 κατάρδων . . . καταβρέχων ὑμᾶς τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ὡς φυτά.

78. Cf. Schol. 665 φλεγυρά: λαμπρά, φλέγουσα, λάμπουσα, θερμὴ διὰ τοὺς ἄνθρακας. 668 φέψαλος: σπινθήρ.

78-9. Cf. Schol. on ἐπανθρακίδες, λεπτοὶ ἰχθύες ὅποιοι. πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ ἀνθράκων ὀπτώμενα ἐπανθρακίδας ἐκάλουν. These two lines project below the last line of the preceding column.

79. Perhaps after θασσαν a high point was written which has coalesced with the cross-bar of the following τ.

## 857. EPITOME OF HERODOTUS.

10.7 × 7.1 cm.

Fourth century.

The lower portion of a leaf from a vellum codex, containing in all 28 lines, most of which are incomplete, from a historical work. The script is a medium-sized upright uncial of the biblical type, and probably of the fourth century, without lection-marks. The MS. is far from accurate, serious mistakes (probably due to omissions) occurring in ll. 3 and 17. The verso is concerned with the dispatch of Cadmus the Coan by Gelon to watch the struggle between Xerxes and the Greeks, and is nothing but an abstract of Herodotus vii. 163. The subject of the recto, the refusal of the Argives to join in the defence of Greece,

corresponds to that of cc. 148-52 of the same book, though the verbal resemblance to Herodotus is here less marked. In the absence of external evidence to show which side of the leaf came first, we suppose that the order of the narrative in our fragment agreed with Herodotus, and therefore the recto precedes the verso. A mention in l. 2 of the battle of Thermopylae, which is not described by Herodotus until cc. 201 sqq., causes some difficulty (cf. ll. 1-4, note), but it is clear that this is a forward reference and not part of our author's description of the engagement. The chapters intervening between 151 and 163 are occupied by, first, a digression on Gelon, and secondly his colloquy with the ambassadors who came to ask for help, and the lacuna between the end of the recto and the beginning of the verso no doubt contained a brief account of the unsuccessful embassy; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq. Probably our fragment belongs to an epitome of Herodotus as such, rather than to a historical work closely based upon him. This being granted, the first name that suggests itself for the authorship is Theopompus, who began his historical researches by writing an epitome of Herodotus of which only a few isolated words survive. The fragment is too short to enable us to obtain much idea of the writer's style, but the occurrence of at least two examples of hiatus (ll. 20 and 21-2), which is very rare in the extant quotations from Theopompus, does not favour the view that he was the author, though his earliest literary efforts may have shown less care in this respect.

The fragment is in two pieces which do not actually join, but the position of the smaller one, which contains the last line of each page and parts of the two preceding ones, is made practically certain by the combination  $\chi\rho\eta[\mu]\alpha\tau\alpha$  in l. 27, that word being required by the context; cf. note on ll. 15 sqq.

## Recto.

[.]δ[.]προ]σεβα[λ...  
 [Θε]ρμοπυλαις ηγω[νι  
 [ξ]οντο οι αν[α] τριακο  
 [σι]ους πλην Αργειω-  
 5 [ο]υτοι γαρ εφ[ε] αυτω-  
 μενοντες ουτε αν  
 δρας ουτε ναυς εδω  
 καν [και ο]υδενι συνε  
 μαχ[ουν] δι[α] την δο  
 10 κο[υσαν] αυτων] προς

## Verso.

15 [...] απηλ[θον] ο δ[ε] Γε  
 [λ]ων ευλαβουμ[ε]νος  
 περι του μη νικη[θεν]  
 των των Ελληνω[ν]  
 καυτος ατυχηση [υπο  
 20 του βαρβαρου επεμ[ψε]  
 Καδμον τον Σκυθον [  
 ανδρα Κω[ον] επ[ι] πε[ν]  
 τηκοι[το]ρων τρ[ι]ων [  
 εις Δ[ε]λφους... ] πολ[.]

Π[ερσας συγγενει ?	25 τῷ[. . . . .] . ω[.
α[ν . .] . [ . . . . .	[. . . . .] . β[αρ]βαρ[.
ου[.]οπρ[. . . . .	[. . . . .] . α χρη[μ]ατα [ .
ημερας υπερειδ[.] .	[. .] και γην και υδωρ

' . . . attacked Thermopylae, the (Lacedaemonians) fought to the number of three hundred, except the Argives. These remaining at home provided neither men nor ships, and allied themselves with neither side on account of their pretended relationship to the Persians(?) . . . (The ambassadors) . . . departed. Gelon, taking precautions that if the Greeks were defeated he should himself suffer no harm at the hands of the barbarians, sent Cadmus, son of Scythes, a man of Cos, in command of three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi (with instructions to offer to the barbarians, if victorious), money, earth, and water . . .'

1-4. προ]σεβαλ may be imperfect or aorist. The subject is in any case the Persians or Xerxes, but the construction of ll. 1-4 is obscure. After οι in l. 3 a word has dropped out: (Λακεδαιμονιοι) would suit ανα τριακοσιους and might easily have been omitted through homoioteleuton, but then πλην Αργειων must be connected, not with the words immediately preceding, but with something lost before l. 1. (Ελληνες) or (Πελοποννησιοι) would suit πλην Αργειων very well, but involve a difficulty with regard to the figure, since 300 applies to the Lacedaemonian contingent. The reference to the battle of Thermopylae is in any case somewhat remarkable, since Herodotus first mentions that place in c. 175 and describes the battle in cc. 201 sqq., whereas our fragment corresponds to cc. 148-63; cf. introd.

5. The neutrality of Argos is discussed in detail by Herodotus, who opposes the Argive version of their action (cc. 148-9) to that current elsewhere (cc. 150-1) and then gives his own intentionally confused view (c. 152). If our restoration of ll. 9-12 is on the right lines, the epitomizer explained the action of the Argives in the light of c. 150 (the letter of Xerxes claiming relationship between the Persians and Argives), thus interpreting correctly the real opinion of Herodotus, who no doubt believed in the medism of the Argives, though unwilling to accuse them openly.

14. ημερας υπερειδ[(-ε or -ον?)]: the subject here seems to have changed, and we have been unable to recover the connexion with Herodotus.

15 sqq. Cf. Hdt. vii. 163 οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄγγελοι τοιαῦτα τῷ Γέλωνι χρηματίζαμενοι ἀπέπλεον· Γέλων δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα δέσας μὲν περὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μὴ οὐ δύνασθαι τὸν βάρβαρον ὑπερβαλέσθαι, δεινὸν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ποιησάμενος ἐλθὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐὼν Σικελίης τύραννος, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέλησε, ὃ δὲ ἄλλης εἶχετο. ἐπειτέ γὰρ τάχιστα ἐπύθετο τὸν Πέρσῃ διαβεβηκότα τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, πέμπει πεντηκοντέροισι τρισὶ Κάδμον τὸν Σκύθεω ἄνδρα Κῶρον ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιλίους λόγους, καταδοκῆσονται τὴν μάχην τῇ πεσέεται, καὶ ἦν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος νικᾷ, τά τε χρήματα αὐτῷ διδόναι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῶν ἄρχει ὁ Γέλων, ἦν δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὀπίσω ἀπάγειν.

17-9. The construction in περι του μη . . . ατυχηση has become confused. Either περι του must be omitted or ατυχηση altered to ατυχσαι or, what is perhaps more likely, a word like μελλοντος is to be supplied after περι του.

22. επ[ι]: the vestige of the letter after the lacuna is extremely slight, but there is not room for μετ[α]. For ἐπί with the dative in connexion with πέμπειν cf. Thuc. vi. 29 πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ στρατεύματι.

24. πολ[ι] may be some part of πολὺς (cf. Hdt. l. c. ἔχοντα χρήματα πολλὰ), but it is not certain that any letter is lost at the end of l. 24; πολλ[ο]υ is unsatisfactory.

28. Perhaps [τε] και. χρη[μ]ατα [ may end l. 27; cf. Hdt. l. c.

## 858. ORATION AGAINST DEMOSTHENES.

Fr. (b) 18 × 7.7 cm. Late second or early third century.

Two fragments of an oration attacking Demosthenes, written on the verso of a second-century cursive document of which only a few letters from the ends and beginnings of lines are preserved. The exact position of Fr. (a), containing parts of six lines from the top of a column, in relation to Fr. (b) is not certain, but that the two fragments belong to the same column is most likely. If so Fr. (a) must on account of the recto be placed above the right side of Fr. (b) and comes from near the ends of the lines, but there is nothing to indicate how near l. 1 of Fr. (b) is to the top of the column. The script of the oration is a sloping uncial bearing a strong resemblance to the hand of 853, with which it may be regarded as contemporary. The ends of lines are lost throughout, and the margin is also broken at the beginnings, being only visible at l. 29, where *tau* seems to be the beginning of a line, though even that is not quite certain; in ll. 26-36 however, where the restorations hardly admit of doubt, it is clear that the interval between the end of one line and the beginning of the next does not exceed four or five letters. No lection-marks occur except a doubtful accent in l. 4, but there are several corrections (some due to the original scribe, others in a second hand), the text being very faulty.

Where the fragment first becomes intelligible at l. 13, an unfavourable comparison is being instituted between Demosthenes and another orator, whose identity is uncertain, the point of the contrast being that Demosthenes had never himself taken part in active service. In l. 25 the subject changes, and the speaker criticizes Demosthenes for his behaviour when the news of the capture of Elatea reached Athens; this passage is clearly borrowed from the famous description of that crisis in *De Cor.* 169 sqq., several of the phrases which Demosthenes there used being here actually placed in his mouth (ll. 25-9). The oration to which the fragment belonged therefore presupposes the existence of the *De Corona* which was composed after B.C. 330; but on the other hand the general situation implied by our author seems to be the period between the capture of Elatea in 339 and the battle of Chaeronea in September 338, for since Demosthenes took part in that engagement the reproaches addressed to him in ll. 24-5 and 29-30 would be inapplicable at a later date. This inconsistency at once gives rise to the suspicion that our fragment belongs to a rhetorical exercise, not to a genuine oration whether of Demades or another philo-Macedonian orator, and several other considerations combine to leave no room for doubt as to the real character of the composition. The florid, jerky

style, the use of *δημηγόρος*, a term foreign to Attic oratory, the exaggerated description of Demosthenes in l. 19 as holding a shield in one hand and a psephisma in the other, and still more the serious blunder with regard to Attic law which has crept into a passage (ll. 34-5) borrowed from the *De Corona*, are all quite incompatible with a contemporary of Demosthenes, and indicate that the oration is, like **216**, a work of the Alexandrian school of rhetoric, and probably not earlier than the Christian era.

We are indebted to Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff for several suggestions in the restoration and interpretation of this fragment.

Fr. (b) . . . . .	Fr. (a)
[. . . . .]. [	]αν φων . [
[. . . . .]τ . [	]οσου' συμ[
[. . . . .]εντ[	]υς τέλ[
[. . . . .]λένε[	] τουτον [
5 [. . . . .] δ . [ . ]ι[	]ον καθ[
[. . . . .] . [ . ] . τ[	5 ]τοις . η[
[. . . . .] . [ . . ] . [ . ] . ν[	]ρ[
[. . . . .] ησ[υ]χι[αν] αγειν επ . . κ[	. . . . .
[. . . . .] . . πολ[ . ] . ουτησατ[ . ] . [	
10 [. . . . .]ειστορν[ . ]η[ . ]κ . . . [	
[. . . . .]ων τ[ομ] . . [	
[. . . . .] κακω αλλ . [ . . ] εις Μαραθωνα ε[ . . . . .	
[. . πα]ρεχειν αξι[ο]ν α[λλα μην οποτε πα]ρακαλοι	
[του]τους εις Θηβ[ας] ελθειν ου τους μεν α[λλους	
15 [εξεπ]εμπεν αυτ[ος δ]ε οικoi καθηστο βιβ[ . . .	
[. . . ] αναθεις τουτ[ . ] . . πολιτ[ων τα οπλ]α . . .	
[. . . ]τ . . ει . . . πρωτος . . [ . ]ε . . [ε]ις την μα[χην	
[εστ]ω δημηγορος και στρατηγος [ο] αυτος [και	
[Δημ]οσθεν[ης] ασπιδα και ψηφισμα εχων α[γορευ	
20 [ετω] Θεμ[ι]στοκλους δημηγορουντος εμ[βη	
[σομ]αι εξαγετω Περικλης εις Σ[α]μον πλ[ευσο	
[μαι] ακολουθησω Τολμιδη δια Πελοπον[νησου ει	
[δι]εξι[σιν] ουτος Δημοσθενει δε πως π[εισομαι	
ω γε ου θωραξ ου δορυ ου ξιφος ουδε το π[αρα του	

- 25 πατρος Ελατεια γαρ κατειλημπα[ι φη  
 [σι] και πεπαυνται δειπν[.]ουντες οι πρυτ[ανεις  
 [α]νεστησαν δε εκ της αγορας οι τας σκ[ηνας  
 [ε]χοντες τον δε σαλπικτην μεταπε[μπε  
 ται τις ταυτα γαρ ην ακουειν Δημοσθεν[ης  
 30 δ ουπωποτε σαλπιγγος ακουσας αυτο[ς υ  
 μας εξεφορβει ταυτα λεγων και διεξιω[ν ο  
 δε δημος ανω καθητο η βουλη δε [ουπω  
 π[ρ]ο[υ]βεβουλευκει περι των παροντω[ν και  
 [τη]ς μὲν βουλῆς μη προβεβουλ[εν]κυῖα[ς  
 35 λεγειν Δημοσθενη κηρυττοντ[ο]ς τ[ου κη  
τος ουδενος  
 [ρ]υκ[ο]ς και απαντων ελεγεν νομους . αρ[. . . . .  
 [.] τὸὺς αὐτὸὺς οικ οιεσθε και ευνο[υν] . . . . .  
 [τι]να και παρηκολουθηκοτα το[ις] ωνπραγμασι  
 [.]ν γαρ οι πλουσιωτατοι τ[οι] πολ[ιτων] . . . . .  
 40 [.] . . . . . [.] . . . . . ιας οι τ[α]ς μεγαλα[ς] επιδοσεις  
 [.] . . . . . [.] και παντες εβουλε[σθε] . . . . .  
 [.] . . . . . ξαι την πολιν αλ[  
 [.] . . . . . ] θορυβ[ο]υντος ο[  
 [.] . . . . . ]ν ωστε α[  
 45 [.] . . . . . ]εο[.]δε . [  
 [.] . . . . . ]επ[  
 . . . . .

13-38. 'Yet when he exhorted them to come to Thebes, he did not dispatch the rest and himself remain at home, but . . . he was the first to go out to fight. Let the same man be both orator and general, and let Demosthenes harangue with a shield in his hands as well as a decree. If Themistocles is the orator I will embark; let Pericles lead an expedition to Samos and I will sail; I will follow Tolmides across the Peloponnese, if he marches through it; but how can I listen to Demosthenes, who has no breastplate, no spear, no sword, not even one inherited from his father? "Elatea has been captured," he said, "the prytaneis have broken off their meal; the owner of tents have left the marketplace; some one is fetching the trumpeter." That was what we heard him say. Although Demosthenes had never yet heard the sound of a trumpet he was nevertheless terrifying you by these words and this description. The demos was seated on the hill, the boule had not yet deliberated about the crisis, and although the boule had not yet decided that Demosthenes

should speak, when the herald made the proclamation and no one came forward he nevertheless (in violation of?) the laws said: "Do you not think that a loyal and a careful follower of events (is needed)?"

13-4. The identity of this commander who marched to Thebes is obscure; there is no need for him to have been a contemporary of Demosthenes, for ll. 20-3 are quite general. Timotheus, as Wilamowitz remarks, would be a most suitable person to mention in this context, but he did not command at Thebes in B. C. 378, though as he was strategus at the time he may have been credited with having done so by the author of this oration.  $\theta$  of  $\theta\eta\beta[as]$  has been corrected from  $\beta$ .

14.  $[\tau\upsilon\upsilon]tous$ : or perhaps  $[av]tous$ , in which case  $[\epsilon\pi]εμπεν$  must be read in l. 15. The initial lacuna throughout ll. 14-22 would be expected to extend to three letters.

18-21. The restorations are chiefly due to Wilamowitz, who also suggested  $\pi[εισσομαι]$  in l. 23 and  $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$  in l. 25.

22-3. For the reference to Tolmides cf. Aeschin. ii. 75  $\text{Τολμίδου} . . . \delta\varsigma \chiιλίους ἐπιλέκτους ἔχων Ἀθηναίων διὰ μέσης Πελοποννήσου πολέμιας οὐσης ἀδεῶς διεξήει$ , which may, as Wilamowitz points out, well be the source of the present passage. The statement is of course a rhetorical exaggeration.

24-5.  $\tau\omicron \pi[αρα \tau\upsilon\upsilon] πατρος$ : Demosthenes' father was a sword-manufacturer; cf. Dem. xxvii. 9.

25-9. Cf. *De Cor.* 169  $\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \eta\nu, \eta\kappa\epsilon \delta' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\omega}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma \acute{\omega}\varsigma Ἐλάτεια κατέληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν.$

31-6. Cf. *De Cor.* *ibid.*  $\tau\eta \delta' \upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha \tau\eta \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha \omicron\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu, \upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \delta' \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\eta\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon, \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\eta\nu \chi\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \pi\rho\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\omicron} \delta\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\omega \kappa\alpha\theta\eta\tau\omicron. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμέν' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον κάκεινος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; παρήει δ' οὐδείς.$

33.  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  is corrected from  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ .

34. The dots above  $\mu\epsilon\nu$  indicate that the word was to be omitted; cf. l. 37. The implication that the speakers at the  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$  were fixed by the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$  betrays ignorance of Attic law on the subject; cf. *introd.*

36.  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho[α\beta\alpha\iota\omega\nu]$ , as Wilamowitz suggests, is the natural restoration, but there is hardly room for so broad a letter as  $\pi$ , and it is not even certain that any letter stood between  $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  and  $\alpha\rho[α]$ .

37-42. Cf. *De Cor.* 171  $\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\iota \epsilon\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \sigma\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota \tau\eta\nu \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu \acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota, \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \grave{\alpha}\nu \upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὖνους τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλοῦτ' αὐτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὖνον καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρ' ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς . . . At the end of l. 37 some such infinitive as  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\iota$  is required, but  $\epsilon\nu\nu\omicron[υν] (?)$  has apparently been corrected, and what exactly was written is very uncertain.$

## 859-864. POETICAL FRAGMENTS.

The following six small pieces in verse, which do not seem to be extant, may be conveniently grouped together.

859 contains the latter parts of a few hexameter lines from the end of a column, written in bold and well-formed uncials of the sloping type common in the third century. Some *variae lectiones* and corrections have been inserted apparently by a second hand, to whom the occasional accents and breathings may also be due; a high point, placed slightly above the line, occurs once. There are mentions of Stymphelus and Talaus king of Argos (l. 2); and the very rare word ἀλαβῶδης, otherwise known only from Hesychius, is found in l. 5. On the verso are some blots and flourishes.

860, consisting of three fragments from a column of lyrics, is more valuable. The good-sized, upright hand is evidently early in date and probably falls within the first century, or at any rate is not later than the beginning of the second. An insertion in l. 3 and a variant, enclosed as commonly within two dots, at l. 5 are due to the original scribe, who seems also to be responsible for the occasional accents and punctuation (a point in the middle position in l. 7). The subject and authorship of the poem are alike obscure; the vocabulary is suggestive of Bacchylides: Fr. (a) 3 τὰ]λακάρδιος, cf. Bacch. 5. 157, 15. 26 ταλαπενθής; 5 ἐρεμναῖ[s, cf. Bacch. 16. 116, where ἐρεμνόν should be retained; 10 μεγαλοκλέα, a compound otherwise only found in Bacch. 7. 49; Fr. (b) 7 μενεπ]τολέμων(?), cf. Bacch. 5. 126, 170, 16. 73. With regard to the position of the two main fragments, (b) is probably to be placed below (a) so that the right edges of the papyrus make a more or less straight line, the extent of the gap between (a) 18 and (b) 1 being uncertain. This arrangement is indicated by some strongly marked fibres on the verso, which is inscribed with part of an account of some kind, written towards the end of the second century.

861 is a narrow strip containing very scanty remains of two columns of iambs, the language pointing to tragedy rather than comedy. The squarely formed upright uncials belong to what is commonly called the biblical type, and may be assigned to the third century. A broad margin was left at the top of the columns.

862 and 863 are fragments of comedies. 862 belongs to a dialogue mentioning a person called Phidias, a name no doubt frequent in the later Attic comedy (cf. Antiphanes ap. Athen. ii. 38 b, Menander Δεισιδαίμων Fr. 1). The hand, which is probably of the third century, is a better and perhaps rather earlier example of the style exemplified by 861. Change of speaker is denoted by the usual double dots. Two marks of elision are perhaps later additions.



river, and mountain in Arcadia. The following word is perhaps ἀποπρολιπεῖν in some form; but the vestige of the letter after λ is too slight to give any indication.

5. ἀλαβώδης: cf. Hesychius ἀλαβῶδες· ἀνθρακῶδες, κεκαπνισμένον; the word is a derivative of ἀλαβή = ἄνθρακες.

8. πελέσκειο occurs in *Iliad* X 433.

860. Fr. (a) 9.2 x 5.1 cm.

	Fr. (a)	Fr. (b)
	]τοισι βροτων	] δεδορ[κ
	] ερχομενοισιν υποσ[	]ηρολο[
	]..ερ	]
το	τα]λακαρδιος επλε	]ρ ορματ[
	]ντα χαλκου	]
	..ε.	5
5	]ων επιοντ ερυμναι[s	]πρ[.] . [.]
	]ελλαις	(?) μενεπ]τολεμων
	]τ αλκάν.	]εν πυκινας στιχα[s
	ε]καστος ανηρ	] και εμιξατον λ[
	π]ατριδος αι σφισιν ο[	10 ο]πλοις
10	]ν μεγαλοκλεα δο[	. . . . .
	]χθει	
	]	
	]ντες αινως	Fr. (c) . .
	]τα πασαν ε . [.]λλοβ[	]
15	]αρ τον εχον[τ] ε[	]ντο[
	α]νδρι γαρ ουδ[	]
	]	. .
	]ευτε κα	
	. . . . .	

Fr. (a) 3. The meaning of the insertion (probably by the first hand) is not evident. There are some traces of ink after ερ, but whether another letter or letters followed is very doubtful.

6. No doubt α]λλαις or θυ]λλαις, to which ερεμναι[s in l. 5 probably refers.

Fr. (b) 4. The first letter is more like ρ than φ.

861. 12.6 × 3.5 cm.

Col. i.

]μ[  
 ]ν[.]ν . [.]  
 ]ω[.]  
 ]ων περας  
 ]ω γ εμου  
 ]εσ  
 ]λιον  
 δ]υστυχω  
 ]καλει  
 10 ]ς ερω  
 ]σποτην  
 ]νον αν  
 ]ομαι  
 ]οι  
 15 ]νχης  
 ]οφρων  
 . . . .

Col. ii.

κ[  
 ω[  
 π[  
 20 θ[  
 π[  
 ε[  
 μ[  
 σ[  
 25 β[  
 μ[  
 λ[  
 α[  
 τ[  
 30 ιχ[  
 λε[  
 . .

4. πέρας οἱ περᾶς.

II. δε[σπότην οἱ ]ς ποτ' ἦν.

862. 13.2 × 10.2 cm.

. . . .  
 . . . .  
 ] . [ . . ] . . [ . ]  
 ] . α[ . . ]ειν  
 ου]τοσι  
 π]αιδιον  
 5 ] . ους ονον  
 ]ποντα τουτονι [ .  
 ]ν : π[[<sup>[ο]</sup>α]]ν[[ε]] Φιδια

ελ]ηλυθ' υ[σ]τε[ρος  
 ] . οιον επι[  
 ]σ[ . . τ]ους θε[ους  
 ]ς : π]λ[ην] ανω :  
 15 ]ερον εστι μοι  
 ] . ον[ . . ] . δ . γυν  
 τ]ην κορην λαβε[

]οκος εστιν γ ομω[ς  
 τ]ο παιδιον  
 10 ε]νεγκ' ενε[.] . . [

7. The correction may be due to the first hand.

863. 6.8 × 10.8 cm.

] . . [  
 ]δη μου [. . . . .]ηλυσ[  
 ] . τοις ενο . [. .]ροις θεοις  
 ] . κως ουκ αν εβιων ουδ απαξ  
 5 ]η μοι της πολεως πλειστον πολυ  
 ]αμοι διαφθειρουσι νυν  
 ]δροι τε και Παριδες ὁμου  
 ] των ενθαδε  
 ] παρελειπον προ τ[ο]ν  
 10 ] . εις ανακρισιν [  
 ] . ως μαχου[με  
 ]ται[.]εσω[

3. The doubtful ο may be ε and the next letter had a long tail like ρ or ν: ]. τοι σε νερ[τε]ροις might read. But the supposed ρ may also be ν or τ.

7. Πάριδες occurs in the sense of μοιχοί in Anth. Pal. xi. 278 and Chariton 5. 2. Perhaps Αλεξαν]δροι preceded.

12. εσω[ : orθεν[ or θεμ[.

864. 15.8 × 6.8 cm.

]μονας εν φρ[ε]σι μυθους  
 ]ε φαινεται ειναι αριστον  
 ] . ουσι δε δειοι Αχαιοι  
 ]δ αλλοι παντες αρι(σ)τοι  
 5 ]φρασει τινα παντες  
 ]  
 π]ενθηρει στολη | στενουσα  
 ]ς αιωρων νεκυν | παν  
 15 Ε]λλησποντιαν | καθ εκ . [  
 πε]φυρμενοι | τοτ εκ θαλα[σ  
 ]μιας | αλευεται ενθα  
 ]ν | αμουσον ακτης  
 ]ν μελος | επειτα παν  
 20 ] κλυδων | οποια κοχλου[s

	]ποντιων	]ς   κοιλαι δε πετρων
	μ]αζον <sup>ω</sup> ολენαις   κοππουσα	]αδες   μυκηδον εκροτο[υν
10	]υς χορους   οπου θεους εδαι	]ενων ανοιξας κολπο[υ
	] ]	] . ων   θρηνωδον [ . . .
	] ]	25 ]ε χαλκεου   φανταζε[ . . .
	]ς	ο]υς βροντης κτυπο[υς

1. α of ]μονας has been corrected from ε.

7. πενήρη στολήν occurs in Jo. Chrysost. t. 2, p. 624 c (ed. Par.).

10. The end of the verse may equally well be after οπου. εδαι suggests only ἔδαισεν : εδει cannot be read.

17. If the text is right αλευεται and ενθα form a crasis. The epic word ἀλεύεσθαι is not found in the tragedians, though ἀλεύειν occurs in lyric passages.

24. θ in θρηνωδον is corrected apparently from χ.

## 865-870. PROSE FRAGMENTS.

Plate I (867).

The following six small prose fragments remain unidentified, and except in the case of 866 there is good reason for believing them to belong to works which are not extant. The first three seem to be historical, the fourth is perhaps from a commentary, the fifth is philosophical, and the sixth geographical.

865 consists of the beginnings of the last eight lines of a column, written in a medium-sized uncial hand of the third century. The fragment belongs to a description of a war in which Greeks were apparently fighting foreigners, and the leader of one of the armies was the illegitimate son of a person whose name probably ended in -ευσ (l. 5), this general being subsequently recalled, perhaps in consequence of an oracle (ll. 6-7). Ὑδροῦς, presumably the town in Calabria, is mentioned in l. 3. A φρούριον of that name occurred in Book xxxix of Theopompus' *Philippica* (Fr. 210), which was concerned with Sicilian history, though whether the φρούριον was identical with Ὑδροῦς in Calabria is not certain. Possibly our fragment too belongs to a lost work dealing with Sicilian history. Apart from the Theopompus passage, there seems to be no mention of Ὑδροῦς in Greek historians before the Roman period.

866 contains a few letters from the first seven lines of a column. The script is a neat uncial of a distinctly early type, and may be ascribed with confidence to the first century. A mention of the Carthaginians in l. 5 suggests that this fragment also is historical, but the context is quite uncertain.

867 (Plate I) has six nearly complete lines from the top of a column, in

a rather large and handsome square uncial, resembling the hand of 661 (Part IV, Plate V). That papyrus (late second century) provides an exceptionally early example of the type of hand to which the great Biblical codices belong. The present specimen is probably somewhat later than 661, and is likely to have been written in the third century. Two kinds of stops (high and middle points) occur. An iota adscript has been inserted in one place by the original scribe. The fragment refers to the capture of Ephesus, and may belong to a historical work. For προσβιάζεσθαι with the dative, which occurs in l. 4, the only example quoted in the lexica is Diod. xx. 39.

868 consists of parts of twelve lines, apparently from the top of a column, written on the verso, the recto being blank except in one corner where there are one or two broken letters. The script is a medium-sized rather irregular uncial, probably of the first century. The nature of the fragment is very obscure; the second person singular occurs in ll. 5 and 9, but it is difficult to believe that the lines belong to a connected oration or dialogue, and we are disposed to regard the fragment as a piece of a commentary, the blank spaces after *αριστοις* and *ακουεις* in ll. 6 and 9 in that case marking the division between the text and the scholia; cf. 853. The rare word *ἀπόκαυμα* (l. 4) is not found in writers of the classical period.

869 contains the ends of twenty-two lines from the upper part of a column, written in a sloping uncial hand of probably the latter half of the third century. The subject is clearly of a philosophical character, and perhaps has reference to religion.

870 is part of a leaf from a papyrus codex containing a geographical work. The recto gives a list of tribes in Thrace, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, apparently in two columns, the successive names being numbered. Of the verso only a few letters from the ends of lines are preserved; the last seven lines also seem to be a list of names, but the upper portion of the page is different. Which side of the leaf came first is uncertain. The script is a good-sized oval uncial of the sixth or seventh century.

865. 8 × 6.3 cm.

απολειπ[  
μνω διατ[. . .]υ[  
ὑπο Υδρου[ν]τος κελ[ του στρα  
τευματος ηγειτο . [ ε  
5 ως νοθος υιος υστ[ερον δε με

866. 6 × 2.4 cm.

] πολις μου[  
]αι πυθομε[ν  
]οβαλουσι [  
]ε καθολου [  
5 Κ]αρχηδονιο[



868. 1. ]εμε[ν]οι is possible, though the ν would be rather cramped. But there may have been a blank space before οι; cf. ll. 6 and 9.

2. οτι θραυστης: the division ο Τιθραυστης is less probable.

869. 3. Some form of ἀφαγνίζειν is presumably to be restored, if the γ is right; but the vestiges after αφα may represent the angular mark for filling up a line.

5. Perhaps η ουκ εσ[τι].

14. Possibly το γλωσσ[ος].

18. Or ]ενα ματην.

870. 14.5 × 5.5 cm.

Verso.		Recto.	
		Col. i.	Col. ii.
.	.	.	.
	κ . [	]εσ	μβ Τεκτοσ[αγες
	]τε . . [	]	μγ Γαλατ[αι
	ε]θνη της	]	μδ Παφλ[αγονες
	]ιας.	25 ]	με Φρυγε[ς
5	]σιν. Άρα	]	45 μς . . . . [
β	ε]ν γαρ τω	]	. [. ]αιαλ[
	] Αραβια	]	μς Θετταλ[οι
	]	] . γ	μη Μακαιδ[ονες
	] . αι	30 ]	μθ Θρακες [
10	] ]	] .	50 ν Μυσοι [
	]οι γεγονασιν	] . .	να Βεσσοι [
	E]νρωπ[η]	] . .	νβ Δαρδαν[οι
	]	] .	νγ Σαρμα[ται
	] προσηγορίας	35 ]	νδ Γρ[
15	A]ρκαδες.	] .	55 νε Π[
	]ωνες. του	] .	[
	] Ποντικοι.	]	νς Γ[
	]ανες.	] .	νς Δ[
	Πα]μφυλοι.	.	.
20	]	.	.
	] . . αι	.	.
.	.	.	.

48. 1. Μακεδ[ονες.

54. Perhaps Γρ[αικοί.

## 871, 872. LATIN FRAGMENTS.

Plate V (871).

We have not been able to identify the two following fragments in Latin, and print them here in the hope that some of our readers may be more successful.

871, a papyrus, has a considerable palaeographical interest, since part of a document in Greek cursive on the verso, which is most probably of the fifth century, provides a fairly secure *terminus ante quem*. On the other hand it is unlikely that the writing on the recto was separated from that on the verso by a very wide interval of time, and consequently that the literary text is to be put earlier than the fourth century, while it may be as late as the commencement of the fifth. It is written in rather heavy rustic capitals, of a less formal and epigraphic type than e.g. those of the Palatine Virgil, though not dissimilar in formation. The tail of the *Q* is a conspicuous feature; *I* is made rather tall in *qui* in l. 5 and *iis* in l. 6. Words are divided off by dots after the manner of inscriptions, as in the Herculaneum fragments on Actium and in 30, a manuscript which in Part I we perhaps dated rather too early. Somebody is addressed in the second person in l. 3, and the treatise seems to have been of a philosophical character, and not extant, if the references for the rather rare word *astutia*, which occurs in l. 2, are complete in the new Latin Thesaurus.

872 is a small piece from a vellum leaf of a book, containing on one side the beginnings and on the other the ends of a few lines, written in good-sized and rather ornate uncials which may be referred to the sixth century. *S* at the beginning of a line is made rather tall; the same letter is combined with a *U* at the end of l. 6 in order to save space. Whether the fragment is to be classed as prose or verse is doubtful. The scanty remains, so far as they go, would suit hexameters, and the lines differ considerably in length, but that is not seldom the case in Latin prose MSS. It does not seem to be Virgil; but no good word occurs to provide a clue.

871. 12.3 × 12.9 cm.

Plate V.

*inertia* · *η[agis* · .] · *it* · *quam virtute* ·  
*et* · *astuti[ae* · *mag]is* · *convenit* · *qua[m* ·  
*sapientia[e* · *me]m̄neris* · *autem de* · [  
*iis* · *me* · *loq[ui* *no]n* · *qui* · *numeros* · *α[*  
5 *tium* · *suo* · [. . . .] *cunt* · *sed* · *qui* · *in* [  
*iis* · *partib[us* · *in* ·] *quibus* · *nullus* · *η[* ·  
*minimu[s* · *quidem* ·  
*tius* · *quam* [  
N

*id . quod . e . [*  
 10 *[n]egant[*  
*[pe]rfora[*

1. The vestiges before *id* suggest *c*, *t*, or *s*; *x* would probably also be suitable, but no example of that letter occurs in the papyrus.

4. The letter at the end of the line if not *a* can only be *m* or possibly *n*, and judging by the preceding and following lines, not more than one or two letters should follow. *a[r]tium* is the obvious word, and this would involve *suos*, not *suorum* (the slight vestiges after *suo* would be consistent with either *r* or *s*) in l. 5; but *numeros artium suos*, whatever the mutilated verb in *]cunt* may be (*discunt*, *dicunt* ?), seems an awkward collocation. The use of the plural *numeros* is noticeable; it should mean not 'numbers' but 'parts', 'members', or 'office', a sense in which the word is often accompanied by *suus*.

6-7. *nullus ne minimi[s] quidem*: cf. e. g. Cicero, *Tusc.* 5. 6. 16 *nulla ne minima quidem aura*; but *ne[c]* without *quidem* would also be possible. At the end of l. 7 *liben]tius* suggests itself.

11. *[pe]rfora*: the final letter may be *m* or *n*, but *performare* or *performidolosus* are improbable, and the absence of a stop between *r* and *f* makes *per form[* inadmissible.

872. 5.9 × 7 cm.

Recto.	Verso.
. . .	. . .
] .	<i>d</i> . [
] . <i>tus</i>	<i>sic d[</i>
] . <i>e</i>	<i>ter s</i> . [
<i>]tros</i>	10 <i>tunc u[</i>
5 ] . <i>er</i>	<i>inse[</i>
<i>]ndus</i>	. [
. . .	. . .

5. Or possibly *] . eri*, but the appearance of *i* is probably due to the penetration of ink from the other side, the vellum being thin.

11. The letter after *s* may also be *e* or *o*.

## III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

873. HESIOD, *Theogonia*.

5.9 × 6.7 cm.

Third century.

The beginnings and ends of a few lines from the *Theogonia* of Hesiod, preserved on a fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book. The character of the handwriting, a rather small and informal round uncial, points to a date not very late in the third century, in which the codex form is somewhat uncommon except for theological works. A mark of elision is used in l. 999, and in one or two other places a similar sign may have been obliterated, the surface of the papyrus being damaged. The columns of writing were remarkably tall, there being an interval of 63 lines between the corresponding points of the recto and verso. The text agrees, so far as it goes, with that of Rzach.

Verso.

- 930 εκ [δ] Ἀμφ[ιτριτης και ερικτυπου Ἐννοσιγαιου  
 Τρ[ι]των ευρυβιης γενετο μεγας ος τε θαλασσης  
 πυθμεν [εχων παρα μητρι φιλη και πατρι ανακτι  
 ναιει χρυ[σε]α δ[ω] δεινος θεος αυταρ Ἀρηι  
 ρεινοτορω Κυθε[ρεια Φοβον και Δειμον ετικτε  
 935 δεινους οι τ αν[δρων πυκινας κλονεουσι φαλαγγας  
 εν πολεμω κρυοει[τι συν Ἀρηι πτολιπορθω  
 Ἀρμονιην τε [η]ν Κ[α]δμος υπερθυμος θετ ακοιτιν  
 Ζηνι δ αρ Α[τ]λαντις [Μαιη τεκε κυδιμον Ερμην  
 κ[ηρ]υκ αθ[α]νατ[ων ιερον λεχος εισαναβασα

Recto.

- [ηγε παρ Αιητεω τελεσας στονοεντας αε]θλους  
 995 [τους πολλους επετελλε μεγας βασιλευ]ς υπερηνωρ  
 [υβριστης Πεληης και ατασθαλος οβρι]μοεργος

[τους τελεσας ες Ιωλκον αφικετο πολλ]α μογησας  
 [ωκειης επι νηος αγων ελικωπιδ]α κουρην  
 [Αισονιδης και μιν θαλε]ρ[η]ν ποιησατ' ακοιτιν  
 1000 [και ρ η γε δμηθεις υπ Ιησ]ο[νι] ποιμενι λαων  
 [Μηδειον τεκε παιδα τον ο]υρεσιν ετρεφε Χειρων  
 [Φιλλυριδης μεγαλου δε Διος ν]οος εξετελειτο  
 [αυταρ Νηρηος κουραι αλιοιο γερ]οντος  
 [η τοι μεν Φωκον Ψαμαθη τεκε] δια θεων  
 . . . . .

997. ες Ιωλκον: we print the reading of the MSS. 'Ιαωλκόν Rzach.  
 1004. δια: or δε[ι]α.

# 874. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* III.

6 x 4.8 cm.

Early third century.

Oxyrhynchus papyri of Apollonius Rhodius have been remarkably productive of valuable readings (cf. 690-1), and it is to be regretted that the remains of the present MS. are not more extensive, since judging by the small fragment which survives it would have been of much importance for critical purposes. Only the ends of nine lines from the bottom of a column are preserved; but in this narrow compass occurs an apparent confirmation of a generally accepted emendation of Brunck (l. 263), besides marginal references to unknown variants in two other lines. The text is written in a small sloping hand on the verso of a second-century list of persons, and probably dates from the end of that century or the earlier part of the third. There is one instance of an acute accent which may be by the original scribe, but no clear case of punctuation (cf. l. 268, note). Our references to the MSS. L(aurentianus) and G(uelferbytanus) are derived from Merkel's edition.

. . . . .  
 [λευγαλεης Φριξοιο εφ]ημοσυνη[σι]ν ελεσ[θε]  
 [πατρος ο μεν θνησκω]ν στυγερας επετελλετ αι[ιας]  
 265 [ημετερη κραδιη τι] δέ κεν πολιν Ορχομενοι[ο]  
 [οστις οδ Ορχομενος κ]τεανων Αθαμαντος εκητι  
 [μητερ εην αχουσαν α]ποπρολιποντες ικοισθε  
 [ως εφαιτ Αιητης δε πα]νυστατος ωρτο θυραζε

[εκ δ αὐτῇ Εἰδνία δαμαρ κ]ιεν Αἰηταο  
 270 [Χαλκιοπῆς αἰουσα το] δ αὐτικά παν ομαδοιο πην μ[  
 [ερκος ἐπεπληθῆι τοι μὲν] μέγαν ἀμφεπενοντο . [

[ 19 letters ] κιεν Αἰηταο ἐν τ(ισιν) οὐ(τως) φερετ[αι  
 ος φερεται [

263. ἐφ]ημοσυνῆ[σι]ν ἐλεσ[θε] : so Brunck ; . . . φημοσύνησιν ἐεσθαι L ; ἐφημοσύνησιν ἐεσθε . .  
 G. The reading in the papyrus is unfortunately not certain, but at any rate does not agree with that of LG, while on the other hand the broken letters are quite consistent with Brunck's conjecture.

264. ἐπετέλλετ : ἐπετείλατ' MSS.

265. κεν πολιν : so L ; κε πόλιν G.

268. At some little distance from the end of the line there is an ink-spot which perhaps represents a stop (in the middle position).

269. This line is rewritten at the bottom of the column with a note concerning an alternative version found in some MSS. Whether the ordinary reading of the verse stood in the text is of course uncertain. No variant is cited by editors beyond the trivial ἰδνία (L) for Εἰδνία. The abbreviation of οὐ(τως) is written in the usual way with a semi-circle above ο, and cannot be naturally interpreted as the negative οὐ ; moreover the omission of l. 269 would necessitate the alteration of the feminine participle and the following τὸ δ' in l. 270. There was indeed a considerable variation in that verse (cf. the next note) ; but there is no need to suppose that it affected the general construction of the passage. The letters preceding φερεται in the second line of the adscript are very doubtful ; before the papyrus breaks off after φερεται, there is a short blank space, but not enough to show that the note ended here.

270. πην μ[ in the margin at the end of the line seems to be a variant on (Χαλκιδί)πῆς αἰουσα, but no other reading is attested here. The letter after πην is almost certainly μ, not α ; it is unlikely that another letter has disappeared in the space between ν and μ.

271. ἀμφεπενοντο : so LG ; ἀμφιπ. Brunck with four late Paris MSS. On the extreme edge of the papyrus opposite this line are signs of ink which would suit e.g. τ or φ : but they may be accidental.

#### 875. SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*.

5.5 × 5.7 cm.

Early second century.

A fragment from the top of a column, inscribed with the ends of five lines from the *Antigone*. The hand is a good-sized uncial, round and upright, but not calligraphic ; it probably dates from the first half of the second century. A different writer seems to have made at least one alteration (l. 243), but the mark of elision in l. 244 is apparently original. The antiquity of L's σημαίνων in l. 242, where the variant σημαίνων is commonly preferred, is the one small item of any value to be gleaned from the text.

[το πραγμα δηλοῖς δ' ὧς τι σημαῖνων νεῖον  
 [τα δεινα γὰρ τοι προστι]θη[[<sup>σ'</sup>κ]] ο[[<sup>κν</sup>χλ]]ον πολυ[ν  
 [ουκουν ερεῖς ποτ' εἰ]τ' απαλλαχθεις απε[ι  
 245 [και δη λεγω σοι τον νεκ]ρον τ[ι]ς αρτιω[ς  
 [θαψας βεβηκε καπι χρωτ]ι διψιαν

242. σημαῖνων: so LA; σημανῶν Ven. 472 and several other late MSS., and this was apparently also the reading of Didymus; cf. Schol. *Ajax* 1225.

243. The correction of the graphical error οχλον seems to be due to a diorthotes; whether he or the original scribe was responsible for the alteration of the preceding κ to σ is more doubtful. The method of the change is different, the κ being crossed through, while the χλ are cancelled by dots placed above them. Presumably προστεθηκ was first written.

244. π of απαλλαχθεις has been converted from a γ.

876. EURIPIDES, *Hecuba*.

2.9 × 8.4.

Fifth century.

A small fragment of a leaf from a papyrus book containing the *Hecuba* of Euripides. The somewhat negligent uncial writing, which is upright and of good size, seems to belong to the earlier Byzantine period, and may date from the fifth century; the ink is of the common brown colour. Marks of elision were used, but no accent occurs. The paragraphus after l. 738 and elision mark in l. 740 are in blacker ink and seem to be due to a corrector, who is perhaps responsible also for *εμων* in l. 703. A variant found in Parisinus 2713 (thirteenth century) alone of the better MSS. appears in l. 740.

Verso.

700 [εν ψαμαθω λευρα ]  
 [ποντου νιν εξηνεγκ]ε πελαγιος κλυδω-  
 [ωμοι αιαι ]  
 [εμαθον ενυπνιον ο]μματων εμων [

Recto.

E[καβη τι] δ[ρασω ποτερα προσπεσω γονυ

*Αγαμεμνονος τουδ' η [φερω σιγη κακα  
τι μοι προσωπω νω[τον εγκλινασα σου  
740 [δυρη] το κραθεν δ' ου λεγ[εις τις εσθ οδε*

703. The space suits *ενυπνιον* (MSS.) better than *ενυπνον* (Murray with Hermann). The division of the verse at *αιαι* is also found in A.

739. A dot above the line between *ω* and *ν* is apparently meaningless.

740. *κραθεν*: so the first hand in Cod. Par. 2713, the reading having been subsequently altered to *πραχθέν*, as in other MSS., by correctors. *κραθεν* of course gives no sense, and presumably *κρανθέν* was intended; cf. e. g. *Ion* 77 τὸ κρανθέν ὡς ἂν ἐκμάθω.

877. EURIPIDES, *Hecuba*.

Fr. (a) 11.8 × 4.3 cm.

Third century.

These two fragments from the upper part of a column also come from a copy of the *Hecuba*. The text, which is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto being blank, is in a slightly sloping uncial hand of the oval type, and was probably written in the third century. No lectional sign occurs other than the paragraphus. A variant at l. 1272 is of some small interest.

οιμο[ι γυναικος ως εοιχ ησσωμενος  
δουλη[ς υφεξω τοις κακιοσιν δικην  
ουκου[ν δικαιως ειπερ ειργασω κακα  
1255 οιμο[ι τεκνων τωνδ ομμάτων τ εμων ταλας  
αλγει[ς τι δ η με παιδος ουκ αλγειν δοκεις  
χαιρε[ις υβριζουσ εις εμ ω πανουργε συ  
ου γαρ μ[ε χαιρειν χρη σε τιμωρουμενην  
αλλ ου τ[αχ ηνικ αν σε ποντια νοτις  
1260 μων υ[αυστοληση γης ορους Ελληνιδος  
κρ[υ]ψη [μεν ουν πεσουσαν εκ καρχησιων  
προς του βιαιων τυγχανουσαν αλματων  
αυτη π[ρος ιστον ναος αμβηση ποδι  
υποπ[τεροις νωτοισιν η ποιω τροπω  
1265 κνων [γενηση πυρσ εχουσα δεργματα  
πως [δ οισθα μορφης της εμης μετασταςιν  
ο Θρηξ[ι μαντις ειπε Διονυσος ταδε

σοι δ ο[υκ εχρησεν ουδεν ων εχεις κακων  
ου γα[ρ ποτ αν συ μ ειλες ωδε συν δολω

- 1271 [θανου]σα τυμβ[ω δ ονο]μα σω [ κεκλησεται  
[μορφη]ς επωδον μ[η] τι της εμ[ης ερεις  
[κυνο]ς ταλαινης σημα ναυτ[ιλοις τεκμαρ  
[ουδεν μ]ελει μοι σου γε μοι δον[τος δικην  
1275 [και σην] γ αναγκη παιδα Κασα[νδραν θανειν  
[απ]επτυσ αυτωι [σοι] διδωμ ε[χειν  
[κτ]ενει νιν η τουδ αλοχο[ς οικουρος πικρα  
[μηπω] μανειη Τυ[ν]δαρι[ς τοσονδε παις  
[καυτον] γε τ[ο]υτογ [πε]λε[κυν εξα]ρασ ανω  
1280 [ουτος συ] μαιν[η και κακων ερας τυχειν

1256. τί δέ με MSS., corr. Bothe.

1272. The vestiges after επωδον are inconsistent with η and suit μ, and there is space for another letter between this and τι. μ[ή] τι gives a sense, but would be a doubtful improvement on the MSS. reading ἡ τί. Nauck proposed ἐπώνυμόν τι.

1276. αὐτῶ ταῦτα σοὶ δίδωμ' ἔχειν MSS. ταυτα seems to have been omitted after αυτωι. The line may have been completed by e.g. τάδε, but a graphical error is more likely.

1279. γε: so L; but the vestige of the first letter is too slight to be decisive against the variants δέ and σε.

## 878. THUCYDIDES II.

27.4 × 16.9 cm.

Late first century.

These remains of three consecutive columns, containing portions of chapters 22-4 of the second book of Thucydides, were found not at Oxyrhynchus itself but in a small very shallow mound lying about a mile beyond the site to the north, where some experimental work (without other result) was done one day in January, 1906. The text is written in a round ornamental hand which we should refer to the latter part of the first century. Upright strokes are commonly finished off with *apices*, A is of the capital shape, M shallow-topped, I of the archaic form. No breathings, accents, or stops occur; a short blank space marks a pause in l. 23. paragraphi are sometimes employed, and the ordinary angular sign (cf. e.g. 853), which is here usually accompanied by a dot above and below it, like a διπλῇ περιεστιγμείῃ, is used to fill up short lines. But though early in

date the MS. is inferior in quality, having several erroneous readings; it is however of some interest on account of its support, in two doubtful passages, of the traditional text. Our collations in 878-880 are with the text of Hude.

## Col. i.

	[εστησαν η δε βοη]θεια αυτη 22. 3	[Φεραιοι ηγουντο δε] αυτων
	[των Θεσσαλων] κατα το πα	[εκ μεν Λαρισσης Πολυμη]
	[λαιον ξυμμαχικ]ον εγενετο	10 [δης και Αριστ]ογους απο >
	[τοις Αθηναιοις κ]αι αφικον	[της στασεως εκατερος ε]κ
5	[το παρ αυτους Λαρ]ισσαιοι Φαρ	[δε Φαρσαλου Μενων η]σαν
	[σαλιοι Παρασιοι] Κραννω >	[δε και] ταν αλλων κατα π]ο
	[νιοι Πειρασιοι Γυρ]τωνιοι >	[λεις] αρχοντες [

## Col. ii.

15	ανεχωρησαν δια Βοιωτων	23. 3
	ουχ ηπερ εσεβαλον παριον	
	τες δε Ορωπον την γην την	
	Πειρακην καλουμενην ην	
	νεμονται Ωρωποι Αθηναι	
20	ων υπη[[ι]κ[[ω]]οι εδηιωσαν αφι	
	κομενοι δε ες Πελοποννη	
	σον διελυθησαν κατα πο >	
	λεις εκαστοι αναχωρησαν	24. 1
	των δ αυτων οι Αθηναιοι φυ	
25	λακας κατεστησαντο κατα	
	γην και κατα θαλατταν ως	
	περ δη εμελλον δια παντος	
	[του] πολεμου φυλαξειν και	
	[χιλια] ταλαντα απο των εν	
30	[τη] ακροπολει χρηματων [ε]	
	[δοξέ]ν αν[τοι]ς εξαίρετα ποι	
	[ησαμενοις χ]ωριζεσθαι και	
	[μη αναλουν] αλλα απο των	
	[αλλων πολε]μειν ην δε τις	

## Col. iii.

πεντη[κοντα ναυσι προσ	25. 1
βεβοηθηκ[οτες και αλλοι	
τινες των [κει ξυμμαχων	
αλλα τε εκακ[ουν περιπλε	
45 οντες και ες [Μεθωνην της	
Λακωνικης [αποβαντες	
τωι τειχει πρ[οσεβαλον ον	
τι ασθenei κ[αι ανθρωπων	
ουκ ενοντων [ετυχε δε πε	25. 2
50 ρι τους χωρου[s τουτους Βρα	
σιδας ο Τελλιδ[ος ανηρ Σπαρ	
τιατης φρουρ[αν εχων και αι	
σθομενος εβ[οηθει τοις εν	
τωι χωρ[ι]ωι με[τα οπλιτων	
55 εκατον δι[αδραμων δε το	
των Αθην[αιων στρατοπεδον	
εσκεδασ[μενον κατα την χω	
ραν και [προς το τειχος τετραμ	
[με]νον εσ[πιπτει ες την Με	
60 [θω]νην κ[αι ολιγους τινας	
εν τη εκ[δρομη] απολεσας	

- 35 [ειπηι η επιψ]ηφισηι κινειν των μεθ α[υτου την τε πολιν  
[τα χρηματα τ]αυτα ες αλλο τι περιεποι[ησε και απο τουτου  
[ην μη οι πολε]μιοι νηιτη του τολμη[ματος πρωτος των  
[στρατωι επιπλεω]σι [τ]ηι πο 65 κατα τον [πολεμον επηινεθη  
[λει και δεηι αμυνασ]θαι θα εν Σπαρτη[ι οι δε Αθηναιοι 25. 3  
40 [νατον ζημιαν επεθ]εντο [αρ]αντες π[αρεπλεον και  
[σχοντ]ες τη[ς Ηλειας

5. Δαρ]ισσαιοι: so AB; Δαρισαίοι H(ude) with FM.

6. The papyrus evidently agreed with the MSS. in inserting a name (Παράσιοι ACEFM, Περάσιοι B) between Φαρσάλιοι and Κρανώνιοι. H. brackets Π, following Heringa, Παγασαίοι Stahl. The correct reading is probably Φαρσάλιοι Πειράσιοι, omitting Πειράσιοι after Κρανώνιοι, as indicated by the new Thucydides commentary; cf. 853. xiii. 20, note.

7. Πειρασιοι]: so MSS.; cf. the previous note. Πυράσιοι H., cf. Strabo ix. p. 435 and Steph. Byz.

10-3. The remains of letters are scanty and the decipherment is doubtful. τω (?) in l. 13 and αρχοντες in l. 14 are on a detached fragment.

17. l. Ωρωπον: the initial letter is correctly written in l. 19.

18. Πειραικην: so MSS.; Γραϊκήν Steph. Byz., H. The interlinear ι may have been inserted by the first hand. It is not clear whether the two dots merely enclose the added letter as is often the case, or represent a diaeresis; the former alternative is more likely.

19. l. Ωρωπιοι.

20. The correction is perhaps by a diorthotes.

32. χ]ωρις εσθαι: χωρις θέσθαι MSS., rightly no doubt.

44. The paragraphus is misplaced; perhaps the scribe took αλλα for the conjunction.

61. εκ]δρομη: έσδρομη MSS., more appropriately.

62. α[υτου: so E, H.; έαυτου ABFM.

64. [. . . πρωτος: so MSS.; πρώτου Herwerden, H.

### 879. THUCYDIDES III.

12.1 × 8.1 cm.

Third century.

Part of one column, with the beginnings of a few lines of the column adjoining, written in third-century sloping uncials of a common type. The portion preserved, from the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth chapters of Thucydides, Book III, shows a correct text, supporting a traditional but suspected reading (l. 23). Two kinds of stop, the high and low (l. 13), are used, besides paragraphi; these, like the interlinear insertions in ll. 8 and 11, may be by the original scribe.

Col. i.

[ρας ξυμμαχ]ο[ι δε ομαι 58. 4  
χμοις ποτ[ε] γενομενοις

	ων υμεις το εναντιον		
	αν δρασαιτε μη ορθως		
5	γνοντες· σκεψασθε δε·	58. 5	
	Πανσανιας μεν γαρ εθα		
	πτεν αυτους νομιζων		Col. ii.
	[ε]ν γη <sup>ι</sup> τε φιλ[ι]αι τιθεναι·		. .
	και παρ ανδρασι τοιουτοις·		. [
10	υμεις δε ει κτενειτε η		. .
	μ[α]ς και [χ]ωραν την Πα <sup>λ</sup>		
	ταιϊδα Θηβαιδα ποιησε		
	τε. τι αλλο η εν πολεμιαι		
	τε και παρα τοις αυθεν		
15	ταις πατερας τους υμε		
	τερους κα[ι] ξυ]γγενεις α		
	τιμους γερων ων νυν		σκ[ο]μεν εκεινης ηι τα 59. 2
	[ι]σχουσι καταλειψετε· προς		λα[μ]προτατα μετ αυτων
	δε και γην εν ηι ηλευ	30	πρ[α]ξαντες νυν εν τη
20	[θ]ερωθησαν οι Ελληνες		δε τ[α] δεινοτατα κινδυ
	δουλωσετε ιερα τε θεων		νε[υ]ομεν παθειν οπερ 59. 3
	[οις] ευξαμενοι Μηδων		δε α[ν]αγκαιον τε και
	[εκρ]ατησαν· ερημουτε		χαλ[ε]πωτατον τοις ωδε
	[και θ]υσιας [τα]ς [π]ατριους	35	εχο[υ]σι λογον τελευταν δι
25	[των εσσαμενω]ν και κτι		οτι κ[αι] του βιου ο κινδυνος
	[σαντων αφαιρησεσ]θε		εγγυ[ς] μετ αυτου
	. . . . .		. . . . .

5. δε: so ABEFGM; τε C, H(ude).

23. ερημουτε: so MSS.; ερημουντες Stahl, ερημώσετε Herwerden. H. prints ερημουτε with an obelus.

## 880. THUCYDIDES V.

Fr. (b) 18.1 × 13.2 cm.

Late second century.

The following nine fragments from the fifth book of Thucydides fall into two groups, which were discovered on different occasions and come from quite different parts of the MS. Frs. (a)-(d), containing portions of chapters 32-4 and 40, were

found together, and the remainder, covering chapters 96-105 and part of 111, made their appearance some little distance away ten days afterwards. The rather broad columns are written in a clear and upright semicursive hand, dating apparently from the later decades of the second century. High stops and paragraphi are used, double dots as usual denoting a change of speaker in the report of the debate at Melos. There are two instances of the rough breathing; a final *ν* is occasionally represented by a horizontal dash over the preceding vowel; iota adscript and *ξ* in *ξνν* are commonly but not consistently written. The text is not of a high class and shows several errors which are absent from the better mediaeval MSS.; it supports tradition in two passages where emendations are accepted by Hude, but confirms Krüger's conjecture *τοῦ καί* for *καὶ τοῦ* in c. 97, which Hude does not adopt.

Fr. (a). . . . .

του]ς ἀν[τους 32. 1  
 ] μὲν Ἀθ[ηναῖοι  
 ἀπεκ]τεῖναν [  
 γυν]αῖκας [  
 5 Πλατ]αῖενσιμ[  
 κα]τηγαγο[ν  
 ] τᾶ[ς τε

Fr. (b). . . . .

[ἀδύ]να[τοι δ' οντες δι]α[σῶσαι το τε] ἐν [Κυ 33. 2  
 [ψελοῖς] τ[εῖχος καὶ τ]ὰς ἐν [Παρρασίοις] πολ[εῖς  
 10 ἀπηλ[θο]ν. Λακεδα[ίμ]ο[νιοι δ]ε τοὺς τε Π[αρ  
 33. 3  
 [ρ]ασιούς αὐτονομούς ποιήσαν]τες καὶ το [τεῖ  
 [χος κα]θελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου κα[ὶ  
 34. 1  
 [του ἀ]ν[τ]ου θέρους ἤδη ἤκοντων αὐτοῖς τ[ων  
 [α]πο Θραικῆς μετὰ Βρασιδου ἐξελθόντων  
 15 [στ]ρατιωτῶν οὖς ο Κλεαριδ[ας] μετὰ τ[ας] σπον  
 [δας ἐκ]ομίσε οἱ Λακ[εδαίμ]ο[νιοι ἐψη]φισαν  
 [το τοὺς μ]ὲν μετὰ Βρα[σιδου] Εἰλωτας μ[αχ]εσα  
 [μενου]ς ἐλευθέρους ε[ἶ]ναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ο[π]ου  
 [αν βουλ]ῶνται καὶ ὑστερ[ο]ν οὐ πολλῶ ἀ[ν]τους  
 20 [μετὰ τ]ῶν νεοδαμῶδων ἐς Λεπρεον [κατε

[στησαν] κειμενον επι τη Λακωνικ[ηι και  
 [τηι Ηλ]ειαι ουτες ηδη διαφοροι Η[λ]ειοις τους 34. 2  
 [δ εκ τ]ης νησου ληφθεντα[ς σφων και τα  
 [οπλα] παραδοντας δε[ισ]αντες [μη τι δια την  
 25 [ξύμφ]οραν νομ[ισ]αν[τ]ε[ς] ελα[σσωθησεσθαι  
 [και ον]τε[ς επ]ιτι[μοι] ν[εωτ]ερισ[ωσιν ηδη και αρ  
 [χας τινας εχον]τας α[τι]μους ε[ποιησαν ατι  
 [μιαν δε τοιανδε] ὥστε μητε α[ρχειν μητε πρι  
 [αμενους τι η πωλου]ντας κ[υριους ειναι

Fr. (c). . . . .

30 ετος τω[ι πολεμωι ετελευτα αμα δε τωι ηρι ευ 40. I  
 θυς τ[ου επιγιγνομενου θερους οι Αργειοι ως οι  
 τε π[ρεσβεις των Βοϊωτων ους εφασαν πεμφειν  
 ευχ η[κον το τε Πανακτον ηισθοντο καθαιρου  
 μεν[ον και ξυμμαχιαν ιδιαν γεγενημενην  
 35 τοις [Βοιωτοις

. . . . .

Fr. (d) . .

π[	40 ξ[
τ[	σ[
θ[	γα[
το[	π[

. .

Frs. (e), (f), (g).

[τους τε μη προσηκο]ν[τ]ας και οσοι αποικοι ον 96  
 45 [τες οι πολλοι και α]ποσ[ταντες τινες κεχειρων  
 [ται ες το αυτο τι]θ[ε]ασι[; δικαιωματι γαρ ουδετε 97  
 [ρους ελλειπει]ν ηγουν[ται κατα δυναμιν δε τους  
 [μεν περιγιγνε]σθαι ημας δ[ε φοβωι ουκ επιε  
 [ναι ωστε εξω το]ν κ[αι] πλεον[ων αρξαι και το α  
 50 [σφαλες ημιν δια το κα]ταστρα[φηναι α]ν π[αρα  
 [σχοιτε αλλως τε και νη]σιωται [ναυκρ]ατορ[ων  
 [και ασθενεστεροι ετερων ουτες ει μη π]εριγε

[νοισθε: εν δ εκεινω ου νομιζετε ασ]φα[λ]ει 98  
 [αν δει γαρ αν και ενταυθα ωσπερ υμεις των] δι  
 55 [καιων λογων ημας εκβιβασαν]τες [τωι υμε  
 [τερωι ξυμφορωι υπακουειν] πειθετ[ε και η  
 [μας το ημιν χρησιμον διδασκο]ντας [ει τυγχανει  
 [και υμιν το αυτο ξυμβαινον] πειρασ[θαι πειθεῖ  
 [οσοι γαρ νυν μηδετεροις ξυμμ]αχου[σι πως ου

Fr. (h).

60 [ο υμεις α]σ[θενεις τε και επι ροπης μιας οντες μη 103. 2  
 [βουλεσ]θε παθ[ει]ν. μ[ηδ ο]μ[ω]ιωθηναι τοις] π[ολ  
 [λοις ο]ις παρον ανθρωπειω[ς ετι σω]ζεσθαι επει  
 [δαν] πιεζουμενους αυτο[υς επιλι]πωσιν αι φα  
 [νε]ρ[α]ι ελπιδες επι τας αφα[νεις κα]θιστανται  
 65 μαντικην τε και χρησμούς και οσα τοιαυτα με  
 [τ] ελπιδων λυμαινεται: χαλεπον μεν και η 104  
 μεις ευ ιστε νομιζομεν προς δυναμιν τε  
 την υμετεραν και την τυχην ει μη απο του ἴσου  
 [εσται] αγωνιζεσθαι ομως δε πιστευομεν τη  
 70 [μεν τ]υχηι εκ του θειου μη ελασσωσεσθαι ὅτι  
 [οσιοι] [[οσιοι]] ου προς δικαιοys ισταμεθα· της δε  
 [δυνα]μ[εως] τω ελλειποντι την Λακεδαιμο  
 [ν]ιων ημιν ξυνμαχίαν προσεσεσθαι αναγ  
 κην εχουσαν και ει μη του αλλου της γε συγγε  
 75 νειας ενεκα αισχυνηι βοηθειν και ου παντα  
 πασι ουτως αλογως θρα[συν]ομεθα [:] της μεν 105. 1  
 τοιωνν προς το θειον ε[ν]μενειας ουδ ημεις οι  
 ομεθα λελειψεσθαι ουδεν γαρ εξω της ανθρω  
 πειας των μεν ες το θειον νομισεως των δε  
 80 ες σφας αυτους βουλῆσεως δικαιουμενης πρ[ο]σ  
 σομεν ηγουμεθα γαρ το τε θειον δοξῃ το αν 105. 2  
 θρωπειον τε σαφως δια παντος απο φυσ[εως]  
 αναγκαιας ου αν κρατη αρχειν και ημεις ουτε  
 θεντες τον νομον ουτε κοινωι πρωτοι χρη

85 *σαμενοι οντα δε παραλαβοντες και εσομενῶ*  
*ες αι καταλειψοντε[s] χρωμεθα αυτωι ειδο*  
*[τε]ς και υμας και αλλους εν τη αυτη δυναμει*  
*[η]μιν γενομενους δρωντας αν αυτο και προς* 105. 3  
*[μεν] το θειον ουτως εκ του εικοτος ου φοβου*  
 90 *[με]θα ελασσ[ω]σεσθαι τ[η]ς δε ες Δ[α]κεδαιμ[ονι*  
*[ους] δοξης ην δια το αισχρον δη βοη[θη]σ[ειν]*

Fr. (i). . . . .  
*παρε[χε]τε ει [μη μεταστησαμενοι ετι ημας* 111. 2  
*αλλο τι [τ]ωνδε [σωφρονεστερον γνωσεσθε*  
*ου γαρ δη επι γε τη[ν εν τοις αισχροις και πρου* 111. 3  
 95 *πτοις κινδυνοι[s] πλειστα διαφθειρουσαν*  
*[ανθρω]π[ο]υς [αισχυνην τρεψεσθε πολλοις*  
*[γαρ προορ]ω[μενοις]*

1-2. The papyrus seems to have differed here from the ordinary text which would give 40 letters between the *s* of *του[s]* in l. 1 and *ν* of *μεν* in l. 2, whereas the usual length of a line is about 34-5 letters. Perhaps *τουτου* was omitted; that there was an agreement with Dion. Hal. *De Thuc. Ind.* 845. 12, who has *περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τούτους Σικωνίου* Ἀθηναῖοι, is less likely.

14. [α]πο: so MSS.; ἐπί H(u)de).

21-2. *τηι Λακωνικ[η]ι και τηι Ηλ[λει]αι: τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας* MSS.

33. *η[κον: ἦκουτο or ἴκουτο* MSS. The *η* in the papyrus is clear, and the line is quite long enough without the superfluous *το*.

Fr. (d). This small piece, containing the first letters of lines, we have failed to identify. Since it was found with Frs. (a)-(c) it would be expected to come from the neighbourhood of cc. 30-40.

49. *το]ν κ[αι: so Krüger; καὶ τοῦ* MSS., H.

50-1. It is likely that the papyrus had *ναυκρατόρων* rather than *ναυτοκρατόρων* (B corr. M), but owing to the very doubtful identity of the two broken letters at the end of l. 50 the size of the lacuna between *νη]σιωται* and *]ατορ[ων* is uncertain.

55. *εκβιβασαν]τες: so H. with CG; but εκβιασαν]τες* (ABEFM) may equally well have stood in the papyrus.

63. *πιεζουμενους: this late form also occurs in C.*

*επιλι]πωσιν* (AB) suits the space better than *επιλει]πωσιν* (CEFGM).

71. *ου προς: l. προς ου* with MSS.

72. The second *ε* of *ελλειποντι* has been corrected probably from an *ι*.

75. *αισχυνη: καὶ αἰσχ.* MSS. The loss of *και* would be easy between *κα* and *αι*.

80. *δικαιουμενης: δικαιῶμεν ἤ* MSS.

82. απο: ὑπό MSS.

84. κοινωι: l. κειμενωι with MSS.

87. υμας: ὑμᾶς ἄν MSS.

88. αυτο: so MSS.; ταὐτό H., cf. Valla and Schol.

881. PLATO, *Euthydemus* and *Lysis*.

10.2 x 6.2 cm.

Late second or third century.

A small fragment containing on the recto part of a column, and a few letters from the ends of some lines of the column preceding, from Plato's *Euthydemus*. The text, which is written in a small neat uncial hand, round and upright, of about the end of the second century, shows one or two unimportant variants as compared with the three principal MSS., with none of which it agrees at all consistently. Stops (in the middle position), paragraphi, and double dots marking a change of speaker occur.

On the verso of this is a portion of a column from the *Lysis*, written in a small irregular uncial hand with some admixture of cursive, dating probably from the first half of the third century. Double dots accompanied by paragraphi mark, as usual, alternations in the dialogue; there is also a doubtful instance of a high stop, and one accent. The surface of the papyrus has suffered considerably and decipherment is sometimes difficult. Considering the small size of the fragment variations from the ordinary text are surprisingly frequent; they do not seem to be very valuable, though in most cases they are not obviously wrong.

## Recto.

## Col. i.

[μον τονδε: αρ ουν εφη τ]αν 301 e  
[τα ηγηι σα ειναι ων α]ν  
[αρξῆις και ἐξῆι σοι αυ]τοις  
[χρησθαι οτι αν βουλη]ι. 302 a  
5 [οιον βους και προβα]τα  
[αρ αν ηγοιο ταυτα σα] ει  
[ναι α σοι εξειη και απ]ο  
[δοσθαι και δουναι κ]αι  
[θυσαι οτωι βουλοιο θε]ων.  
10 [α δ αν μη ουτως εχη] ου  
· · · · ·

## Col. ii.

λημ[ενος ουκ εστιν 302 b  
ην δ εγ[ω ω Διονωσοδω  
ρε: τα[λαιπαρος αρα  
συ γε τ[ις ανθρωπος ει 302 c  
15 και ουδε [Αθηναιος ωι  
μητε θ[ε]οι πατρωιοι εισιν  
μηθ ἱ[ε]ρα μητε αλλο μη  
δεν καλ[ον και αγαθον: εα  
ην δ εγω ω Διονωσοδω  
20 ρε· ευφημει τε και μ[η] χα  
λεπως με προδιδασ[κε

εστι γαρ εμοιγε και β[ω  
 μοι και ἱερα πατ[ρωια  
 και ταλλα οσαπερ [τοις  
 25' αλλοις Αθηναιοις των  
 τοιουτων : ε[ιτα τοις αλ  
 λοις εφη Αθην[αιοις  
 ο[υκ εστι Ζευς ο πατρωι  
 ο[ς

5. προβα]τα : cf. T, Ven. 189 and Par. 1808, where πρόβατον has an *a* written above the final syllable; πρόβατον BW, Burnet.

14. συ γε τ]ις : τις συ γε Burn. with T, τε συ γε B.

22-3. βωμοι και : so TW, Burn. ; om. B.

23. ιερα πατ[ρωια : ἱερά οἰκεία καὶ πατρῷα BTW.

## Verso.

<p>           [επιτρεπου]σι[ν] αλλα αρ[            [χει σο]ν τις : παιδαγωγος            [εφη :] μων δουλος ων            [ημετ]ερος γε εφη : ἦ δει            5 [νον η]ν δ εγω ελευθε            [ρον ου]τα γε ὑπο δουλου            [αρχεσ]θαι· τι δε και ποιων            [αυ ου]τος σου ο πα[ι]δαγω            γος α[ρ]χει : αγων [δ]ηπου         </p>	<p>208 C</p>	<p>           10 εφη ε[ι]ς διδασκα[λο]ν :            μων μη και ουτοι σ[ου] α[ρ]            χο[υ]σ[ι]ν ο[ι] διδασκαλο[ι] :            [π]αντ[ω]ς δηπου : παμ            208 d            [πο]λλ[ω]ς αρα σοι γε δεσπο            15 [τας και αρχ]οντας ως εοι            [κεν] εκ[ω]ν ο πατηρ εφι            [στησι : αλλ αρα επ]ειδαν            [. . . . .] . . .         </p>
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1. *αρ* at the end of the line is uncertain, but to read *αλλ αρχ* is not more satisfactory, for though the first of the doubtful letters is in some ways more like *ρ* than *α* the second is more like *ρ* than *χ*. Moreover the division *αρχ|ει* is very objectionable in a literary text, while to read *αρχ|ει* would make this line longer than any of those that follow, and besides necessitate a supplement of three letters at the beginning of l. 2, where there is no known variant.

2. σο]ν τις : τις σου MSS., which also read ὅδε or ὁ δέ (*ὁ* alone Paris. 1811) before παιδαγωγός. The scribe omitted the *a* and perhaps also the *ι* in the latter word ; he does not seem to have written πεδαγωγός.

4. ἀλλὰ τί μὴν precedes ἡμέτερός γε in the MSS. (omit ἀλλὰ . . . ἔφη Ven. 189).

6. γε : om. MSS.

7. δε και : δέ MSS. except Vat. 226 which has καὶ in place of δέ.

8. σου ο π.: δ π. σου MSS.

14. γε: the reading is quite uncertain, but something certainly stood in the papyrus between σοι and δεσπο[τας]. For the insertion of γε cf. l. 6.

15. ως εο[κεν]: om. MSS. ως ἔοικεν occurred a few lines above in 208 b. It is superfluous here after ἄρα.

882. DEMOSTHENES, *In Aristogitonem* I.

9.8 × 7 cm.

Second century.

A fragment from the bottom of a column of a roll containing the first speech of Demosthenes against Aristogiton. It is written in an upright and rather small round hand, not very regular, and probably dating from the second century. No stops or other lectional signs are found, but slight blank spaces, perhaps corresponding to marginal paragraphi, are left where a pause occurred in ll. 7 and 10. An interlinear addition in l. 8 may be by the original scribe. The fragment is too small to possess any critical value; the writer was apparently careless.

. . . . .

[κ]αι κεγρα[γως] κ[αι] ιο[ν] ιου π[αντ] ανω	§ 47
[τ]ε και κατω ποιω[ν εν] ταις εκκλησι	
[αι]ς ως δεον στ[ρεβλου]ν λαβων ο	
[τι]δηποτε παρω[ν οτε] ηφειετο αφω	
5 [ν]ος εγενετο τη[ν κατα] Δημοκλε	
[ου]ς εισαγγελια[ν αν]α[σεισα]ς ποι ε	
[τρ]εψεν αλλα μυρια ων εμο[ι] μεν	
[ερ]γον απαντων μνησθηναι συ ο[ι]δα	
[ο]τι και τα [αν]τιγραφα αυτων εξεις	
10 [ερ]γολαβων αυτωι [τ]ις ουν ο τον τοι	§ 48

1. 1. κεκραγως.

8. SY add ἐστί(ν) after ἀπάντων: om. Blass with the other MSS.

συ δ [εν] ο[ι]δα: om. εν AF, Blass. It is of course impossible to be sure that εν was inserted here as well as δ, but the similarity of συ and εν will readily account for the original omission of δ εν, whereas δ by itself would less easily drop out.

9. εξεις: 1. εχεις with MSS.

883. DEMOSTHENES, *In Aristocratem.*

18 × 4.1 cm.

Third century.

A short fragment containing parts of §§ 149-50 of the speech against Aristocrates. The roll was written in narrow columns, a large space (7.5 cm.) being left above them. The good-sized, well-formed hand is of the oval type, but the letters are upright or have only a very slight slope; ω is noticeably small. It seems to be a rather early example of this style of literary writing, and perhaps goes back to the beginning of the third century. A stop placed midway in the line and accompanied by a paragraphus marks the end of a section. There are two agreements with minor MSS. against S; but judging from the blunders in ll. 11-4 the text was not of a high class.

τερα[ς τ]ριακ[ον	§ 149	μον παλιν [πο
τορους ον ακ[ρι		λεμειν π[ροει
βως ηδει πα[ν		λετο Χερ[ρονη
των ανθρωπ[ων		σον και ου[δεν
5 διακειμεν[ον		15 ειχε ποιειν [
εχθροτατα υ		υμας εκει κα
μιν. και με[τα	§ 150	κον μ[ισ]θο[ι πα
ταυτα επειδ[η		λιν αυτον Ολ[υν
τον προς Αμ[φι		θιοις τοι[ς υ]μ[ε
10 πολιν πολ[ε		20 τεροις εχ[θροις

3. πα[ν]των: so A; τῶν ὄντων other MSS., Blass.

5-6. διακειμεν[ον] εχθροτατα υμιν: ἐχθ. ὑμίν διακ. MSS.

8. ταυτα: so V; ταῦτά γ' Blass with other MSS.

11 sqq. The ordinary reading here is πρότερον πολεμεῖν εἵλετο Τιμόθεος τοῦ πρὸς Χερρόνησον. The text of the papyrus has gone badly astray; προειλετο for εἵλετο is comparatively harmless, but παλιν is an awkward repetition of παλιν in l. 17, and the omission before Χερ[ρονη]σον reduces the passage to nonsense.

884. SALLUST, *Catilina.*

15.8 × 15.4 cm. Fifth century. Plate V (recto).

Latin classics have been conspicuous for their rarity among papyri from Egypt, and hence the following fragment of Sallust's *Catilina*, ch. vi, is of more than ordinary interest. It consists of a nearly complete leaf from a papyrus

codex, which may be assigned to the fifth century. The upright and well-formed hand is of the 'mixed' type, the forms of the letters, in which cursive characteristics predominate, being in general similar to those e.g. of the legal fragments in P. Amh. II. 28, which are no doubt of about the same date. The ink is of the reddish-brown colour common at this period. Dots in three positions as well as the colon (cf. P. Amh. II. 27) are used for purposes of punctuation, pauses being also sometimes marked by blank spaces (ll. 1, 3, 25) or paragraphi (l. 6). *que* is written *q̄*; the only other abbreviation which occurs is *reip̄* for *reipublicae*.

The scribe was extremely careless and made a number of errors, which have been amended to some extent by himself but more often by some one else. Since the colour of the ink in these corrections does not differ from that of the text, it is not easy to distinguish the hands; but the alteration of e.g. *propularent* to *propulerant* in l. 18 seems clearly to be by the original writer, while the insertion of *annis* four lines lower down is not less clearly due to another person. There also occur a few cursive adscripts (ll. 5, 6, and 10) which may be independent both of the original scribe and the corrector of *annis*, &c.; if, however, they are to be assigned to one or other of them, the former seems more likely to be responsible than the latter. It may be noted that the cross-stroke of *t* in *tempore*, l. 5, is brought down to form the base of the following *e* as in the Italian papyri of the fifth and sixth centuries. In several places small interlinear marks are found of which the significance is not clear; cf. note on ll. 7, 26-7, 30. The text as corrected is good, agreeing in the main with the best MSS., of which there are a large number dating from the tenth century onwards. The most interesting reading is the occurrence in ll. 5-6 of the sentence *ita brevi . . . facta est*, for which there is otherwise small support. Our collation is based on the edition of R. Dietsch (Leipzig, 1859), from whose text the papyrus rarely diverges.

## Verso.

*liberum adq̄. solutum* <sup>[[fuit]]</sup> *hi postquam*  
*in una moenia convenere. dispari genere*

vi. 2

*dissimili lingu<sup>a</sup>[[e]]. alius alio more viven*  
*tes. incredibile memoratu<sup>s</sup>[[s]] est. quam faci*

<sup>a</sup> <sup>tempore</sup> <sup>tu</sup>  
5 *le coluerin<sup>t</sup> ita brevi multido diversa*

<sup>t</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>per con</sup> <sup>m</sup>  
*a<sup>t</sup>[[d]]q̄. va<sup>g</sup>[[s]]a concordia civitas facta est :*

<sup>c</sup>  
*sed postquam res eorum civibus moribus*  
*agris. aucta. satis prospera satisq̄. pollens*  
*videbatur: sicuti pleraq̄. mortalium h<sup>a</sup>ben*

entia ia  
 10 tur. invidia ex opolenti<sup>i</sup>um] orta est  
 [i]gitur reges. populiq. f<sup>i</sup>nitimi. bell[o tem  
 taba[nt]  
 [p]t[a]r[e [pa]uc[i] ex amicis auxilio esse [nam cete  
 [ri metu pe]r[c]u[li] a peric[u]lis aber[ant  
 4 lines lost.

Recto.

propul<sup>e</sup>[a]r<sup>a</sup>[e]nt: sociis a<sup>t</sup>[d]q. amicis auxilia por[ta  
 bant m<sup>a</sup>[us]gisq. [[dis]] dandis quam accipien  
 20 dis beneficiis amicitias parabant imperium 6  
 legetimum nomen imperii regium habe  
 annis  
 bant delecti quibus c[o]rpus infirmum. inge  
 nium sapientia validum erat. reip. consulta  
 bant ii vel aetate vel cura similitudine  
 25 patres appellabantur post ubi regium 7  
 imperium quod initio conservandae l[i]  
 [b]ertatis a<sup>t</sup>[d]q. augenda<sup>e</sup> reip. fuerat. in super  
 [bi]am dominationemq. se convertit. immu  
 [tato m]ore annua imperia. binosq. impera  
 30 [tores sibi fecere eo] modo min[ume]

1. *fuit*, which is crossed through, is not found in the MSS.

3. *alius*: so the majority of MSS.; *alii* Dietsch with P<sup>3</sup>BT (2nd hand) p<sup>1</sup> &c.

5-6. *ita . . . facta est*: this sentence is found in Leid. G and with *erat* for *est* in a MS. used by Popma, Vind. 1 and 2, and cod. Herbipolitanus; om. Dietsch. *tempore*, which is inserted above the line, is found only here; the addition is no improvement. *per concordiam* as a variant for *concordia* is also novel; the reading is uncertain, the supposed *c* of *con* looking more like *n*, and very little remaining of the final *m*. Both *per concordiam* and *tempore* might be regarded as explanatory glosses rather than textual variants.

7. Above *e* of *eorum* is a mark resembling a small *c*, which we do not understand.

10. We suppose that the mistaken *opulentum* has been twice corrected. *ia* over the termination is clear, but the decipherment of the cursive letters which precede at a higher level is very doubtful. The first of them is probably *e*, and *culia* seems just possible, though there is really more ink than is satisfactorily accounted for by *nt*. *ex . . .* or *epo . . .* might be read.

11. *temptare* or *tentare* MSS. Just in front of the upright stroke of *b* in *bello* there is an angular mark to which we can attach no meaning. The low stop beneath it is doubtful.

13. *pē*[*c*]ussi (p<sup>5</sup> g g<sup>6</sup> σ) might also be read, but is less likely than *pē*[*c*]ulsi.

21. 1. *legitimum*.

22. *annis cōrpus*: so *ℳ*; *corpus annis* is the usual order.

24. *ii*: *ei* MSS., except g<sup>4</sup>, which has *hi*.

26-7. Several small interlinear signs of doubtful significance occur here; cf. Plate V. Above *quod* there is something rather like an *e*, and above the middle *i* of *initio* are some strokes resembling the letters *li*; a more complicated sign appears over *augendae*, and an angular mark over *e* of *fuerat*.

30. There is an angular mark above the *n* of *min[ume]*; cf. notes on ll. 11 and 26-7.

#### IV. MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY FRAGMENTS

##### 885. TREATISE ON DIVINATION.

23.3 × 8.3 cm. Late second or early third century.

This text, containing one well-preserved column between two others which have almost entirely disappeared, is written in careful and well-formed upright uncials of about the end of the second century. High stops are used, besides paragraphi, while a coronis below a short line at l. 57 marks the end of a section; an accent occurs in l. 38. The subject of what remains is the interpretation of strokes of lightning when falling upon statues. A parallel to this is to be found in the work of Johannes Lydus, *de Ostentis*, §§ 47-52, where a section occurs (probably derived from Cornelius Labeo, a writer of the second or third century) giving the prognostications to be deduced when various objects, and among them statues, are struck by lightning, according to the position of the sun. Possibly astronomical conditions were also taken into account in the present treatise, though they do not figure in what remains. Whether it concerned thunderbolts only (*περὶ κεραυνῶν*) or was of a wider character and included other *διοσημεῖαι* is also doubtful. It is interesting as an early specimen of the treatises on signs and wonders which in the Byzantine period became so popular. A noticeable circumstance is that there are no traces of Egyptian influence, the gods mentioned in ll. 44-6 being exclusively Greek. According to Lydus indeed (§§ 43, 52), things were not struck by lightning in Egypt, or if ever they were, when the sun was in Pisces, it was a good omen. Thunderstorms do occur at the present day, though rarely.

Col. i.		Col. ii.		Col. iii.
	]οι	χη αυτω εσται		[
	]λη	της ευδαιμονι		[
	]	ας εαν δε ολοσχε		τ[
	]	35 ρως καταπεσηι	65	ι[
5	]εσ	η εικων πλη		[
	]ν	γεισα υπο του κε		α[
	]ο	ραυνου απώλει		α[
	]ι	αν αυτου τω γε		γ[
	]ω	40 νει σημαινει ο	70	η[
10	] .	λωι· χρη ουν τον		τ[
	]ε	πενητα εικονα		γ · [
	]	αφιερουν· και		α[
	]	θινειν Διϊ Κεραυ		εν[
	]	45 ν[ι]ωι· και Ηρακληι	75	μ[
15	]οις	και Τυχχι Σωτει		σθ[
	]ς·	ρα κατα δυνα		κε[
	] γαρ	μιν και προσποι		νο[
	]αι	εισθαι μεν το προ		τα[
	]ησ	50 τερον σημειον·	80	π[
20	]α	της δε πεσουσης		χ · [
	]	εικονος εκθυε		ση[
	]	σθαι και αποτρο		επ[
	]εν	πιαζεσθαι το ση		δ[
	]ασ	55 μειον θυοντα	85	τ[
25	] .	τοις αυτοις θε		α[
	]	οις		λα[
	]	—		τ[
	]	εαν εικονες ανδρων		μ[
	]ο	60 καλων κ[α]γαθων	90	π[
30	]ι	υπο κεραυνου		ρο[
	αρ]	πληγωσ[ι] . [ . . .		

51. First σ of πεσουσης corr. from ι.

'(If the statue of a poor man be struck by a thunderbolt and do not fall), it will be the beginning of happiness for him; but if the statue when struck by the thunderbolt falls down entirely, it indicates the destruction of his whole family. The poor man should therefore purify the statue, and sacrifice to Zeus Wielder of Thunder, and Heracles, and Fortune the Preserver in accordance with his means, and appropriate the former portent; but the portent of the fallen statue he should expiate and avert by sacrifice to the same gods. If the statues of noble men be struck by a thunderbolt . . .'

31 sqq. The sense of the protasis of this sentence is apparent from what follows; it may be restored *εαν εικων ανδρος πενητος υπ[ο] [κεραυνου πληγε]ι[σα μη καταπεση αρ]χη κ.τ.λ.* In Lydus, *De Ostentis*, the passage concerning statues is as follows (§ 47): *ει δε κατ' αγαλμάτων κατενεχθη (κεραυνός) ποικίλας και επαλλήλους τας συμφορας τοις πράγμασιν απειλεί· ει γάρ χαρακτήρες ιδεων των και κόσμια πόλεων τα αγαλματα υπωπτεύθη τοις παλαιοις, αρὰ τοις πράγμασιν ή περὶ αυτά υβρις.* The statues there meant are public ornaments, or represent abstract qualities, and the portent has a more general significance than is the case here, where private individuals are concerned.

41. The marginal sign, which stands midway between the two columns, is repeated again before l. 87. Its meaning is obscure; it cannot be associated with the paragraphus below l. 41, since at l. 87 there is no paragraphus, nor on the other hand is it very likely in the latter place to have some connexion with the conclusion of the section in l. 57, for l. 10 is a full line, and there is therefore no reason to suppose that a section ended at that point. The symbol might be taken to represent *ap* or *δρ*, but the first letter would be incompletely formed.

### 886. MAGICAL FORMULA.

21.3 × 12.5 cm.

Third century.

A formula for obtaining an omen, of a type common in magical papyri, and purporting, as often happens with Hermetic writings, to be copied from a sacred book; cf. note on ll. 2-4 and Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 138 sqq.

The letters of the alphabet, which are frequently employed in astrology and magic (cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 469 sqq., Reitzenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 260 and 288, Dieterich, *ABC-Denkmäler*, P. Brit. Mus. 121. 705 sqq., &c.), play a somewhat mysterious part in the formula, their number being reckoned as 29 instead of 24. An uneven figure was in any case required owing to the nature of the process described in ll. 19-21, but how the figure 29 was obtained is quite obscure. To give confidence in the efficacy of the spell, the claim is made (ll. 7-10) that it was used by Hermes and Isis in the search for the dismembered body of Osiris. The scribe was a very illiterate person, and makes several mistakes. A couple of dashes are placed in the margin below l. 1 and against ll. 24-5.

Μεγάλη Ἱσις ή κυρία.

ρι ὦν θέλεις κληδονισ-  
θῆναι. λαβὼν φύνι-

- ἀντίγραφον ἱερᾶς βί-  
βλου τῆς εὐρετίσης ἐν  
τοῖς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ταμίοις.  
5 ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἐστὶν τὰ περ[ὶ]  
τὰ γράμματα κθ  
δι' ὧν ὁ Ἑρμῆς κὲ ἡ Ἴσις  
ζητοῦσα ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἀ-  
δελφὸν κὲ ἄνδρα Ὁ-  
10 σιρειν. ἐπικαλοῦ μέ[ν] (?)  
τὸν Ϛ κὲ τοὺς ἐν βυ-  
θῶ θεοὺς πάντας πε-  
15 κος ἄρσενος φύλλα κθ  
ἐπίγρ(αφον) ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν  
φύλλων τὰ τῶν θεῶν  
ὀνόματα κὲ ἐπευξά-  
μενος ἔρε κατὰ δύο  
20 δύο, τὸ δὲ ὑπολιπό[μ]ε-  
νον ἔσχατον ἀναγνώ-  
τι κὲ εὐρήσις σου τὴν κλη-  
δόνα ἐν οἷς μέτεστειν  
καὶ χρηματισθήσῃ τη-  
25 λανγῶς.

1. ἴσις Pap.; so in l. 7. 3. l. εὐρεθείσης. 7. l. καί: so in ll. 9, 11, 18, 22.  
9. ὁ|σιρειν' Pap. 14. l. φοίνικος. The κ has been inserted later. 17. θεω- Pap.  
19. l. αἶρε. 19-20. δυό' δυό' Pap. 20. ὑπολιπο[μ]ενον Pap. 21. l. ἀναγνώθι.  
24. l. χρηματισθήσῃ.

'Great is the Lady Isis. Copy of a sacred book found in the archives of Hermes. The method is concerned with the 29 letters used by Hermes and Isis when searching for her brother and husband Osiris. Invoke the sun and all the gods in the deep concerning those things about which you wish to receive an omen. Take 29 leaves of a male palm, and inscribe on each of the leaves the names of the gods; then after a prayer lift them up two by two, and read that which is left at the last, and you will find wherein your omen consists, and you will obtain an illuminating answer.'

2-4. Prof. F. Cumont well compares the beginning of a magical formula found in *Catal. codd. Astr. Graec.* vii. p. 62 Βίβλος εὐρεθείσα ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν ἀδύτοις ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασι κ.τ.λ.

6. κθ: in l. 15 κε might be read in place of κθ, the right-hand part of the second numeral being lost, but there is, we think, no doubt about the reading κθ here; cf. introd.

10. ἐπικαλοῦ μέ[ν]: the vestiges following μ suit ε better than α. μέ[ν] is not very satisfactory, and ἐπικαλοῦμαι constantly occurs in magical formulae of this character (e. g. the extract from P. Leyden W. quoted in note on l. 14); but to read ἐπικαλοῦμε (= ἐπικαλοῦμαι) here makes the change to the second person singular in l. 13 very difficult.

11. The sign following τόν is the ordinary symbol in magical papyri for ἥλιος.

14 sqq. Cf. e. g. P. Leyden W. xxiv. 31 sqq. λαβὼν φύλλον δάφνης ἐπίγραφον τὸν χαλακτῆρα (l. χαρακ.) ὧ (l. ὅς) ἐστὶν καὶ δείξας το (l. τῷ) (ἡλίῳ) λέγε, ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε κ.τ.λ.

19. κατὰ δύο δύο: for this mixture of distributives cf. e. g. Luke x. 1.

### 887. DIRECTIONS FOR WRESTLING (?).

10.6 × 5.8 cm.

Third century.

On the recto of this small fragment are parts of eight lines from the bottom of a column, containing repeated references to different parts of the body and

apparently belonging to a treatise of the same class as 466, which is concerned with grips in wrestling. The careful and rather large uncial writing is probably of the third century. On the verso is another text in a similar and possibly identical hand; but the letters are more hastily formed, and the lines are set much wider apart and also come further down towards the lower edge of the papyrus. The subject here is evidently different, but the remains are too scanty to give a definite clue to its nature.

	Recto.		Verso.
	· · · · ·		· · · · ·
	επι το]ν δεξι[ιο]ν [ωμον		]ηση γαρ τον μ. [
	] εις τα αριστερα του [		λα]βουσιν μεγαλα[
	] επι τον δεξιον ω[μον		] και εξω φευγη [
	] επι το [α]κρον του [		]εται η γυνη ελε[
5	] επι τ[ο]ν αριστερο[ν ωμον	5	α]νθρωποι επι του[
	]λημψεται		]α φαρμα[κ]α κατ[
	] επι το ακρον το[ν		]ικαν καθενδο[
	] επι το στηθος π[		

## V. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

### (a) OFFICIAL

#### 888. EDICT OF A PRAEFECT AND PETITION.

Fr. (b) 9.2 × 14.9 cm.

Late third or early fourth  
century.

A petition to the exegetes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, with which is here coupled the Small Oasis, from two persons, one of whom was a woman (cf. note on l. 9), concerning the guardianship of the children of their dead sister. Only the first two or three lines of this document remain and its purport is unknown; the interest of the papyrus lies in the fact that prefixed to the mutilated petition is a copy of an edict, dated in the year 287, of the praefect Flavius Valerius

Pompeianus, relating to the appointment of guardians for orphan minors. This ordinance directs that magistrates empowered to make such appointments (οἱ τοῦ χειροτονεῖν κύριοι) should do so in all cases where orphans were without guardians, since absence of the latter led to much delay in business in which orphans were involved. The question here arises, what magistrates were competent to appoint guardians? According to the *lex Iulia et Titia*, passed in B.C. 31, this right was in the provinces vested in the praefects, and that that enactment continued in force in the third century is shown by 720, where it is expressly named (A.D. 247). In practice, however, the praefect of Egypt is seldom found exercising his power, which was delegated to subordinate officials, and in particular to the ἐξηγηταί, who, as in 888, are the persons most commonly invoked in connexion with the guardianship of minors; cf. e. g. B. G. U. 1070, in which a woman supplies to the exegetes the name of a man suitable for the guardianship of her children. From P. Amh. 85 and 86, which are applications addressed to the exegetes for leases of land belonging to orphans, it would appear that this magistrate was actually responsible to some extent for the proper management of property of that class. Professor Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for several points in the interpretation of this papyrus, thinks that the praefect was principally appealed to when the parties concerned came from different nomes, or when one or other of them happened to be residing outside his own nome, and the local magistrates were consequently unable to act. The latter explanation would well suit P. Tebt. 326, where the applicants who have recourse to the praefect are natives of Antinoöpolis domiciled in the Fayûm. The exegetae, however, were not the only officials competent in these matters. In 487 the γραμματεὺς πόλεως is stated to have assigned a guardian to certain minors, and the epistrategus is requested to direct the strategus to give orders that the γραμματεὺς should substitute another person. According to P. Tebt. 326, where the case is referred to the praefect, the magistrate who would actually make the appointment in accordance with the praefect's instructions would be not the exegetes but the strategus; cf. P. Cattaoui verso ii. 17-9, where the iuridicus proposes to instruct the strategus to make an appointment of guardians. In both these instances no doubt the strategus may be supposed to be acting merely as the temporary delegate of the superior authority; but a more general competence to deal with such matters is proved, for Oxyrhynchus at any rate, by 56, where an application by a woman for a κύριος is addressed to the exegetes because the deputy-strategus was absent, and 898. 26-9, where a strategus orders the guardian of a minor to be changed. A new date is supplied by this papyrus for the praefecture of Pompeianus, who is shown to have been in office in Oct. 287, while from P. Amh. 137 he is known to have been still praefect in July 289.

[Φ]λα[ούιος Οὐαλέριος Πομπη]ιανὸς ὁ διαση[μύ]τατος ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου  
 λέγει·  
 οἷς [ἐὰν μὴ πεποιημένοι ὦσ]ιν κηδεμόνες ὁρ[φαν]οῖς οἱ τοῦ χειροτονεῖν  
 κύριοι καθ[εστῶτες  
 15 letters ποι]εῖσθωσαν τοὺς καθ' [ήλ]ικίαν κηδεμόνας·  
 οὕτω γὰρ συμβήσεται τῆς π[ροσ-  
 ηκ[ούσης ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνειν, ὥς νῦν γε [π]ολλὰ τῶν ὀρφανικῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 5 κη[δεμόσιν ὄντων ἀνα]βολῆς τυγχάνειν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς  
 ἐπιτρόπους ἥτοι  
 κου[ράτορας. ἔτους] δ καὶ γ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ  
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν  
 Φα[ῶφι . . προετέθη ἐν 'Οξυ]ρύγχων τῷ αὐτῷ μην[ι] Φαῶφι κς.  
 . . [ 16 letters ἐ]νάρχῳ ἐξηγητῇ 'Οξυρυ[χίτου κ]αὶ Μικρᾶς  
 'Οάσεως βουλ[ευτῇ] τῆς λαμπ[ρᾶς] καὶ λαμπ[ροτάτης] 'Οξυρύγ-  
 [χων πόλεως ]  
 10 [παρὰ . . . . . κα]ὶ 'Απολλωνίας ἀμφοτ[έ]ρων 'Ωριγένους μη(τρὸς)  
 Θαήσιος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπ[ρᾶς] καὶ λαμπ[ροτάτης]  
 ['Οξυρύγγ(ων) πόλ(εως). τυχόντες τῆς κ]ηδεμονίας τῶν ἀφελίκων ἀδελφιδῶν  
 ἡμῶν, τέκνων τῆς μετηλλαχυ-  
 [ίας 50 letters 'Ωριγ]ένης ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς  
 [αὐτῆς πόλεως . . .  
 . . . . .

1. πομπη]ιανος Pap. 5. τυγχανειν Pap. 6. σεβαστῶ Pap. 8. οξυρυγ' Pap.

'Proclamation of his excellency Flavius Valerius Pompeianus, praefect of Egypt. Orphans for whom no guardians have been assigned shall have guardians in accordance with their age created for them by those competent to make the appointment . . . ; for it will thus result that they receive proper attention, whereas at present much business concerning orphans and depending upon their guardians is delayed because the orphans are unattended by *tutores* or *curatores*. The 4th which = the 3rd year of our lords the Augusti Diocletianus and Maximianus, Phaophi . . . Published in Oxyrhynchus on the 27th of the same month Phaophi.

To . . . , exegetes in office of the Oxyrhynchite nome and the Small Oasis, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from . . . and Apollonia, both children of Origenes and Thaësis, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. We were given the guardianship of our nephews (or nieces), the children of our dead sister . . . daughter of Origenes, of the said city . . . '

3. The lacuna may be filled e. g. ἐν [ἐκάστῳ νομῶ εὐθέως, or ἐν[τὸς . . . ἡμερῶν. π[ροσ]η-  
κ[ούσης] Mitteis.

τοὺς καθ' [ἡλ]ικίαν κηδεμόνας, 'guardians corresponding to the age of the orphans,' i. e. *tutores* for those below the age of puberty (14 years), *curatores* for those under 25 years. κηδεμών is here used as a wider term including both *tutores* and *curatores*; cf. ll. 5-6 where ἐπιτρόπους ἦτοι κουράτορας is synonymous with τοὺς καθ' ἡλικ. κηδεμόνας, 'tutores or curatores as the case may be.' The distinction between *tutor* and *curator* is not infrequently lost sight of in provincial documents of this period, but no such confusion would be expected, as Mitteis has pointed out to us, in an official proclamation, and ἦτοι therefore does not mean that ἐπιτρόπους and κουράτορας are convertible terms.

5. There is a hole in the papyrus between η and s of ἀνα]βολῆς, in which there is room for a letter; the writing surface seems to have been faulty at this point. The supplement of the preceding lacuna is a trifle shorter than it might be.

6. There would be room for about five letters between κουράτορας and ἔτους, but a short blank space may well have been left before the date.

8. The Small Oasis (Bahriyeh) which was grouped with the Ἑπτανομία (cf. P. Amh. 137. 1 ἐπιστ[ρατήγῳ] Ἑπτ. καὶ Ὀάσεως Μικρᾶς) would naturally, for administrative purposes, be combined with the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the west of which it lies; cf. 485, where the implication is that persons living in the Oasis were under the jurisdiction of the Oxyrhynchite strategus.

9. The petitioners were either brother and sister, or else two sisters; in the former case, which is the more probable, they perhaps also stood in the relation of husband and wife. In any case the passage provides another instance of female guardianship, which has already been attested for *peregrini* by 495, and for Roman citizens by P. Tebt. 378; cf. Wenger, *Zeitschr. f. Savigny-Stiftung*, 28, p. 305<sup>1</sup>. Various instances in the papyri prove the possibility of a mother acting as guardian to her children (cf. e. g. 898. 5-6), and the guardianship of mothers and grandmothers was eventually admitted by the later Roman law; but that of women not so related to the ward was at no period legalized.

889. *EDICT OF DIOCLETIAN AND PETITION.*

23.5 × 9.3 cm.

Fourth century.

This narrow strip from a papyrus written in a large cursive hand in very broad lines contains in ll. 11 sqq. part of a petition addressed to the boule of, no doubt, Oxyrhynchus, by a man who probably wished to be let off some municipal burden on the score of old age and ill-health. In support of his case he appeals to an imperial decree, of which a copy is prefixed in ll. 1-11. The papyrus is thus similar in character to P. Flor. 57, a petition to the praefect claiming immunity from λειτουργίαι, which begins by quoting several rescripts of Septimius Severus and Caracalla guaranteeing this immunity to persons over the age of 70. The authors of the present decree are clearly Diocletian and Maximian, and the date of it is apparently the third consulship of the Caesars Constantine and

<sup>1</sup> In 495 it is the sister of the testator, not, as stated by Wenger, his daughter, who is appointed guardian.



adopted by Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, but seems to be new as an epithet of Diocletian. With regard to the length of the lines, only in ll. 1 and 13 can the beginnings be restored with any degree of probability. In l. 1 [Αὐτοκράτωρ Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς Γερμανικός] implies an initial loss of 46 letters, and in l. 13 [τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρρυχιδῶν πόλεως] a loss of 52, and since no shorter restorations of these two lines are likely, the initial lacunae may be estimated at not less than 45 letters throughout. How much is lost at the ends of lines is more uncertain. If the names of the Caesars were given in full, as is likely, in ll. 3-4, we must restore καὶ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνστάντιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανός, i. e. 56 letters, of which 5-10 probably occurred in l. 3; hence even if Γερμανικός Μέγιστος is the last of Maximian's titles, there seems to be a loss of from 15 to 20 letters, and the total number of letters missing between the points at which one line breaks off and the next commences can hardly be less than 60 on an average, and may amount to 70 or more. In l. 3 Σαρματικοὶ Μέγιστοι seems to be an error for the singular, applying to Maximian alone, for if the plural is correct here, Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι must then be read, and Diocletian has already been styled Γερμανικός in l. 1.

8. κοί: or καί.

11. Probably [Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρ]σιν; cf. the note on ll. 1-4. The date by the regnal years (ἔτους ιζ καὶ ις καὶ θ) probably occurred at the end of l. 10. The date beginning ὑπατίας refers to the following petition; Οὐ[ ] may be read for Οκ[ ]. Owing to the length of the lacuna before λαμπροτάτων the names must have been given in full, and it is quite uncertain who these consuls were.

13. Probably [τῇ κρατίστῃ βουλῇ τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξυρρυχιδῶν πόλεως]; cf. note on ll. 1-4.

15. προτεταγμένον: sc. ἐπιστάλματος or διατάγματος or the like.

16. ἐξηκοστόν: cf. l. 9 ἐξηκονταετῆς. ἐβδομηκοστόν (cf. l. 17) is also possible.

### 890. LETTER TO A STRATEGUS.

20.2 x 14.7 cm.

Third century.

An incomplete letter from the prytanis of the local βουλή at Oxyrhynchus to the strategus, giving a list of persons who owed money to the municipal treasury. Apparently these sums were to be collected by the agents of the imperial government and to be balanced against moneys owing to the imperial from the municipal exchequer.

Δούκιος Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος  
 Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ ὡς  
 χρηματίζω ἑναρχος πρύτανις τῆς  
 Ὁξυρρυχειῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίῳ  
 5 Λεωνίδῃ στρατηγῷ τῷ φιλ-  
 τάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 τοὺς ἀπαιτεῖσ[θα]ι μέλλοντας ἀφ' ὧν  
 [ὁ]φ[είλ]ουσι τῇ π[όλει] χωρούντων

- [εἰς δι]αγραφὴν τῶν ἐκ λόγου τῆς  
 10 [πόλε]ως διαγραφομένων καὶ νῦν  
 [γράφομέν] σοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐμποδί-  
 [ξεσθαι τῇ]ν εἴσπραξιν τοῦ ἱερωτάτου  
 [ταμείου. ] εἰς δὲ Αὐρήλιοι  
 [. . . . . καὶ Ἀ]πολλώνιος καὶ Δομιττια-  
 15 [νός, οἱ τρεῖς Σ]αραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ  
 [. . . . . ἀγορ]ανομήσαντος, (δραχμας ?) ν,  
 [. . . . . Ἑρ]ακλᾶς ὀνόματος  
 [ 20 letters ] ατ . . [. . .  
 . . . . .

12. ἱερωτάτου Pap.

14. δομιττια[νος Pap.

‘Lucius Septimius Aurelius Sarapion also called Apolinarius, and however I am styled, pryтанis in office of Oxyrhynchus, to his dearest Aurelius Leonides, strategus, greeting. A written list of those from whom are to be exacted the sums which they owe to the city, and which are to be used in payment of moneys payable from the account of the city, is hereby given you in order that there may be no hindrance in collecting the revenues of the most sacred Treasury. They are Aurelius . . ., Aurelius Apollonius, and Aurelius Domitianus, all three sons of Sarapion also called . . ., ex-agoranomus, 400 drachmae . . .’

7. With ἀφ’ ὧν the sentence begins as if the object of ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, i. e. particular sums of money or τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα, was going to be stated; but this is not expressed, so that ἀφ’ ὧν is practically equivalent to ἀ.

14. Perhaps [. . . ὁ καὶ Ἀ]πολλώνιος, in which case δύο must be substituted for τρεῖς in l. 15.

16. (δραχμας ?) ν: αν, i. e. Αὐρήλιος, might be read; but it is likely that the actual amounts of the debts were mentioned, not merely the names of the debtors.

## 891. APPORTIONMENT OF DUTIES TO AN EXEGETES.

11.8 x 6.7 cm.

A. D. 294.

A letter from the boule of Oxyrhynchus to an exegetes, acquainting him with the fact that he had been chosen to act in his official capacity during part of the month of Epeiph as superintendent or president in the discharge of certain duties, the nature of which is uncertain (cf. l. 11, note), the expenses being borne in common by the whole body of exegetae.

The papyrus is written in a small very flowing cursive, and the surface is much damaged in several places.

- [ 'Εφ' ὑ]πάτων Οὐαλερίων Κων-  
 [ σ]ταντ[ί]ου καὶ Μαξιμ[ι]αν[ο]υ  
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων.  
 'Οξύρυνχιδῶν τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ  
 5 {καί} λαμπ(ροτάτης) πόλεως ἢ κρα(τίστη) βου-  
 λῇ δι' Αὐρηλίου Κορνηλιανοῦ  
 διασ . . ( ) ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως  
 Πτολεμείνῳ τῷ καὶ Σαρμάτῃ  
 ἐξηγητῇ τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίρειν.  
 10 ἐξηγητοῦ ζητουμένου εἰς τὰς  
 α . [ . . ]ας 'Επεὶ δ' ἕως ἰς,  
 ἔδοξεν ὥστε σὲ μὲν προ-  
 στῆναι, τὰ δὲ ἀναλώματα  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ  
 15 τοῦ τάγματος δοθῆναι καὶ  
 ἵνα τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἔχῃς  
 ἐπιστέλλεται σοι, φίλτατε.  
 2nd hand ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχ(όμεθα),  
 φίλτατε.

'In the consulship of Valerius Constantius and Valerius Maximianus, the most renowned Caesars. The most high senate of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus through Aurelius Cornelianus . . ., prytanis in office, to their dearest Ptoleminus also called Sarmates, exegetes, greeting. An exegetes being required for the . . . of Epeiph up to the 17th, it was decided that you should preside, while the expenses should be paid by the whole body of those belonging to the order. This letter is accordingly sent to you, dear friend, for your information. We pray for your health, dear friend.'

1-2. The writing is much obliterated in these lines, but on palaeographical grounds the papyrus can hardly be later than Diocletian's reign, and that the Caesars are Constantius and Galerius is, we think, certain. Probably the initial ε was written large, causing l. 2 to begin much further to the right than ll. 1 and 3.

5. The reading καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) is very doubtful, and it is not satisfactory to suppose the repetition of καί; but λαμπρὰ καὶ λαμπροτάτη are the regular epithets of Oxyrhynchus, and though λαμ . ρ' might be read for καὶ λαμ', the letter before the supposed ρ would suit ν or μ but not π. σεμνοτάτης and ἀρχαίας, honorific epithets of Hermopolis (e.g. in P. Brit. Mus. 955), are out of the question here.

7. διασ . . ( ) : διασημ( ) or διαστ( ) might perhaps be read; the letter following the doubtful σ has a vertical stroke coming below the line and suggests τ or ρ, while above this is a long horizontal line possibly representing an overwritten λ or μ. But διασημ(οτάτου) and διαστ(ολέως) are unsuitable to the context, and no title of any kind would be expected at this



10 ταῦτα ἐκκόψας παρενεχθῆναι ποιήσης εἰς τὸ  
 περὶ τὸ λουτρὸν [  
 μηδὲν ἔνεδρον γενέσθαι τὸ δημόσιον καὶ πολιτικὸν  
 ἔργον ἐπιστέλλῃ, ἀδελφέ.

ὑπατείας Φλ[αυ]ίω[ν Ο]ὔρσου καὶ Πολεμίου  
 τῶν λαμπρ[ο]τ[ά]των Τῦβι ιη.

4. ὕπο Pap.

9. ἵνα Pap.

‘Flavius Eusebius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Pasion, son of Horion, senator of the said city, his . . . brother, greeting. Know that by the instructions of the most high senate of the city conveyed through the prytanis in office, Aurelius Nepotianus, you have been chosen to (provide) the timber required for the . . . bath, and also for the construction of the north gate of the city; and you are hereby instructed, brother, to take charge of the work, and with all speed to get the timber cut and delivered, so that there may be no fraud in connexion with the public bath and the municipal work. In the consulship of Flavius Ursus and Flavius Polemius the most illustrious, Tubi 18.’

1. Flavius Eusebius occurs also in 85 and 86.

6. Cf. C. P. Herm. 83. 7–8 αἰρεθέντος . . . εἰς συνων[ήν ποιήσε]σθαι καὶ [ἀ]νακομιδὴν ξύλων. [εἰς συνωνήν is possible here, but does not combine very well with ἐκκόψας. [εἰς ἀνακομιδὴν or [εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν (cf. e. g. C. P. Herm. 67. 8) would be appropriate enough, but are somewhat long. For a similar notification of appointment cf. B. G. U. 362. v.

7. δημόσιον would be expected to occur somewhere at the end of this line; cf. l. 11 τὸ δημόσιον λουτρὸν; but εἰς δημόσιον cannot be read, and though the letter following εἰς may be τ, and the doubtful σ may be δ, εἰς τε τὸ ἐ[δημόσιον is also inadmissible. Perhaps the word following εἰς gave the special name of the bath in question, but if so it differed from the δειῖον βαλανεῖον (43. verso iii. 24), Καί[σ]αρος βαλανεῖον (43. verso iv. 24), and θερμῶν Ἀδριανῶν δημόσιον βαλανεῖον (896. 7; cf. 53. 6).

11–2. The words from ἔνεδρον to ἔργον have lines drawn through or above them, indicating deletion, but ἔνεδρον γενέσθαι at any rate cannot be spared. Apparently the corrector, whether identical or not with the original scribe (cf. introd.), at first cancelled these words, intending to rewrite the sentence entirely, but changed his mind and merely added what was required to restore the sense of the passage.

### 893. JUDICIAL SENTENCE.

12.5 × 34 cm.

Late sixth or seventh century.

The extraordinary grammar of this document makes it difficult to construe, though its general purport is fairly clear. It is a decision or enactment (τύπος; cf. note on l. 1) pronounced by three μέζονες (cf. 900. 19, note) of a village concerning some dispute, of which no details are given, between Marcus, another μέζων, and Marinus. The latter, who was apparently the plaintiff, is declared to have the right of imposing upon Marcus, acting through his daughter Sophia, a formal affidavit (θεῖος ὅρκος), in which perjury would have serious consequences; and

Marcus would then be free from further proceedings. If Marinus declined to conduct an investigation by means of the proposed affidavit he was to be debarred from taking other steps in the matter.

The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

+

+ Τῷ τύπῳ τῶν ἀξιῶ[.]πίστων ἀνδρῶν Παμουθίου μείζ(ονος) [ν]ί(οῦ) . σῶ[. ο]ν  
καὶ Πανῖρεν ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων)  
[ν]ί(οῦ) [Ἰ]ωάννου καὶ Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων) νί(οῦ) Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ κώμης  
Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπὲρ Μάρκου  
ἀπὸ μείζ(όνων) καὶ Μαρίνου στιπποπραγματευτῇ, ὥστε Μαρίνου ἐξουσίαν  
αὐτοῦ  
ζητῆσαι τοῦ θε(ί)ου ὅρκου διὰ Σοφίᾳ θυγατρὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μάρκου ἀπὸ  
μείζ(όνων)  
5 καὶ μετὰ τὴν ζητούμενον τοῦ θε(ί)ου ὅρκου διὰ τῇ αὐτῇ Σοφίᾳ α[ὐ]τοῦ δὲ  
Μαρίνου  
οὐδέν[α] λόγον ὑπὲρ οἰασθήποτε ὅλον τὸ σύνολον πράγματος. ἐγράψ(η)  
μη(νὸς)  
Παῦνι [κ]θ ὥρα ἕκτη τοῦ ἡμέρας. δῆλα δὲ πάλιν ἢ εἰ δὲ μὴ θελῆσαι τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ  
Μαρίν[ου] ζητῆσαι τοῦ θε(ί)ου ὅρκου διὰ τῇ αὐτῇ Σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ δὲ Μαρίνου  
οὐδένα λόγον  
[ὑπὲρ οἰασ]θήποτε ὅλον τὸ σύνολον πράγμ(ατος) καὶ ἀπελλάχθην αὐτοῦ ὥς  
ἐν τύπῳ.

2. [Ἰ]ωαννου Pap. 3. 1. στιπποπραγματευτοῦ . . . Μαρίνῳ ἐξ. αὐτῷ εἶναι. στε of ὥστε over an erasure. 4. 1. ζητῆσαι διὰ τοῦ . . . Σοφίας θυγατρὸς. 5. 1. τὸ ζητ. . . τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας αὐτῷ Μαρίνῳ ἔσσεσθαι. 6. 1. οἰουδήποτε. 7. 1. ὥρα . . . τῆς ἡμ. . . θελήσει ὁ αὐτός. 8. 1. Μαρίνος . . . διὰ τοῦ . . . τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας αὐτῷ Μαρίνῳ ἔσσεσθαι. 9. π of δηποτε apparently corr. 1. οἰουδήποτε . . . ἀπηλλάχθη.

‘By the sentence of the honourable men Pamuthius, official, son of . . ., and Paniren, of official rank, son of John, and Apollos, of official rank, son of Phoebammon, of the village of Apollo, in respect of Marcus, of official rank, and Marinus, tow-merchant: Marinus has power to make inquiry by means of the divine oath through Sophia, daughter of the said Marcus, of official rank, and after the inquiry by means of the divine oath through the said Sophia Marinus shall have no ground of complaint on any matter of any kind whatsoever. Written on the 29th of the month Pauni, the sixth hour of the day. It is manifest on the other hand that, if the said Marinus refuses to make inquiry by means of the divine oath through the said Sophia, Marinus shall have no ground of complaint on any matter of any kind whatsoever, and Marcus is free of him as though he were declared so by sentence.’

1. For τύπος in the sense of ordinance or decree, found in late Greek, cf. P. Brit. Mus. 77. 45-7 μηδὲ προσέλευσιν κατὰ σοῦ . . . ποιήσασθαι . . . μηδὲ αἰτῆσαι θεῖον καὶ πραγματικὸν τύπον πρὸς τήνδε τὴν διαθήκην, Justin. Nov. 113 tit. θεῖους τύπους ἢ θείας κελεύσεις.

ἀξιω[.]πίστων: ἀξιοπίστων must be intended (cf. e. g. P. Brit. Mus. 77. 68 ἀξιοπίστων μαρτύρων); but the space between ω and π is so wide that it is difficult to suppose that nothing intervened. ἀξιω[ν]πίστων may have been written, but not ἀξία[ν καί].

7-9. This clause is added as a postscript to provide for the contingency of Marinus refusing to acquiesce in the form of investigation prescribed. Something seems to have been written between πάλιν and εἰ, and the traces may be read as η; but the expression is very clumsy.

## (b) DECLARATIONS TO OFFICIALS

### 894. LATIN DECLARATION OF BIRTH.

9.4 × 10.8 cm.

A. D. 194-6. Plate VI.

Declarations of the birth of children are of frequent occurrence among Egyptian papyri, but these have always related to *peregrini* and until recently there has been no example of such a declaration made by a Roman citizen. Two years ago, however, the omission was supplied by some wax tablets in the Cairo Museum published by S. de Ricci, among which is a certificated copy, taken from an official register, of a declaration of birth made by a Roman in the year 148 (*Nouv. Revue Hist.*, 1906, p. 483; cf. *Archiv*, IV. p. 252). The formula of these tablets, which are in Latin, falls into four sections: (1) Names of seven witnesses. (2) Date (a) by Roman consuls and month, (b) by Emperor and Egyptian months, *Alexandr(iae) ad Aegyptum, descriptum et recognitum fac[tum] ex tabula albi profession[um libero]rum nator[um] &c.* (3) Date as before, *M(arco) Petronio Honorato praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) professionis liberorum acceptae citra causarum cognitionem tabula v et post alia pag(ina) iii, xviii k(alendas) Octobr(es).* (4) *Ti(b(erius) Iulius Dioscorides . . . fil(iam) n(atam) Iuliam Ammonum ex Iulia Ammonario xiii k(alendas) Septembres. . .* Here three chief points are clear: the declaration was made in the Latin language, it was made at Alexandria, and to the praefect of Egypt. A fragment of a tablet in the Bodleian Library has been recognized by Wilcken (*Archiv*, IV. p. 267) as part of a similar Latin declaration.

Another instance has now come to light in the following papyrus, which is later in date by some two generations. In the meantime according to the statement of Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Marci*, 9. 7-9, the formalities of registration had been regulated by Marcus Aurelius, who ordered that declarations of birth should be made within 30 days of the event at Rome to the *praefecti aerarii Saturni*, in the provinces to certain *tabularii publici*. We should therefore be prepared

to find in a registration of a date subsequent to this regulation some features distinguishing it from one of the reign of Antoninus. As a matter of fact, however, these distinguishing features do not occur. Our papyrus shows the same three essential points as the Cairo tablets: the declaration was made at Alexandria, and to the praefect, and the certificate is drawn up in Latin, though followed by the signature of the declaring party in Greek. The *tabularii publici*, whatever that vague term may signify, do not appear. Prof. Mitteis, to whom we are indebted for information on this question of registration, thinks that perhaps only the praefectorial bureau is thereby meant. In any case it seems that the regulations attributed to Marcus Aurelius had practically no effect upon the form of a Roman declaration of birth in Egypt.

The scarcity of dated specimens of Latin cursive makes this papyrus palaeographically valuable. It is written in a clear and good-sized hand with occasional division of words. Abbreviations and an ordinal figure in l. 6 (cf. 737) are followed by a single dot. *a* is sometimes supplied with an abortive cross-bar. On the verso are traces of ink which seem to be more than blottings, but the writing is too much effaced for decipherment; it is probably Latin, perhaps figures.

	21 letters	] <i>anno</i> [.] <i>Imperatoris</i> <i>Cae[sa]ris L(ucii)</i>
		[ <i>Septimii Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) A[rabi]ci Adiabeni</i>
		[ <i>mense . . . . . die . . . A</i> ] <i>lexandr(iae) ad A[egypt]um,</i>
		[ <i>apud Marcum Ulpium Pri</i> ] <i>mianum praef(ectum) Aegypti</i>
5	17 letters	<i>pro]fessus est filium sibi natum</i>
	20 „	] <i>num ex Ulpia Sabina xvi</i>
	19 „	] <i>. hab(it ) [O]xyryncho.</i>
	20 „	<i>δηλω υἱός] μοι γεγενῆσθαι</i>

7. [o]xyrynchó Pap.

'In the . . . year of the Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, in the month . . ., at Alexandria on the coast of Egypt, before Marcus Ulpius Primianus, praefect of Egypt. . . has declared a son, named . . . nus, born to him and Ulpia Sabina on the 16th . . ., being an inhabitant (?) of Oxyrhynchus. (Signed) I, . . ., declare that a son has been born to me . . .'

1. Probably one line is lost which with the first half of l. 1 gave the date by the Roman consuls and month, as in the Cairo tablets. The year may be the second, third, fourth, or fifth; cf. l. 4, note.

3. *mense . . . die . . .*: so the Cairo tablets, which also support the supplement *ad A[egypt]um*.

4. M. Ulpius Primianus is the only praefect with a name ending in -ianus who is

known in the sole reign of Severus, and though the list is not certainly complete the three praefects who held office during this short period cover it quite sufficiently. There is therefore good ground for identifying the praefect of the papyrus with Primianus, whose name occurs in two inscriptions, C. I. G. 4863. iv of A. D. 194-5 and C. I. L. III. 51 of Feb. 24, 196, and in B. G. U. 973. 6 (undated). Mantennius Sabinus was still praefect on April 21, 194 (*Archiv*, II. p. 447, no. 77), and Aemilius Saturninus had entered office before July 11, 197 (B. G. U. 15. ii. 1). The limits of Primianus' praefecture are thus from the second to the fifth years of Severus.

4-5. Cf. *Vita Gordiani* 4. 8 *apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium*. The lacuna at the beginning of l. 5 was filled by the name of the father.

6. *num* is the termination of the son's name, and *xvi* refers to the day of the month on which the birth occurred, and which was given according to the Roman calendar; cf. the Cairo tablets, section (4). According to the law attributed to Marcus Aurelius (cf. introd.) the registration had to be made *intra tricensimum diem*; it is noticeable that the Cairo tablets are already in accordance with this regulation.

7. If *hab.* stands for *habitans* referring to the name of the father, it is somewhat out of its place. Perhaps a plural participle was intended, connecting loosely with both parents. [*Oxyryncho* should then in either case strictly be [*Oxyrynchi*, unless [*Oxyryncho(rum)* (sc. *urbe*) be read.

#### 895. RETURN OF VILLAGE-ACCOUNTS.

19 × 15.4 cm.

A. D. 305.

A statement rendered to the logistes of the nome by two comarchs of the village of Tampeti, of the village-accounts for two months. Most of its details are lost through the mutilation of the papyrus. The report was required in consequence of an order of the praefect (cf. e. g. P. Tebt. 336) Clodius Culcianus, for whose period of office a new date is supplied; cf. note on l. 8. The document has been joined to another return of a similar character, of which only the beginnings of the first eleven lines are preserved; Σαδάλου occurs apparently as a village name. On the verso at right angles to the writing on the recto are the ends of nine lines, apparently of an account of judicial proceedings. The last three lines are: ] . . . εν / ὁ διάδοχος εἶπ(εν)· τὰ πεπραγμένα | 'Α]μμωνιανού ὦν μνίαν | ] κύριόν μου διασ(ημ)ότατον.

'Επὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κων[σταντ]ίου  
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ ε.  
Αὐρηλίῳ Σεύθι τῷ καὶ 'Ωρίωνι λ[ο]γιστῇ 'Οξύρυγχίτ[ου]  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Σακάωνος Περίριος καὶ Ψόιτος  
5 Παταβῆτος ἀμφοτέρων κωμαρχῶν κώμης Ταμπέτι.  
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος κα καὶ ιγ (ἔτους) ἐπιζητοῦντί σοι κατὰ  
κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος  
Κλωδίου Κουλκιανοῦ τοὺς κωμητ[ικο]ὺς λόγους τῆς

- ἡμετέρας κώμης μηνῶν δύο τοῦ τε Φαρμουθι  
 10 καὶ τοῦ Παχῶν ἀναγκ[αι]ω[ν] ἡγ[η]σάμενοι ἐπι-  
 δίδομεν ἵν' εἰδέναι [ἐχ]η[ς]. [ἐ]στι δέ  
 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων] . . . .] . ελίας ἐργατῶν  
 τριῶν ἀποσταλέντων . . . . .] ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα (δραχμαὶ) ρκ,  
 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπ[τρων] . . ελί]ας ἄλλου ἐργάτου ἐνὸς  
 15 [ἀποστ]αλέντων ἐπὶ [τὴν . . . . .]ιτῶν πλόιν (δραχμαὶ) ρ[  
 [γί]νονται] ὁμοῦ (δραχμαὶ) σ[. . . . .] ρ . . [ . . . . .  
 [. . . . .]νυμεν δὲ τρ[  
 [. . . .] μεταφορὰ π[  
 [. . . . .] Μικρὰν Ὀ[ασι]ν . [  
 20 [. . . . .] ελ[. .] . [  
 [. . . . παρ]εσχ[ή]καμεν[ ]

Remains of 4 more lines, below which the papyrus breaks off.

10. l. ἀναγκ[αί]ω[ν].

15. l. ἀποσταλέντος.

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximianus, most renowned Caesars, for the fifth time. To Aurelius Seuthes also called Horion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Sakaon son of Petiris, and Aurelius Psois son of Patabes, both comarchs of the village of Tampeti. In reply to your request in the present 21st which = the 13th year, in accordance with the order of his excellency the praefect Clodius Culcianus, for the village-accounts of our village in the two months Pharmouthi and Pachon, we, regarding this as a necessary duty, present them for your information, as follows:—For the price of papyrus and writing-materials . . . of three workmen sent to Babylon 120 drachmae; for the price of papyrus and writing-materials . . . of one workman sent to . . . 1[.] drachmae; total together 2[.] drachmae . . .'

2. The numeral ε is not very satisfactory, but is confirmed by the date in l. 6.

6. The years are those of Diocletian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximianus, the year of the emperor Maximianus being omitted; cf. e.g. the date in 71. 4.

8. Clodius Culcianus is mentioned as praefect in Feb., A. D. 303, in 71. The present passage proves him to have been still in office at the end of May, A. D. 305.

10. Perhaps ἀναγκέων was written; the space between κ and ω is narrow for two letters.

12. γράπ[τρων] Wilcken, who compares B. G. U. 1062. 20 τιμῆς χάρτου καὶ γράπτρων. ] . ελίας, however, remains a difficulty, for there is hardly room for καὶ ἐπιμ]ελίας here, and certainly not in l. 14.

15. Ὀξύρηνχ]ιτῶν would barely go into the space, and Βαβυλῶνα in l. 13 suggests a more remote locality, e.g. Ἀρσινό]ιτῶν.

16. ρ seems to be the numeral; it is followed at a slight interval by a tall upright stroke which may be ι = 10.

17. Probably not ὁμ]νυμεν, since the statement of accounts is continued in l. 18 sqq.; ἐπιδείκ]νυμεν, e.g., is more likely.

19. Μικρὰν Ὀ[ασι]ν; cf. 888. 8, note.



20 [τῶν λαμπροτάτων] . . . . .] (2nd hand) Αὐρή(λιος) Ἀρτεμί-  
 δωρος  
 [ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρή(λιος) . . . .]ων ἔγρα(ψα) ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτοῦ μ(ὴ) ἰδ(ότος).

Col. ii.

[ ρκη ]  
 Ο[ύα]λ[ε]ρ[ί]φ Ἀμμωνιανῶ τῶ καὶ Γερωντίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξ(υρρυγίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἡρωνος [.] . [ . . . . . καὶ Διδύμου  
 25 Διοσκόρου ἀμφ(οτέρων) ἀπὸ τῆς λα[μπ(ρᾶς) καὶ] λαμπ(ροτάτης)  
 Ὁξυ[ρυγχ]ιτῶν

πόλεως δημοσίων ἱατρῶν. ἐπ[εσ]τάλημεν ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 σήμερον ἥτις ἐστὶν Φαρμοῦθι 5 [ἐκ] βιβλιδίων  
 ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίου ὀφ(φικιαλίου) ἡγουμένου  
 Αἰγύπτου Ἡρκουλείας Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίου ὥστε γενέσθαι  
 30 [ἐπ]ὶ τῇ[ν] οἰκίαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει καὶ τοῦτον ἐφιδῖν  
 καὶ [ἡ]ν ἂν καταλάβ[ωμε]ν περὶ αὐτὸν διάθεσιν ἐγ-  
 γράφω[ς] προσφωνῆσαι. ὅθεν γενόμενοι ἔνθα ὁρῶ-  
 με[ν] αὐτὸ[ν] το[ῦτ]ον κ[ε]ν[ε]ν[ε]ν[ε]ν ὄντα πυραιτίοις  
 α . [.] . . . [.] συνεχ[όμενον] ὅπερ προσφωνοῦμεν.

35 ὑπατείας Κα[κι]νίου Σ[α]βί[ν]ου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ρουφίνου  
 τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) Φαρμ[ο]ῦθι [5.]

2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Ἡρων ἐπιδέδωκα  
 πρ[οσ]φωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται.

3rd hand Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν  
 40 ὡς πρ[ό]κειται.

4. οξυρυγίτου Pap. 7-8. τραιανων αδριανων over an erasure, probably of αδριανων  
 θερμων. 26. ἱατρων Pap. 28. ὑπο Pap. 31. εγ Pap. 33. l. πυρετίοις.

‘To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Artemidorus son of Arsinoüs, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, a painter by profession. In reply to the request of your grace for an inspection of the places requiring painting in the public bath of the said city now auspiciously under repair at the warm baths of Trajanus Hadrianus, I hereby declare that for the painting of the parts requiring it—of the two cold water conductors, and one vapour-bath, and the entrances and exits of the entire colonnade, and four passages round the vapour-bath in the outer colonnade, and the other places—there is required for cost of paint . . . thousand denarii of silver, and of the . . . painting of the whole work ten thousand denarii of silver; which I therefore report. The consulship of Caecinius Sabinus and

Vettius Rufinus the most illustrious, . . . (Signed) I, Aurelius Artemidorus, have presented the report. I, Aurelius . . . on wrote for him, being illiterate.'

'To Valerius Ammonianus also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Heron son of . . . and Didymus son of Dioscorus, both of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, public physicians. We were sent by you to-day, Pharmouthi 6, in consequence of a petition delivered to you by Apollonius, officer of Aurelius Antonius governor of Aegyptus Herculia, to go to the house in the said city and inspect this person, and to make a written report upon the condition in which we found him. Having therefore proceeded thither we saw the man himself lying on a bed seized with a slight . . . fever; which we accordingly report.' Date and signature of the two physicians.

7-8. Τραιανῶν Ἀδριανῶν θερμῶν: the 'Baths of Hadrian' are also mentioned in 54. 14 in A. D. 201, when too they were undergoing repair. Cf. 53. 5-6 τοῦ εὐτυχῶς ἐπ[ι]σκευαζ[ο]-μένου θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανίου, which is evidently identical with the βαλανίον here; the note *ad loc.* is to be modified accordingly.

11-13. ἐμβατικοῦ [θ]όλου: ἐμβασις and in later Greek ἐμβατή are used in the sense of a bath. For θόλος cf. P. Magd. 33. 3 and *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 282 ἐν τῷ γυναικείῳ θόλῳ.

ἀρδρομηκιάων is an unknown word of uncertain signification; παραθόλιον is also new, but creates no difficulty.

16. It is not possible to read ὑπὲρ ζωγραφίας, since not only is there no sign of any tail for the ρ, but a mark like an overwritten υ would remain unexplained; the supposed υ, however, is more directly above the ο than elsewhere in the papyrus. κεφαλῆου for κεφαλαιου might be read but is not satisfactory; perhaps καὶ τελέου.

29. *Aegyptus Jovia*, *Aegyptus Herculia*, and *Thebais* were the three provinces of Egypt according to the reorganization of Diocletian. It was supposed by Mommsen (*Abh. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1862, p. 500), whose view has been generally followed, that *Aegyptus Jovia* consisted of the western, *Aegyptus Herculia* of the eastern, portions of lower Egypt, the latter coinciding with the province afterwards called Augustamnica; but the intrinsically more probable hypothesis of C. Jullian (*Rev. Hist.* xix. p. 357) that *Aegyptus Jovia* was the Delta and *Aegyptus Herculia* corresponded to the Heptanomis with the Arsinoite nome, is supported, as the editors notice, by a papyrus published by Collinet and Jouguet in *Archiv*, III. pp. 339 sqq., and receives fresh confirmation from 896. Mommsen's theory, however, might be reconciled with these two documents by transposing *Aegyptus Herculia* to the west bank.

31. καταλάβ[ωμε]ν: or perhaps καταλάβ[ωμ]αι, the singular being used by mistake for the plural; the middle is supported by 51. 10.

33. κλεωήρην ὄντα occurs in the corresponding passage of 983.

34. The mutilated word is probably an adjective qualifying πυρετίους.

## 897. DECLARATION TO RIPARII.

16.5 × 12.6 cm.

A. D. 346.

A declaration on oath addressed to two *riparii* of the Oxyrhynchite nome by four inhabitants of a village, denying all knowledge of the whereabouts of a certain individual whom they had been ordered to produce. On the *riparii*, who were police-officers, see 904. 3, note. The papyrus is nearly complete; the missing termination probably contained only the signatures.

- Ἑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου  
 τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' Αὐγούστων.  
 Φλαουίοις Εὐλόγιῳ καὶ Διονυσαρίῳ ρίπαρίοις Ὁξυρρυγχ(ίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἀμόιτος Ὡρον καὶ Πατάπιος  
 5 Παησίου καὶ Σαρμάτου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Παπνουτίου  
 Παησίου τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ κώμης Ἰσειοῦ  
 Ζαπίτου. ἐπέθετο ἡμῖν ἡ ὑμῶν ἐμμέλια  
 ὥστε Χωοῦν Ἑρακλήου ὑποβληθέν-  
 τα εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμης ἀνα-  
 10 ζητῆσαι καὶ παραστῆσαι. κατὰ ταῦτα  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον  
 θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων  
 [μ]ήτε τὸν Χωοῦν εἶναι ἐπὶ τῆς  
 [ἡμῶν κ]ώμης μήτε εἰδέναι ἡμᾶς  
 15 [ὅ]που πο[τέ] ἐστίν, καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦ-  
 [σ]θαί [ἢ] ἔν[ο]χοι εἶ[η]μεν τῷ] θε[ῷ] ὄρκῳ  
 ] . [

1. ἑπατείας Pap.      6. ἰσειου Pap.      8. ὑποβληθεντα Pap.      12. αυγουστῳ Pap.  
 14. τ of μητε corr. from δ.

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius for the fourth time and Constans for the third time, the Augusti. To Flavius Eulogius and Flavius Dionysarius, riparii of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Amois son of Horus, and Aurelius Patapis son of Paësius, and Aurelius Sarmates the elder, and Aurelius Papnutius son of Paësius, all from the village of Ision Zapitou. Your grace required us to search out and produce Choous son of Heracleus, supposed to belong to our village. We therefore declare on the august divine oath by our masters the Augusti that Choous is no longer at our village, and that we do not know where he is, and that we have made no false statement, under pain of becoming liable to the consequences of the divine oath . . .'

7. Ζαπίτου: or Ζαπίσου or Ζαγρίου. The name of this village is new; cf. Ἰσειον Παγγᾶ (899. 7), Ἰσειον Τρύφωνος (719. 14).

## (c) PETITIONS

## 898. PETITION TO AN ACTING-STRATEGUS.

23.3 × 8 cm.

A. D. 123.

A petition to Hermodorus (cf. 714), basilicogrammateus and acting-strategus, from Didymus, a minor, complaining of fraud on the part of his mother Matrina in her capacity as his guardian. It is alleged that Matrina, after various acts of bad faith, had obtained possession of a deed belonging to Didymus and demanded in exchange for it a document absolving her from all claims in connexion with the guardianship.

Ἑρμοδώρῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ)  
 διαδεχομένῳ καὶ [τ]ῇν στ[ρα(τηγίαν)]  
 παρὰ Διδύμου Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ  
 Φατρώς ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως.  
 5 ἡ μήτηρ μου Ματρεῖνα Ἑρακλήου  
 τοῦ καὶ Ματρέου οἰουσά μου ἐπίτρο-  
 πος καὶ πολλά μ[ε] ἀδικούσα ἔτι  
 καὶ πλανήσασά με ἐποίησεν εἰς  
 Ὅασιν καταβῆναι καὶ γράψασθαι  
 10 Διοσκόρῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀπελευθέρας  
 αὐτῆς ὄντι ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς αδοτ. [.   
 ἀργυρίου ταλάντου ἐνὸς ἡμιστοῦ  
 καὶ ὑποθέσθαι ὅσα ἔχω ἐν τῇ Ὁάσει  
 κτήματα [λα]βόντα τοῦ Διοσκόρου  
 15 γράμματα ἀπερ[ισπ]άστου. ἀναβά[ν]-  
 τα δέ με εἰς τὸν Ὁξυρυγχείην  
 μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Διοσκόρου ἐνήδρευ-  
 σεν ἄχρι ἂν αἰτήσῃ με τὴν ἀπερί-  
 σπαστον καὶ ταύτης ἐνκρατῆς  
 20 γενομένη καὶ συνειδυῖα ἐαυτῇ  
 πολλὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνηπακυῖη

οὐ πρότερον ὁμολογεῖν θέλει  
 αἰτουσά μ[ε] ἀντὶ ταύτης ἀποχὴν  
 τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, οἰομένη ἐκ τοῦ-  
 25 του δύνασθαι ἐκφυγεῖν ἂν διέπρα-  
 ξεν· καίτοι Φιλονίκου τοῦ στρα(τηγοῦ)  
 καθ' ὑπομνηματισμοὺς κρεί-  
 ναντος ἕτερόν μου ἐπίτροπον  
 κατασταθῆναι, οὐ πιστεύοντος  
 30 οὔτε αὐτῇ οὐδὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μου.  
 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐδὲ ὀψώ-  
 νιον μοι ἐχορήγησεν ἔτι πρὸ μη-  
 νῶν τριῶν, ἐκ παντὸς θλείβου-  
 σά με εἰς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι κατ' αὐ-  
 35 τῆς προελθεῖν. ὧν πάντων χά-  
 ριν ἀναγκαίως ἐπιδιδούς τὸ  
 ἀναφόριον ἀξιῶ ἔχειν ἐν κατα-  
 χωρισμῶ καὶ διαλαβεῖν ὡς ἐάν  
 σοι [δ]όξῃ. (ἔτους) § Αὐτοκράτορος  
 40 Καίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 Παῦνι κθ.

11. ἰδίῳ Pap.

20. συνειδυῖα Pap.

21. ἀνηπακυῖη Pap.

'To Hermodorus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, from Didymus son of Dionysius also called Phatres, of the city of Oxyrhynchus. My mother Matrina, daughter of Heracleus also called Matreus, who is my guardian and by whom I am much injured, has ended by beguiling me and causing me to go to the Oasis, and to draw up with Dioscorus, the husband of her freedwoman and her confidant, a . . . of one and a half talents of silver, and to mortgage all my property in the Oasis in return for a deed of release received from Dioscorus. On my return to the Oxyrhynchite nome with Dioscorus she watched for an opportunity of asking me for the deed, and after obtaining possession of it, being conscious of the theft of much of my property, she refuses to acknowledge having it, and demands in return a receipt for her guardianship, thinking by this means to escape the consequences of her misdeeds. This she has done notwithstanding the fact that Philonicus the strategus has decided, in accordance with a report of proceedings, that another person should be appointed as my guardian, distrusting both her and my own youth. Besides this she has failed to supply my allowance for the last three months, using every means of oppressing me so as to render me incapable of proceeding against her. For all these reasons I am obliged to present this petition, and beg that it may be registered, and that you will take whatever steps you think best. The seventh year of the Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Pauni 29.'

1. Ἑρμοδῶραι: cf. 714. 2, referring to the year before the date of the present papyrus. In the previous line there [στρα(τηγῶ)] should be read in place of [τῶι, for 898. 26 shows that Philonicus was the name of the strategus.

6. ἐπ[ίτρο]πος: cf. 888. 9, note.

9. Ὀασιν: i.e. the Small Oasis (Bahriyeh); cf. 888. 8, note.

11. αδοτ. [: a substantive is wanted to be the object of γράψασθαι and to govern the genitive ταλάντων in l. 12. The letters αδο are quite clear, and the next letter is either τ or π. Possibly ἄδοτον is to be read; cf. l. 18 τὴν ἀπερίσπαστον, and P. Brit. Mus. II. 361 verso 5 περὶ ἀδότου προοικ[ός]: but this needs other support. For ἰδίῳ cf. 974.

15. γράμματα ἀπερίσπαστον: i.e. a deed of indemnification, distinguished by the formula ἀπερίσπαστον παρέξεσθαι or an equivalent phrase; cf. e.g. 270, 286. 9 sqq., and P. Tebt. 392. In l. 18 the deed is called ἡ ἀπερίσπαστος simply.

22-3. The construction is mixed: οὐ πρότερον . . . θέλει would naturally be followed by πρὶν ἂν λάβῃ, instead of which a participial phrase is used as if πρότερον were absent.

26. Φιλονίκου: cf. note on l. 1 and 957. στρα(τηγήσαντος) is possible, if Philonicus had resigned or died and was not merely absent temporarily. For the competence of the strategus in the appointment of guardians cf. 888. introd.

31. ὀψώνιον: the allowance of Didymus was probably fixed by his father's will; cf. e.g. 494. 16 ἡ δ' αὐτὴ γυνὴ μου χορηγήσει τῷ υἱῷ μου κ.τ.λ.

#### 899. PETITION OF APOLLONARION.

35.3 × 25.3 cm.

A. D. 200.

The recto of this papyrus consists of a copy of a petition from a woman called Apollonarium, claiming on the score of her sex to be released from the responsibility of cultivating various plots of Crown land in the Oxyrhynchite nome. That women were legally exempt from the obligation to undertake this duty was known from B. G. U. 648. 12-4 εἰς ἣν (γεωργίαν) γυνὴ οὐσα οὐκ ὀφείλω

καθέλκεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιτρόπων περὶ τούτου διατεταγμένα (the correctness of Wilcken's interpretation of that passage in *Ost.* 1. p. 702 is now confirmed against the view of Mitteis, *Aus d. Griech. Papyrusurk.* p. 48); cf. also P. Tebt. 327, a petition from a woman asking to be released from the liabilities of an ἐπιτήρησις γεννηματογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων inherited from her father.

The petition of Apollonarion is dated at the end Thoth 1 of the 9th year of an emperor, who from the reference in l. 10 to the praefect Aemilius Saturninus must be Septimius Severus: it was a very elaborate and composite document, giving apparently the history of her case from the beginning, and quoting both her own previous petitions and various official correspondence in connexion with them. Since the papyrus contains only the concluding portion of the document, one or more preceding columns being lost, and what remains is in far from perfect condition, it is difficult to trace fully the whole complicated narrative, but the general outline of Apollonarion's proceedings is fairly clear. Her first step was to send the petition which occupies ll. 2-32. In this she explained the nature of her liabilities in connexion with the cultivation of Crown land (ll. 3-8) and the difficulties into which she had fallen (ll. 8-14), and requested that she, as a woman, might be released from the obligations and her place taken by men (ll. 14-20). In support of her claim she appended an account of a similar application made in court in A.D. 154 by a woman, which after the recital of earlier precedents created by two praefects and an epistrategus was decided in the applicant's favour (ll. 20-32). The name and rank of the official to whom this initial petition was addressed are lost, but ll. 9-10 show that he was not the praefect, and ll. 16-7 that he was above the strategus. The hypothesis that he was the epistrategus can be supported by the possible restoration σὺ ὁ κύριος ἐπιστράτηγος in l. 18; but since this petition seems to be identical with the βιβλίδιον which in ll. 33 and 38 is coupled with an ἐπιστολή of the dioecetes, probably the latter official was addressed, his name being Flavius Studiosus, as appears from a contemporary document on the verso (cf. p. 225). In answer to Apollonarion the dioecetes wrote a letter, apparently to the acting strategus of the nome, at the same time enclosing a copy of her petition. The text of this letter, as is shown by l. 33 ἕως τούτου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τοῦ βιβλιδίου τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον), occurred immediately before ll. 2-32: ἐσημιω[σ]άμην at the end of l. 32 may indicate the official signature of the dioecetes appended to the enclosure. The date in l. 33, Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year, applies to this signature, not to Apollonarion's petition, which was probably written a short time previously. Concerning the contents of the dioecetes' letter, it is clear both from Apollonarion's reference to it in a later petition (ll. 44-5 καθὼς πρότερον ἐπέστειλας) and from the terms in which it is spoken of by the acting strategus (ll. 37-8) that the dioecetes admitted the justice

of Apollonariion's claims. The next step, as appears from ll. 37-8, was for Apollonariion to write a petition to the acting strategus, Ammonianus, enclosing the letter of the dioecetes and her original petition, and no doubt asking him to give the necessary instructions to the local officials of the different villages to remove her name from the list of cultivators. This petition to the acting strategus must have been presented between Phamenoth 6 and Pachon 27 of the 7th year, for on the latter day Ammonianus wrote to the comogrammateis of the villages concerned the letter contained in ll. 36-9, enclosing a copy of Apollonariion's petition to himself, the letter of the dioecetes and the original petition, and ordering an inquiry into the facts to be held and a report to be made. So far the negotiations seem to have proceeded smoothly, but at this point a hitch occurred; for in Tubi of the 8th year (i. e. eight months later than Ammonianus' letter to the comogrammateis) Apollonariion addressed a second petition to the dioecetes, of which the conclusion is extant in ll. 40-45, while the lost beginning of it presumably preceded the letter of the dioecetes which occurred immediately before ll. 2 sqq. In this second petition Apollonariion began by quoting the dioecetes' letter in answer to her first petition, and the first petition itself (ll. 2-23), then recounted the action of Ammonianus (ll. 33-9), and ended by asking the dioecetes to give stricter instructions to the new strategus (whose name is shown by one of the documents on the verso to be Diophan[es]), so that pressure might be applied to the local village authorities to carry out the previous orders of the dioecetes and to release her. The second petition of Apollonariion to the dioecetes is, we think, the *βιβλίδιον* which in l. 46 is coupled with an *ἀναγραφή* and *ἐπιστολή* as having been quoted in the papyrus. Hence the texts of both these documents seem to have immediately preceded the beginning of the second petition. The *ἐπιστολή* is no doubt a second letter of the dioecetes (to the strategus or Apollonariion) in answer to the second petition: and with it we should connect [ἐσ]ημειωσάμην in l. 46, interpreting that on the analogy of ἐσημιω[σ]άμην in l. 32 as the official signature of the dioecetes appended to the copy of the petition enclosed in his reply; but the identity of Aufidius Ammonius, who also appends his signature in l. 46, remains quite obscure. The nature of the *ἀναγραφή* is explained by Col. ii of the verso, which seems to contain an actual copy of it. It was a report, probably supplied by the various comogrammateis, giving the situations and descriptions of Apollonariion's holdings and the names of the previous cultivators. Probably it was sent to the dioecetes by Apollonariion along with her second petition to him, and was also included by him in his reply. That this reply was, like the earlier one, favourable to Apollonariion is clear from the context, especially the words οἷς ἀκολ[ο]ύθῳς κ.τ.λ. in ll. 46-7: the date at which it was dispatched is not stated, but though the

second petition was written in Tubi the reply had not taken effect by the end of the year, for on Thoth 1 of the 9th year Apollonarion sent off yet another petition, addressed, as we think, to the strategus. In this she began by citing the whole dossier, which by this time comprised the second letter of the dioecetes, the *ἀναγραφή*, and her own second petition with all its enclosures, and concluded (ll. 46-50) with the usual request that the local officials should be instructed to release her from liabilities. Of this petition to the strategus we take the papyrus to be a copy, and, if so, the beginning of this third petition of which the end remains in ll. 46-50 was the actual beginning of the papyrus. A brief summary of the arrangement of this very complicated document, as reconstructed by us, may be of assistance.

1	Petition of Apollonarion to the strategus (beginning)	} lost
2	second letter of the dioecetes	
3	<i>ἀναγραφή</i>	
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (beginning)	
5	first letter of the dioecetes	
6	first petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes	ll. 2-32
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (continued)	ll. 33-5
7	letter of Ammonianus	ll. 36-9
4	second petition of Apoll. to the dioecetes (end)	ll. 40-5
1	petition of Apoll. to the strategus (end)	ll. 46-50

The chronological order of the documents is 6, 5, 7, 4, 3, 2, 1.

On the verso, the surface of which is much damaged, are two incomplete columns belonging to three distinct documents, written in hands which strongly resemble each other, but are perhaps not identical, and are certainly different from the hand of the recto. The upper half of Col. i contains parts of 22 lines (the last 8 being almost entirely obliterated) of a document quoting a *ὑπομνηματισμός*. Among the words decipherable are 1. 1 ]*as ἀποφάσεως* [ , 3 *παροικ( ) καὶ γεωργ( )*, 5 *Ἀντωνίνφ*, 6 *ἐν*] *Ἀλεξ(ανδρεία) τῇ πρὸς Αἰγύπτφ*, 7 *πρὸς εἰδῶν*] *Ἀπριλλίων Φαρμουῦθι*, 8 ]*εἰπ(εν) καταφυγὴν ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν κύρι-*, 9 *ον* ] *λέγων ἐδαν[ε]σάμην*, 10 *κε]φά- λαιον καὶ τοὺς τόκους*. So far as can be judged, this document, unlike the two following, has no bearing on Apollonarion's case. The rest of Col. i is occupied by a copy of a petition similar to that of Apollonarion, made apparently a year later by another woman called Heraclia. It begins *Διοφάν[ει]* (or *-τω*), the rest of that line and the two next being almost entirely effaced, but in l. 4 sqq. is a passage which is legible: *ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπιστάλμ(ατος?) οὗ ἐ[στιν] ἀντίγρα(φον)· Διοφ(άνης) στρα(τηγὸς) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου) | (5) κωμογραμματεῦσι τῶν ὑπογεγραμμ[ένων] κωμ(ῶν). βιβλ(ιδίων) δοθέντ(ων) μοι | (6) ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείας Θέωνος ᾧ ἀνείλημπα[ι] ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστολ(ῆς) γραφέισ(ης) ὑπὸ | (7) Φλαυίου Στουδιώσου τοῦ κρα(τίστου)*

διοικ(ητοῦ) περὶ [γ]εωργ(ίας) δημοσίας γῆς ὥς οὐ | (8) προσηκούσης αὐτῇ ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστέλλε(ται) ὑμῖν ὅπως ἐξετάσαντ(ες) | (9) κατὰ τὸ ἀκρειβέστερον τῷ . . . [ . . . . . ] ἀκ[όλο]υθὸν ἔστιν τ . . . | (10) σεσημ(είωμαι), (ἔτους) ἡ Μεσο(ρῇ) ἐπα(γομένων) ε. With this letter of Diophanes cf. the almost identical letter of Ammonianus in ll. 36-9 of the recto. Then follows a copy of the petition to Diophanes from Heraclia enclosing a letter of the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus, but these two documents, which continue up to the end of l. 17, are in a hopeless condition. In l. 18 sqq. is what appears to be a short imperial decree bearing upon the immunity of women from γεωργία and beginning Ἀντοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκ(ιος) Σεπτίμ(ιος) Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ(ής): the words γυναιξὶν δικαίας παραιτήσεως occur in l. 21, and a date, ἡ (ἔτους) Φαρμοῦθ(ι) ιη. l. 22 also seems to belong to the decree, but the subject of the two following lines, which are the last of the column and begin much further to the right, is different. Col. ii has only the beginnings of lines, and probably not more than about a third of each is preserved. The subject of the first five lines is uncertain, but the rest of the column (ll. 6-45) is occupied by a document bearing upon Apollonariion's case, being we think a copy of the ἀναγραφὴ referred to in l. 46 of the recto (cf. p. 224). It begins (l. 6) δηλοῦμ(εν) ἀναγράφεσ[θαι, Apollonariion is alluded to more than once, and there are numerous references to lands at various places, including the νομαὶ Διονυσιάδος mentioned in l. 6 of the recto, while lists of persons occur, in one case being followed by the words πάντ(ες) ὄντ(ες) προγεώργοι(?).

[ 30 letters ] . . ( ) ἀλ( ) μ . ( ) ατ( ) δι[  
 2nd hand [Φλαουίω Στουδιώσῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ διοικητῇ παρὰ Ἀπ]ολλωναρίου τῆς  
 [καὶ Ἀριστάνδρας Ἀριστάνδρου μη-  
 [τρὸς Δι]δύμης τῆς . . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξύρυγχεϊτῶν] πόλεως. τῆς  
 εὐμενε[στάτης] 19 letters  
 [ . . . . ] ρυνεν ἐπι[ 25 letters ] ἐχθέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμέ  
 σ[ 25 letters  
 5 [ . . . ] κλ[ . ]ειουσι . [ . . ] . . [ . ]ρ[ . . . . . ]σ[ . . . . . τοῦ] Ὁξύρυγ-  
 χεῖτου ὥς συνα . [ 25 letters  
 [ . . π]ερ[ι] μὲν πόλιν (ἀρούρας) κ, π[ερ]ι δὲ Χύσιν ἐκ [τ]ῶν νομῶν  
 Διονυσιάδος (ἀρούρας) . καὶ περὶ . . . . . (ἀρούρας) . καὶ  
 π[ερ]ι τὸ Ἴσιον Παγγᾶ (ἀρούρας) ρι καὶ περὶ Σερ[υ]φιν (ἀρούρας) ληλ  
 καὶ περὶ Σενεκελεὺ καὶ Κε[ 25 letters  
 . . . ]σος. ἐς ὅσον μὲν οὖν δύναμὶς μοι ὑπῆρχεν ταύτας ἐγεώργουν  
 καὶ ἀν[ 25 letters

- [τὰ τ]ελούμενα, ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη μοι ἔκ τε ἐπικλ[α]σμῶν κελευσθέντων  
 [. . . . .] ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά-  
 10 [του] ἡγεμόνος Αἰμιλίου Σατουρνίνου καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν ἀφορμῶν  
 καὶ σ[ ] 25 letters  
 [ἀνα]γκαίως σχεδόν τι διενιαυτίσαι με ἐν τούτοις οὐ μόνον συνεχο-  
 μέν[ην] 19 letters ἀλλὰ  
 [καὶ] διὰ τοῦτο τήν τε ἐνδομενείαν μου καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον κόσμον καὶ  
 τὴν ἁ . [ ] 25 letters  
 [καὶ] ἄλλα τῶν ἐμῶν πλείστα ἔμφορα πολλοῦ ἄξια ὀλίγου παντελῶς  
 ἐν τῷ [ ] 25 letters  
 [εἰς] ἔνδειά[ν] με οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν περιστῆναι. οὐδὲ δὴ χάριν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 μὴ μετα[ν]άστ[η]ν [με γενέσθαι . . . . .]  
 15 [. . .] ἐξ . . σ[ω]ν μόνων τραφέισα καὶ ἀνα . . εἰσα δέομαι ἐπιδιδούσ[α]  
 τὸ ὑπόμνημα 21 letters  
 [. . . τὰ] συμβεβηκότα μοι καὶ ἀπαλλάξαι με τῆς γεωργίας τῶν προ-  
 κειμένων [ἀ]ρ[ου]ρῶν καὶ γράψαι τῷ τοῦ Ὁ-  
 [ξυρυγχ]εῖτου στρατηγῷ ὅπως ὁ ἐκάστης κώμης πραγματικὸς πρό-  
 νοιαν ποιήσῃ[ται] 17 letters  
 [. . γεωρ]γίαν γενέσθαι· ἀνδράσι γὰρ ἔοικεν τὰ τῆς γεωργίας, ὥς καὶ  
 σὺ ὁ κύριος ἐπίστ[ασαι], 16 letters  
 [. . . . .]ματων διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτόν σου εὐεργεσίαν ὑπέταξά σοι ὥς  
 ἕτεραι αἶψα [. .] . [. . . . .] ἵν' ᾧ  
 20 [διὰ] σοῦ κατὰ πάντα εὐεργετημένη. διευτύχει. (ἔτους) ιη θεοῦ  
 Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου Θ[ω]θ 14 letters  
 . . . .] . εἰτιδος Πτολλίωνος, Σατουρνίνος ῥήτωρ εἰπ(ε) Πτολλίων ὁ  
 πατὴρ τῆς [σ]υνηγορ[ουμένης] ἐτ . [. . . . .]  
 [. . . .] . διετάσσετο γῆν βασιλικήν τε καὶ δη[μοσ]ίαν περί τε κώμην  
 Βουσεῖρ[ι]ν καὶ Θιντήριν καὶ Τᾱ . . [. . . . .]  
 [. . . .] . χροῦ κώμας τοῦ Ἑρακλεοπολείτου. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκείνου μεταλ-  
 λάξαντος ἐπὶ κληρονόμῳ ταύτῃ οἱ [τῶν κω-  
 [μῶν] τούτων κωμογραμματοεῖς παρὰ τὰ ἀπηγορευμένα ἐπιβάλλουσι  
 αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γεωργί[αν] . .  
 25 [. .] κέκριται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν ἡγεμόνων καὶ ἐπιστρατῆγων  
 γυνα[ῖκα]ς ταύτῃ τῇ χρεία μὴ καθελέλ[κεσ-]

- [θ]α[ι,] καὶ αὐτὴ ἀξιό[ι] ἀναγεινώσκουσα τὰ κεκριμένα ἀπηλ[λά]χθαι  
 τῆς γεωργίας ἀνδράσι μόνοις πρ[ο]σηκ[ού]-  
 [ση]ς. [Πα]ρ[μ]ενίων εἶπ(εν)· ἀναγνωσθήτω τὰ ἐ[π]ὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 κ[ε]κριμένα. ἀναγνωσθέντος . . . [ . . .  
 δ[ι]ατ[ά]γματος Τιβερίου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπαγορ[εύον]τος γυναῖκα γεωργία .  
 . [ . ] . . ἀτ[ε]σ[θ]αι ἐπὶ τοῦ β (ἔτους) Γάλλα [ . . .  
 . . ι καὶ Οὐαλερίου Εὐδαίμονος τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος τὸ αὐτὸ κεκρικότ[ο]ς  
 ἐ[π]ὶ τοῦ ε (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίου [ . . .  
 30 καὶ Μινικίου Κορελλιανοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου ἐπὶ τοῦ ι (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου  
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υ]ρ[ί]ου, Παρμενίων εἶπ(εν)· ἀκολ[ού]-  
 [θω]ς τ[οῖς] ἀναγνωσθεῖσι δύναται ἡ Ταθυνν . . . . . τῆς γεωρ[γ]ίας  
 ἀπηλλάχθαι τ . . . . . [ . . ] τ[ο] . . . . . [ . . .  
 ἐ[τ]έρ[ο]ν[ς] [γ]εωργούς εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν μεταδιατάξαι. Ἀπολλ[ων]άριον  
 ἡ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα ἐπιδέδωκα. ἐσημ[ω]σ[α]μ[ην].  
 [ . . ] (ἔτους) ζ Φαμενώθ ς. ἕως τούτου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τοῦ βιβλ[ε]ιδίου  
 τὸ ἀντίγρα(φον). πρὸς ἣν ἀκολουθ[ῶ]ς  
 [π]ο[ι]ῶν ὁ τοῦ νομοῦ βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς Ἀμμωνιανὸς διαδεχόμενος  
 τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐπέστειλεν τοῖς  
 35 πραγματικοῖς τῶν κωμῶν περὶ ἁ(ς) ἔστιν τὰ ἐδάφη ὡς ὑποτέτακται·  
 Ἀμ[μ]ωνιανὸς βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς διαδεχόμενος τῇ[ν] στρατηγίαν  
 κωμογραμματεῖ Χύσεως καὶ ἄλλων κω-  
 μῶν. βιβλειδίων δοθέντων μοι ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωναρίου τῇ[ς] καὶ Ἀρις-  
 τάνδρας ᾧ ἀνείλημπται ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ κρα[τί]στου  
 δι[ο]ικητοῦ ἔτι δὲ καὶ βιβλείδιον περὶ γεωργίας ἣν ἐδήλ[ω]σεν μὴ  
 προσήκειν αὐτῇ, τὸ ἕτερον ἐπιστέλλεται ὑ[μῖν]  
 ὅπως κατὰ τὰ κεκριμένα τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμενοι δηλώσητέ μοι.  
 ἐσημ[ω]σάμ(ην). (ἔτους) ζ Παχῶν κς.  
 40 δέον οὖν τὴν μεταδιαταγὴν ἐτέροις γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ  
 σοῦ καὶ τῇ[ν] ἀπαίτησιν τῶν φόρων πα[ρ]-  
 [α] τῶν γεγεωργηκότων, ὅθεν δέομαι ἐὰν σοῦ τῇ τύχ[ῃ] δόξῃ [κ]ελεῖσθαι  
 ἐπιστρεφέστερον γραφῆναι τῷ νῦν  
 στ[ρ]ατηγῷ τοῦ νομοῦ ὅπως ἐπαναγκάσῃ τοὺς μὲν πρ[α]γματικούς κατὰ  
 τὰ ἐπ . . . . . ἐπιστ[ε]λ[λ]όμενα αὐτ[οῖς]  
 τ[ῇ]ν μεταδιαταγὴν ποιήσασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πράκτορας τὴν ἀπαίτη[σιν]  
 ποιήσασθαι παρ[α] τῶν ἀντιποιοιμ[ένων]

τ[ῆ]ς γῆς γεωργῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι με γυναῖκα οὐσ[α]ν ἀνανδρον  
καὶ ἀβοήθητον, καθὼς [π]ρότερον ἐπ[έ]-  
45 σ[τ]ειλας περὶ τούτου, ἔν' ᾧ εὐεργετημένη. διευτύχει. Ἀ[π]ολλω  
νά[ρ]ιον ἢ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα ἐπιδέδωκα. (ἔτους) η Τῦβι ι[ε].  
[έ]σ[η]μιωσάμ(ην). Αὐφίδιος Ἀμμώνιος ἐσημ(ειωσάμην). ἕως τούτου τ[ὸ]  
βιβλείδ[ι]ον καὶ ἡ ἀναγρ[α]φή καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή· οἷς ἀκολ[ο]ύθω[ς]  
[ἀ]ξιῶ ἐπιστεῖλαι σε τοῖς τῶν τόπων πραγματικοῖς ὅπω[ς] καθ' (ᾧ) ἡξίωσα  
τὴν μ[ε]ταδιαταγὴν ποιήσονται πρὸς  
τὸ καὶ τοὺς πράκτορας τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῶν ὀφειλομένων ποιήσασθαι  
παρ' ᾧν προσήκει. (ἔτους) θ Θῶθ α.  
Ἀπολλ[ωνάριον] ἢ καὶ Ἀριστάνδρα Ἀριστάνδρον ἐπιδέδωκα. Κορνήλιος  
Πεκύσιος ἐπιγέγραμμαι α[ὐ]τῆς κύρ[ι]ος.  
50 [. . . .]ς ὑπ[ε]ρέτης ἐπ[ὶ]ή[ν]εγκα. (ἔτους) θ Θῶθ α.

4. 1. ἐκθέσθαι. π[ι] of ἐπ[ι] above the line. 7. ἴσιον Pap. 8. ὑπ[ε]ρχεν Pap. 14. ὑπ[ε]ρ  
Pap. 19. ὑπ[ε]ταξα Pap. 25. ὑπο Pap.; so in l. 37. 35. ὑποτετακται Pap. 38. ὑ[μ]ιν  
Pap. 47. σε added above the line.

'To his highness the dioecetes Flavius Studiosus from Apollonarium also called Aristandra, daughter of Aristander, her mother being Didyma daughter of . . ., of Oxyrhynchus. . . . (I am lessee of) 20 arourae near the metropolis, . arourae at Chusis in the pastures of Dionysias, . . . 110 arourae at Ision Panga, 38½ arourae at Seruphis, and . . . arourae at Senekeleu and . . . As long as I had the power I cultivated these and (paid) the taxes, but since it has been my fate as the result both of the extra levies ordained . . . by his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus and of other causes . . . to have perforce spent nearly all the year on them, not only being hard pressed . . . but also in consequence (having sacrificed) both my household stock, my private ornaments, and . . . and a large quantity of other property worth a considerable amount for quite a small sum . . ., I am hence reduced to extreme poverty. For which reason, in order that I may not become a wanderer . . ., as I have only . . . to live on, I present this petition, and entreat you (to pity) my fate, and release me from the cultivation of the aforesaid lands, and to write to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome instructions that the official in each village shall provide for the cultivation being performed by others; for men are the persons suitable for undertaking the cultivation, as you yourself, my lord, . . . owing to your innate kindness, I have appended . . . in order that I may be completely benefited through you. Farewell. The 18th year of the deified Aelius Antoninus, Thoth . . ., in the case of . . . etis daughter of Ptolion: Saturninus, advocate, said, "Ptolion the father of my client was appointed (to cultivate) Crown and public land at the villages of Busiris, Thinteris, and . . . in the Heracleopolite nome. He died leaving her as his heir, and since the comogrammateis of these villages are imposing upon her the obligation to cultivate her father's land in defiance of the regulations forbidding this, and it has been decided by praefects and epistrategi from time to time that women are not to be forced to undertake this duty, she too requests, citing these judgements, that she may be released from the cultivation, which pertains only to men." Parmenion said, "Let the judgements upon such cases be read." There were read a decree

of Tiberius Alexander in the 2nd year of Galba, forbidding women to be made cultivators, and a decision of Valerius Eudaemon to the same effect in the 5th year of Antoninus, and another of Minicius Corellianus, epistrategus in the 10th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord; whereupon Parmenion said, "In accordance with the judgements which have been read, Tathun . . . has the right to be released from the cultivation . . . , and other cultivators ought to be appointed for the land in her stead." I, Apollonarion also called Aristandra, have presented this petition. Signed, the 7th year, Phamenoth 6. So far the copy of the letter and the petition; acting in accordance with which the basilicogrammateus of the nome and deputy-strategus Ammonianus wrote instructions to the officials of the villages where the lands are situated as follows: Ammonianus, basilicogrammateus and deputy-strategus, to the comogrammateus of Chusis and those of the other villages. I send you a copy of the petition presented to me by Apollonarion also called Aristandra, to which is joined a letter of his highness the dioecetes, and also a petition concerning the cultivation for which she declared herself not to be liable, in order that you may, in accordance with the judgements on the subject, hold an inquiry and report to me. Signed, the 7th year, Pachon 27. The change in appointment of other cultivators ought accordingly to take place in conformity with your letter, and the rents should be exacted from the former cultivators; I therefore entreat you, if it please your Fortune, to command that stricter instructions be written to the present strategus of the nome to compel the officials to make the change in accordance with the orders which they have received, and the collectors to exact the dues from the cultivators who claim the land, and not to harass me, a woman without a husband or helper, following your previous instructions in this matter, that I may obtain relief. Farewell. Presented by me, Apollonarion also called Aristandra. The 8th year, Tubi 1[.]. Signed. Signed by me Aufidius Ammonius. Thus far the petition, the list, and the letter; in accordance with which I entreat you to instruct the local officials to make the change in the appointment as claimed by me, and the collectors to exact the dues from the proper persons. The 9th year, Thoth 1. Presented by me Apollonarion also called Aristandra, daughter of Aristander. I, Cornelius son of Pekusis, have been appointed her guardian. I, . . . s, assistant, have brought the petition. The 9th year, Thoth 1.

1. The nature of this much abbreviated marginal note, which is written in a larger hand than the body of the text, is quite uncertain.

2. For the restoration Φλαυίῳ Στρονδιώσῳ κ.τ.λ. cf. introd. p. 225.

9. For ἐπικλασμοί, which were special levies at intervals, see P. Tebt. 373. 12, note. After κέλευσθέντων a date probably followed.

10. Aemilius Saturninus is known from B. G. U. 15. ii. 1, a letter from him to the strategi of the Heptanomis written on Epeiph 17 of the 5th year. His official rank was not there given, but P. M. Meyer's view that he was praefect is now confirmed by the present passage and 916. 10, where he is mentioned as praefect in Pauni of the 6th year; cf. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti di Egitto*, pp. 63-4. The precise date of this petition of Apollonarion to the dioecetes is uncertain (cf. introd.); it cannot be later than Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year (cf. l. 32, note), and probably is not many months earlier. After Saturninus the next praefect who is known is Q. Maecius Laetus, who held office in the 10th year.

17. πραγματικός: cf. ll. 35-6, where by πραγματικοί are meant the κωμογραμματεῖς, and ll. 42-3, where they are contrasted with the πράκτορες. The word seems to be a general term for a minor official; cf. P. Amh. 107. 15 τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικῶν, P. Brit. Mus. 164. 7 τῶν βασιλ(ικῶν) γρα(μματέων) καὶ πραγματικῶν, P. Flor. 57. 54, &c. After ποιήσῃ[ται] something like ὥστε ὑφ' ἐτέρων τὴν γεωρ[γίαν] γενέσθαι is required by the sense. Possibly the previous cultivators (οἱ γεγεωργηκότες) were to be reinstated; cf. ll. 40-4 and the ἀναγραφὴ on the verso (p. 226) which contains a list of these persons.

18. ἐπιστ[ ] may be ἐπίστ[ασαι] or some part of ἐπιστολή or ἐπιστέλλειν, but hardly ἐπιστ[ρά-τηγος]; cf. introd. The construction of ll. 18-19 is not clear. ὑπέταξα, if right, refers to the ὑπομνηματισμός appended by Apollonarion in ll. 20-32, and δέ has perhaps dropped out. ὑπέταξας ὅπως cannot be read, and the word following ἑτεραι does not seem to be any part of ἀφ' ἡμῶν.

21. ] . ετιδος Πολλίωνος: the name of the applicant is given in l. 31 as ἡ Ταθωνν . . . , where the termination is not -ετις. Probably she had two names.

ἐτ . [: perhaps ἔτι, γῆν being an accusative of the same kind as e.g. Aeschin. 3. 24 ἐχειροτονήθη Δημοσθένους τὴν ἀρχήν; or an infinitive such as γεωργεῖν may have occurred.

25. ἐπιστρατήγων corresponds to ἐπιτρόπων in the parallel passage from B. G. U. 648. 12-4 quoted on pp. 222-3; cf. Wilcken, *Osl.* i. p. 427.

27. Parmenion, the presiding judge, cannot have been praefect, for on Thoth 1 of the 18th year of Antoninus (cf. l. 20) that office was held by Sempronius Liberalis (B. G. U. 372). Perhaps he was epistrategus of the Heptanomis, but that view is open to the objection that in Choiak of the 20th year the epistrategus was Statilius Maximus, as is shown by 487. 1, while B. G. U. 340, an undated petition to him, refers to events in the 12th year, so that Statilius Maximus may have been already in office in the 18th year. Other possibilities are that Parmenion was δικαιοδότης, διοικητής, or ἴδιος λόγος.

28-30. For Tiberius Alexander and Valerius Eudaemon cf. Cantarelli, *op. cit.* pp. 33 and 49. Minicius Corellianus, epistrategus of the Heptanomis, occurs also in P. Gen. 31 which refers to the 9th year of Antoninus. Before Οὐαλερίου Εὐδαίμονος, ὑπομνηματισμοῦ, not διατάγματος, is to be understood, as is shown by the word κεκρικότ[ ]. In l. 28 after γεωργία no compound of ἀγεσθαι seems satisfactory.

32. ἐσημω[σ]άμην is the signature of some official and the following date refers to it, not to ἐπιδέδωκα which marks the end of Apollonarion's petition. The signature may have been added in the office of the dioecetes upon the receipt of the petition, but since the petition is itself an enclosure in the letter of the dioecetes, we are disposed to regard ἐσημω[σ]άμην as the signature of the dioecetes at the conclusion of the copy of the petition which he was forwarding; cf. l. 46 and introd.

33. ἕως τούτου: cf. l. 46, B. G. U. 613. 25 and 36, and introd.

37. ᾧ ἀνεῖλημπται: a singular antecedent for ᾧ can be found in τὸ ἕτερον on which βιβλιδίων depends, but the plural βιβλιδίων being probably used, as often, for the singular, the writer may well have meant it to be the antecedent of ᾧ. Cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on p. 225, where the phrase recurs, but with the abbreviation of βιβλ(ιδ) δοθεντ( ). For ἀναλαμβάνειν in the sense of 'including in' cf. e.g. 985 ὧν ἐπάνω ἀνεῖλ(ημμένοι) ἐν τῷ τοῦ η (ἔτους) λόγ(ῳ) (δραχμαὶ) 'β, and B. G. U. 168. 24 τὰ ὑφ' ἑκατέρου μέρους [λεχθέν]τα τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι ἀνελήμφθη.

38. τὸ ἕτερον: τὸ ἴσον or τὸ ἀντίγραφον would be expected at this point (cf. the letter of Diophanes quoted on pp. 225-6), and perhaps τὸ ἕτερον means no more than the 'duplicate', i. e. 'copy.' If it means the second of two βιβλίδια, and the plural βιβλιδίων in l. 37 is really correct, these were probably duplicates, not two petitions to Ammonianus written at different times, so that the sense would be much the same. None of the three documents stated to be enclosed in Ammonianus' letter actually follows in l. 40 sqq.; the βιβλιδιον περὶ γεωργίας is the original petition to the dioecetes already quoted in ll. 2-32, and the letter of the dioecetes immediately preceded it, but the petition of Apollonarion to Ammonianus himself does not seem to have been cited in the papyrus; cf. introd.

39. (ἔτους) ζ Παχὼν κζ: the traces of the figure of the year are very slight, and would suit e.g. η as well; but the date of Ammonianus' letter is clearly later than Phamenoth 6 of the 7th year (l. 33), the date of the communication from the dioecetes which caused it to be written, and unless the date in l. 39 is earlier than that in l. 45 (Tubi of the 8th year) we are

unable to explain the relation of ll. 40-50 to what precedes, for ll. 40-5 cannot be regarded as an enclosure in the letter of Ammonianus.

41. τῶν γεγεωργηκότων: apparently the previous cultivators were to be made responsible for the land leased by Apollonarian; cf. προγέωργο(ι?) in the ἀναγραφὴ cited on p. 226. In ll. 43-4 a different phrase is used τῶν ἀντιποιοιουμένων τ[ῆ]ς γῆς γεωργῶν, and in l. 48 they are vaguely called ὧν προσήκει. ἐπιστρεφέστερον was suggested by Wilcken.

# 900. PETITION TO A LOGISTES.

24.3 X 16 cm.

A.D. 322.

A petition to Dioscurides, the same logistes who issued the proclamation about the gymnastic display in 42, from a functionary who had been nominated as an annual superintendent of the express-post, and who here complains of the failure of certain donkey-drivers to support him in carrying out his duties. It is badly put together, in spite of the comparatively high position of the writer.

The year of the sixth consulate of Licinius Augustus and the second of Licinius Caesar, in which the papyrus is dated (cf. 42. 8-9), is still disputed. The two most recent discussions are those of Jouguet in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, 1906, pp. 231-6 (cf. *Archiv*, III. pp. 339-43), and Seeck in *Rhein. Mus.* 1907, pp. 517 sqq., who uphold A.D. 322, and Viereck in *Archiv*, IV. pp. 156-62, who decides for A.D. 323. Of these alternatives we prefer the former.

Ἵπατε[ί]α]ς τῶν δεσπ[οτῶν] ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ 5' καὶ  
Λικινίου

τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β' [

Οὐαλερίῳ Διοσκουρίδῃ τῷ καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ λο[γιστῇ] Ὁξυρυχ(ίτου)  
παρ[ὰ] Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου Σιλβανοῦ ἄρξαντος βου[λ(ευτοῦ)] τῆς  
λ[αμπ(ρᾶς)] καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)

5 Ὁξυρυχειτῶν πόλεως. πραιποσίτου μου ὄντος πατριμωναλίων  
δεκάτου πάγου τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ ὑποβληθέντος ἔτι εἰς κονδουκτορίαν  
τοῦ ὀξέος δρόμου τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους, καὶ ἔχρῃν τοίνυν τοὺς  
ἐξ ἔθους

ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀποπληροῦντας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνιαυσίως εἰς τοῦτο  
ὑπ[ο]βαλ-

λομένων ὑπακούειν καὶ ἡμεῖν τοῖς ἐνχιρισθεῖσι πλῆστα δημόσια ἐπιτά-  
10 γματα καὶ τὴν χώραν ἣν ἐξ ἔθους ἀποπληροῦσι ἀποπληροῖν, παρεχομέ-  
νων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναλωμάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπιδὴ μανθάνω τούτους

βουλομένους ἐνεδρεύειν τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀπαρέτητον χρείαν τισὶ μὲν  
ἀπι[ο]ῦσι, ἐνίους δὲ διαβάλλοντας, τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς ἀντιλήμψεως σ[υ]να-  
χθέντων τοῦ λειτουργήματος, ἐκ τούτου ἠπίχθην τὰ βιβλία ἐπιδοῦναι  
ἀξι-

15 ὧν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀνηλάτας ἐπαναγκασθῆναι Φαῦστον καὶ Ὡρον καὶ  
Χαιρέαν

πάντ' ἔχειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξετέλουν κατ' ἔτος τῆς κονδουκτορίας χρεῖων πάν-  
[τα τε παρα]σχέσθαι αὐτοῦς{s} τοῖς ἐν(αυσί)οις ὑπακούοντες, καὶ  
ἡ[μ]ᾶς διὰ τῶν

[αὐτῶν τ]ὴν ἐνχειρισθεῖσαν χρείαν ἀποπληροῖν καὶ μὴ εἰς ἀνάγκην με  
γενέ-

[σθαι ἐντ]υχεῖν τοῖς μείζουσιν περὶ τούτου. (2nd hand) ἐνεδρείας γεγεννη-  
μένης.

20 [ὑπατέια]ς τῆς προκιμένης Μεσορῇ 5.

3rd hand [Αὐρ(ήλιος)] Διόσκορος ἐπιδέδωκα.

3. Ἰουλιανῷ Pap. 12. 1. ἀπαραίτητον . . . τοὺς μὲν ἀπι[ό]ντας. 13. υ of ἐνίοις corr.  
from ι. 1. σ[υ]ναχθεῖσάν. 14. λι of λειτουργήματος corr. 16. το of κονδουκτορίας corr.  
17. 1. ὑπακούοντας. 18. αν of ἐνχειρισθεῖσαν corr.

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the sixth time and Licinius the most renowned Caesar for the second time, . . . To Valerius Dioscurides also called Julianus, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Dioscorus son of Silvanus, ex-magistrate and senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus. Being already the administrator of the imperial patrimonial estates in the tenth pagus of this nome, I have besides been nominated as contractor for the express-post for the year auspiciously approaching. It was accordingly incumbent on those who customarily discharge such services on behalf of the annual nominees to this office, to render obedience to me who have been entrusted with so many public burdens, and to discharge their customary services, for which their expenses are provided. But whereas I learn that these persons are desirous of acting fraudulently in respect of these important and unavoidable functions, some by absenting themselves, and others by deception, and since the period before entering upon this duty has become short, I therefore hasten to present this petition, requesting that the said donkey-drivers, Faustus, Horus, and Chaereas, be compelled to retain and to provide everything for the functions pertaining to the contract which they were wont yearly to fulfil, in obedience to the annual contractors, so that I may with their assistance perform the function entrusted to me, and not be reduced to appeal to the officials upon this matter. (Endorsed) Concerning a case of fraud: in the consulship aforesaid, Mesore 6. (Signed) Presented by me, Aurelius Dioscorus.'

5. The πατριμωνάλια are the properties belonging to the imperial *patrimonium*, which in Egypt in the Roman period were usually called οὐσιακά. The occurrence of the term *patrimonialia* in the fourth century is noticeable.

6. ὑποβληθέντος : cf. B. G. U. 906. 10 ὑποβληθέντα βουλευτήν, P. Leipzig 40. iii. 17 τῶν ὑποβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν β[ο]υλευτῶν εἰς τὸν κεφαλαιωτήν.

κονδουκτορίαν τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου : cf. 138. 9 πακτάριος τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου, 140. 7 σταθλίτης τοῦ ὀξ. δρ., P. Flor. 39. 6 γραμματηφόρου τοῦ ὀξ. δρ. In P. Oxy. I. p. 219, &c., we took ὀξ. δρ. to refer to the race-course, but, as Wilcken has remarked to us, the *cursus velox* or express postal service is doubtless meant; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 5. 62 and Preisigke, *Klio*, VII. p. 269. κονδουκτορία = *conductoria* is novel, and *conductoria* is apparently not found in the sense implied here.

12-3. For ἀπαραίτητον χρεῖαν cf. 904. 9. τισὶ μὲν ἀπ[ο]ῦσι has no construction, and should have been in the accusative. The reading is indeed uncertain, and the supposed π not very satisfactory; but a participle seems required to balance διαβάλλοντας, and ἀπ[ο]ῦσι, but for the case, gives a good sense. It is noticeable that ἐνίοις was originally written for ἐνίους.

τῶν ἡμερῶν . . . σ[υ]νραχθέντων : we suppose σ[υ]νραχθέντων to be an error for σ[υ]νραχθειῶν, and the meaning to be that the interval of time remaining before Dioscorus had to take up his duties had become short. This remedy is somewhat violent, but cf. B. G. U. 893. 12-14 οὔτοι οἱ κεκληρωμένοι . . . ἀντιλήμψ[ο]νται τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . ὀλίγαι(?) ἡμέραι ἐν μέσῳ εἰσίν, where the sense appears to be very similar, and, for this use of ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, e. g. B. G. U. 18. 14 ἀντιλαμβ. τῆς ἐγχιρσιθείσης α[ν]τιτοῖς χρεῖας.

15. On the duties of ὀνηλάται see Rostowzew, *Klio*, vi. p. 253.

16-17. πάντ' ἔχειν is strange, but we can find no other suitable reading, and πάντ' is supported by the following πάν[τα]. πᾶν τ' ἔχειν . . . πᾶν [τε παρα]σχέσθαι would hardly fill the space at the beginning of l. 17. αὐτοῦς is practically certain in spite of the letters marked doubtful, for though the ντ could equally well be read as π, and νς might possibly be κ, these alternatives give no word. The final ς has been written twice over, once as a flourish below the line, and again in the ordinary position. εἰνιοις seems to be a slip for ἐνιαυσίοις, a word which has already occurred in the adverbial form in l. 8; the mistake may have been assisted by ἐνίους in l. 13. τοῖς ἐνίοις is hardly a possible expression.

19. τοῖς μείζουσιν; μείζων and μείζοτερος are apparently general terms for a person in authority, used in much the same way as ὀφφικιῶλιος. The titles commonly occur without further definition as e. g. in 894. 1, but are also found both in combination with a local name indicating the sphere of influence, e. g. 158. 2 τῷ μείζονι τῆς αὐτῆς Ταμπέτι, or with the name of the person to whom the μείζων was subordinate, e. g. 131. 14 μείζονα Κλαυδιανοῦ, B. G. U. 367. 5 and 368. 10 κόμετι καὶ μειζοτέρῳ Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου; cf. the similar use of ὀφφικιῶλιος in 896. 28. The earliest instance of a μείζων that we have noticed is P. Brit. Mus. II. 214. 22, of the reign of Aurelian.

## 901. PETITION TO A PUBLIC ADVOCATE.

15 × 12 cm.

A. D. 336.

This document like 902 is addressed to an official occupying the position of ἑκδικος or *defensor* (cf. 902. 1, note), though in this case as a deputy. It is a complaint of a woman against a neighbour arising out of a chase after her pigs which had got loose; but the details of the story are lost owing to the mutilation of the papyrus. On the verso are a few letters which apparently have no relation to the petition on the recto.

Ὑπατείας Ο[ύ]ιβίου] Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων Π[α]χῶν 5.  
 Φλαοῦ[ω] Ἰουλιανῷ διοικοῦντι ἐκδικίαν Ὀξυρρυχίτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Ἀλλοῦτος Θωνίου ἀπὸ κώμης Τααμπέμο[υ]  
 5 ε πάγου. ἐσπερινες ὥρες τῇ χθὲς ἡμέρᾳ ἡμέτεροι χῦροι  
 δύο τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ ἡμέτερον ἔδαφος  
 γενώμενοι ἐν ὑδραγωγίᾳ μηχανῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 πέδων καὶ Παβάνου τινὸς ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης, [καὶ]  
 ὁ προιρημ[ένος Π]αβάνος παρατυχῶν ἔχων μετὰ  
 10 χίρας ξοίλιον . . . . ἰν τοὺς χύρους βουλόμεν[ο]ς  
 καὶ τοῦτο μ . . . [. . . .]ως μηδαμῶς ἀδικηθεῖς  
 ὑπὸ τῶν χύρ[ων ἀλλ]ὰ ἐχόμενος τῆς πρὸς τοὺς  
 χύρους ε . . . [. . . ὅτι] ἐμοὶ ἐπελήλυθαν βουλόμενος  
 οἰκατα . [ 15 letters ] . . . . ὡς ἰ μὴ ἔκ τινος  
 15 [ἀπο]νύας τὴν [. . . . .]π . [ἀ]λλ' οὖν τῶν βωῶν  
 [. . . .] . οἷν ἀνκα . [. . . .] . [ . . . ]ημὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 [ 23 letters ] κόψας ὡς ἐκ τῶν  
 18 ,, [ . . . . . οἷς τινὰς παράγετε  
 [ 26 letters ] θρασύτητι [. . .  
 20 [ ,, ,, ] οὐσα . [. . . . .  
 . . . . .

1. ὑπατείας . . . τεττίου Pap.  
 χοῖροι : 1. χοῖρ. also in 10, 12, 13.  
 προῖρημ[ένος] Pap. 10. 1. ξοίλιον.  
 16. ὑπ Pap. 18. 1. παράγεται.

3. φλαοῦ[ω] Ἰουλιανῷ Pap.  
 7. 1. γενόμενοι. ἡμετερώ Pap.  
 14. ἰ μὴ ἐκ τινος Pap.

5. 1. ἐσπεριναῖς ὥραις . . .  
 8. 1. παίδων. 9.  
 15. 1. [ἀπο]νοίας . . . βοῶν.

'In the consulship of Vibius (?) Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus the most illustrious, Pachon 6. To Flavius Julianus, deputy-advocate of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelia Allous daughter of Thonius of the village of Taampemou in the fifth pagus. In the evening time of yesterday our two pigs made a rush into our piece of land, and got into the channel of the water-machine of our children and a certain Pabanus, of the said village. The aforesaid Pabanus happening to be by, and having in his hands a stick, wished to (catch) the pigs and (remove them?) from the place. He had not been in the least injured by the pigs, but full of . . . against them, because they had overrun me, wishing to . . . (I know not how?) unless from some madness . . .'

1. Cf. for these consuls, whose gentile names are not known from literary sources, P. Flor. 96. 6 and 13, where Vitelli reads Οὐ . . .]ον and Τεττίου. With regard to the latter, though the traces of the second τ in our papyrus are excessively slight, the letter is guaranteed by the comma after the first τ (see critical note). This mark, which is quite clear, would

not have been inserted if the next letter had been a vowel, and we have no doubt that the supposed ι in P. Flor. 96 is a similar sign, which is sometimes so exaggerated that it could easily be mistaken for a letter. Moreover, Tettius has the advantage of being a well-known Roman name. Οὐι . [...]ου may represent either Virius, as Vitelli suggests, or Vibius.

3. διοικοῦντι ἐκδικίαν: the occurrence of this phrase shows that Wilcken's objections in *Archiv*, II. p. 127 to our supplement διοικ(οῦντι) [τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν)] in P. Amh. 72. 1 are groundless. Its precise significance is not yet proved, but we adhere meanwhile to our original explanation that it means a deputy, and not the magistrate proper; cf. the analogous use of διέπων in e. g. 727. 5, P. Brit. Mus. 908. 13 and 19.

4. The village of Ταμπέμου is mentioned in 501. 10, &c.

8. πεδων, if not equivalent to παίδων as suggested above, might be for πεδίων; but πεδία in papyri commonly mean the lands of a village, not of a private owner.

10. . . . ιν is no doubt an infinitive depending on βουλόμεν[ος], but not λαβεῖν or λαβῖν.

14. Perhaps οὐκ οἶδα εἰπως. At the beginning of the line there is a vestige of ink in front of οἶ, but if another letter was written this line was begun further to the left than those above it.

## 902. PETITION TO A PUBLIC ADVOCATE.

31.5 × 39 cm.

About A. D. 465.

A petition to a *defensor* (ἐκδικος: cf. note on l. 1) of Cynopolis from a cultivator, complaining of oppression and wrongful imprisonment by a member of the senate. According to his own statement the petitioner would seem to have been treated with extreme harshness; but it is likely from his repeated offer (ll. 9-10, 16-7) to pay any debt which could be established against him, that right was not entirely on one side. A difficulty arises regarding the date of the papyrus; cf. note on l. 19.

Φ[λα]ουίῳ Ἰσᾶκ τῷ λογιωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ ἐκδίκῳ τῆς ἁνω Κυνοπολιτῶν  
[παρὰ] Αὐρηλίου Μακαρίου υἱοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
πρ[ὸ] τ[ού]του ὑδροπάροχος καθέστηκε καὶ γεωργὸς φανερῶν πραγμάτων  
οὐσίας  
τοῦ [τῆς] μακαρίας μνήμης Φοιβ[ά]μμωνος τοῦ πολιτευσαμένου, μετὰ  
δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν  
5 ὁ τ[ούτ]του ἀδελφὸς Θεόδωρος ἐπισήλθεν εἰς τὴν φροντίδα τῶν τούτου  
πραγμάτων  
καὶ τυρ[αννικῶ] τρόπῳ ἀπέσπασεν ὀκτὼ καλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν βοικῶν  
ζώων,  
καὶ [ἐστί]λατο καὶ παρεσκεύασέν με ἀδίκως ἀναλημφθῆναι τῷ δεσμω-  
τηρίῳ πρὸ  
τριῶν τούτων μηνῶν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνέβη τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῶν ἐμῶν ζώων

τῇ λιμῶ τεθνάναι, ταῦτα ἐμοῦ ἐτοίμως ἔχοντος εἰ καὶ φανείην χρεωσ-  
 τούντα  
 10 αὐτῷ ἐγγράφως πληρῶσαι. ἐπὶ τοίνυν οἱ ἔκδικοι ἐπενόηθησαν ἐν ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν  
 πρὸ[s] τῷ βοήθειαν ὀρέξαι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, εἰς τελείαν γὰρ ἀνατροπὴν  
 καὶ εἰς αἰχάτην  
 πεινων περιέστην ἕνεκεν τοῦ προειρημένου πολιτευομένου, τούσδε τοὺς  
 λιβέλλους  
 ἐπιδίδωμι τῇ σῇ λογίῳτιτι ἀξιῶν κελεῦσαι τοῦτον μετασταλῆναι,  
 πρῶτο(ν) δὴ πως μὲν  
 παρασκε[νύασαι] τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν ἀποδοῦναί μοι ἅπερ ἀπέσπασεν  
 τυραννικῶ τρόπῳ βοικὰ μου  
 15 ζῶα εὐθαλῇ καθὼς καὶ ἀπέσπασεν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοκοῦντα τῇ  
 σῇ λογίῳτητι πρα-  
 χθῆναι ἀνεθ(ῆ)ναί τέ με τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐμοῦ ὡς προεῖπον ἐτοίμως ἔχοντος  
 πληρῶσαι  
 ὅσα ἐποφίλω αὐτῷ ἐγγράφως· μισοῦσιν γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τοὺς τὰ ἄδικα  
 διαπραττο-  
 μέν[ο]υς, λογιώτατε ἔκδικε κύριε. (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Μακάριος  
 Ἰωσήφ ἐπιδέδωκα.  
 3rd hand μετὰ [τ]ὴν ὑπατείαν Φλα[ουί]ο Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τὸ β καὶ τοῦ  
 δηλωθησομένου Ἀθὺρ κδ.

1. *ισακ*, Pap. 2. *ἰωσηφ* Pap. 3. *ὑδροπαροχος* Pap. 6. *ε* of *εκ* corr. *βοϊκων*  
 Pap. 9. 1. *χρεωστῶν*. 11. *οι* in *τοις* and *αδικουμενοις* written above *η*, which is crossed  
 through. 11-2. 1. *ἐσχάτην πείναν*. 13. 1. *λογιότητι*. 15. Second *π* of *ἀπέσπασεν* corr.  
 16. Some letters inserted above *δεσμῶν* have been erased. 17. First *σ* of *μισοῦσιν* corr.  
 from *ζ*. *διαπραττο* Pap. 19. *ομενου αθ* blotted.

‘To Flavius Isaac, most learned advocate and *defensor* of the upper quarter of Cynopolis, from Aurelius Macarius, son of Joseph, of the said city. In the past I was appointed irrigator and cultivator of real property on the estate of Phoebammon, of blessed memory, member of the council. After his death his brother Theodorus entered upon the management of his property, and tyrannously seized eight fine beasts out of my kine; he also sent and had me unjustly carried off to prison three months ago, in consequence of which the remainder of my kine have died of hunger. This he has done in spite of my readiness to pay, if written proof of any debt to him can be produced. Therefore, since advocates have been devised in the cities for the purpose of lending assistance to the oppressed—and I have been reduced to complete ruin and the extremity of hunger through the aforesaid member of the council—I present this petition to your wisdom, begging you to order him to

be summoned, first of all bringing about the restoration to me by his excellency of my kine which he tyrannously seized, in the same good condition in which they then were; and for the rest directing that what seems good to your wisdom should be done, and that I be released from my bonds, since I am ready, as aforesaid, to discharge any debt secured in writing. For the perpetrators of injustice are hateful to the laws, most learned lord advocate. (Signed) I, Aurelius Macarius, son of Joseph, presented this petition. The year after the consulship of the most illustrious Flavius Vivianus for the second time, and of the consul whose name is to be declared, Athur 24.'

1. σχολαστικῶ ἐκδίκω: cf. 901. 3, 129. 3 τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) ἐκδίκου ταύτης τῆς Ὁξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλε(ως), P. Brit. Mus. I. 87. 85 ἑκδικος Ἐρμώνθ(εως), B. G. U. 1094. 1 σχολαστικὸς καὶ ἑκδικος τῆς Ἐρμού πόλ(εω)ς (l. πόλε(ως)?), P. Strassb. 40. 6 σχολαστικῶ καὶ συνηγ[ρ]ω(?) τῆς] Θηβαίδος. These ἑκδικοί are the *defensores civilis* who from the year A. D. 365 appear as regularly constituted authorities in the provincial towns (Cod. Just. I. 55; Cod. Theod. I. 29). They were elected by the body of the citizens, the decurions being ineligible, and held office originally for five years, but after the time of Justinian only for two. Scholastici are expressly named in Cod. Theod. I. 29. 2 among the classes suitable for the appointment. The *defensores* had a limited jurisdiction in civil cases and in minor criminal matters; their chief function was, as described in ll. 10-11 of the papyrus, to protect citizens from oppression and injustice—*plebem tantum vel decuriones ab omni improborum insolentia et temeritate tueantur*, Cod. Theod. I. 29. 7; cf. Cod. Just. I. 55. 4 *ut imprimis parentis vicem plebi exhibeas, descriptionibus rusticis urbanosque non patiaris adfligi, officialium insolentiae, iudicum procacitati* . . . *occurras*, &c. In P. Leipzig 34. 10 of c. A. D. 375 the form δηφῆνσωρ is used.

The σχολαστικοί were advocates employed in defending cases and similar legal work, such as drawing up petitions; cf. Cod. Theod. 8. 10. 2, where they are coupled with *officiales*, and their avarice is censured: *nec latet . . . scholasticos ultra modum acceptis honorariis in defensione causarum omnium et ammonas et sumptus accipere consuesse*.

3. ὑδροπάροχος: cf. 137. 22 ὑδροπαροχ(ίας) and P. Brit. Mus. III. 1044. 25. φανερῶν πραγμάτων is similar to ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων in 126. 17, &c.

7. [ἐστί]λατο is not quite satisfactory, the λ being doubtful, and the middle voice unusual.

13. πρώτο(ν) δὴ πως: οἱ πρωτο(τύ)πως, as Wilcken suggests.

19. This date is singular, for the order of the words must imply that Vivianus had been consul for the second time, whereas his only recorded consulship is that in A. D. 463 (when his partner was Fl. Caecina Basilius, or, according to Marcellinus, Felix), and the lists show no blanks in the years preceding and following that year, to which period without doubt the papyrus belongs. For the phrase τοῦ δηλωθησομένου cf. C. I. G. 3467. 3, 42. 9, and 60. 12 τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ, P. Brit. Mus. III. 991. 1 ὑπατείας . . . λείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ τοῦ ἀποδιχθησομένου: numerous other examples are given in Du Cange, s. v. ὑπατοὶ δηλωθῆσόμενοι. Its occurrence in a date μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν is unusual.

### 903. ACCUSATION AGAINST A HUSBAND.

27.2 × 21.6 cm.

Fourth century.

This singular document is an elaborate indictment of a husband by his wife, who gives a circumstantial account of the former's violent or insulting behaviour, extending over a considerable period of time. The two, whose names are not mentioned, seem to have been a young couple, united originally by an ἄγραφος

γάμος, and subsequently by a regular contract (ll. 17-8); but in neither condition could they succeed in living on terms of harmony. The present document, which is unaddressed, was presumably a kind of affidavit used in proceedings taken against the husband; it is written in vulgar Greek, and in an irregular uncial hand, the letters of the first two lines being much enlarged. The occurrence of the word *πολιτική* in l. 37 is of special interest in connexion with the much-discussed *Epistle of Psenosiris*; cf. note *ad loc.* On the verso are a few lines of shorthand in two columns.

Περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶπεν κατ' ἐμοῦ ὕβρεων.

ἐνέκλεισεν τοὺς ἐ[α]υτοῦ δούλους καὶ τοὺς

ἐμοῦ ἅμια τῶν τροφίμ[ω]ν μου καὶ τὸν προνοητὴν καὶ τὸν

υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ὅλας ἐ[π]τ[ὰ] ἡμέρας εἰς τὰ κατάγια αὐτοῦ,

5 τοὺς μὲν δούλους αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δούλην Ζωὴν ὑβρίσας

ἀποκτίνας αὐτοὺς τῶν π[λ]ηγῶν, καὶ πῦρ προσήνεγκεν ταῖς τρο-

φίμαις μου γυμνώσας αὐ[τὰ]ς παντελῶς ἃ οὐ ποιοῦσι οἱ νόμοι, καὶ

λέγων τοῖς αὐτοῖς τροφίμοις ὅτι δότε πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς, καὶ εἶπαν

ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔχει παρ' ἡμῶν, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις λέγων μαστιγ[γ]ο(υ)μένοι(ς) ὅτι

10 τί ἦρκεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μου; βασανιζόμενοι οὖν εἶπαν ὅτι οὐδὲν

τῶν σῶν ἦρκεν ἀλλὰ σῶά ἐστιν πάντα τὰ σά.

ἀπήντησεν δὲ αὐτῷ Ζω[ί]λος ὅτι καὶ τὸν τρόφιμον αὐτοῦ ἐνέ-

κλiseen, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι[ι] διὰ τὸν τρόφιμόν σου ἦλθας ἢ διὰ τὴν

τοίαν ἦλθας λαλῆσαι ἐπάνω αὐτῆς;

15 καὶ ὥμοσεν ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ

ὅτι ἀπεντεῦθεν οὐ μὴ κρύψω αὐτῇ(ν) πάσας μου τὰς κλεῖς καὶ ἐπέχω  
αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευεν καὶ μοι οὐκ ἐπίστευεν.

οὔτε ὑβρίζω αὐτὴν ἀπεντεῦθεν. καὶ γαμικὸν γέγονεν, καὶ μετὰ

τὰς συνθήκας ταύτας καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔκρυψεν πάλιν ἐμὲ τὰς κλεῖς

εἰς ἐμέ. καὶ ἀπελθοῦσα [εἰ]ς τὸ κυριακὸν ἐν Σαμβαθῷ, καὶ ἐποίησεν

20 τὰς ἕξω θύρας αὐτοῦ ἐνκλισθῆναι ἐπάνω μου λέγων ὅτι διὰ τί ἀπῆλ-

θας εἰς τὸ κυριακόν; καὶ πολλὰ ἀσελγήματα λέγων εἰς πρόσωπόν

μου καὶ διὰ τῆς ρίνος αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ σίτου (ἀρτάβας) ρ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ

ὀνόματός μου μηδὲν δεδωκὼς μηδὲ ἀρτάβ(ην) μίαν. ἐνέκλεισεν δὲ

τοὺς τόμους κρατήσας αὐτ[οῦ]ς ὅτι δότε τὴν τιμὴν τῶν (ἀρταβῶν) ρ, μηδὲν

25 δεδω[κὼς] ὡς προείπον. καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ὅτι δότε συμμά-

χους ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴν ἐνκλείσωσι. καὶ ἐκρατήθη Χωοὺς ὁ βοηθὸς αὐτοῦ

εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτῷ Εὐθάλαμος ἐνέχυρον καὶ οὐκ ἠρκέσθη.  
 ἦρκα καὶ γὰρ ἄλλο μικρὸν καὶ παρέσχον τῷ αὐτῷ Χωοῦτι. ἀπαντήσας δὲ  
 αὐτῷ εἰς Ἀντινόου ἔχουσα τὸ πρὸς βαλανίον μου μεθ' ὧν ἔχω κοσμαρι-  
 30 δίων, καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὅτι εἴ τι ἔχεις μετ' ἐσοῦ αἶρω αὐτὰ δι' ὃ δέδωκες τῷ  
 βοηθῷ μου Χωοῦτι ἐνέχυρον διὰ τὰ δημόσια αὐτοῦ. μαρτυρῆσαι δὲ  
 περὶ τούτων πάντων ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ περὶ Ἀνίλλας τῆς δούλης  
 αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν θλίβων τὴν ψυχὴν μου καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
 ὅτι ἔκβαλε τὴν δούλην ταύτην ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴ οἶδεν ὅσα κέκτηται, ἴσως  
 35 θέλων μοι καταπλέξαι καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ προφάσει ἄραι εἴ τι ἔχω· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἡνεσχόμεν ἔκβαλεῖν αὐτήν. καὶ ἔμεινεν λέγων ὅτι μετὰ μῆναν  
 λαμβάνω πολιτικὴν ἐμαυτῷ. ταῦτα δὲ οἶδεν ὁ θεός).

1. ὑβρεων Pap. 3. 1. ταῖς τροφίμαις. 4. ὕιον Pap. 6. προσηνεῖ' κεν Pap. 7. 10 of  
 ποιουσι added above the line. 8. 1. ταῖς αὐταῖς τροφίμαις. 9. μαστιγόμενοι Pap. 17.  
 ὑβρίζω Pap. 22. σ of σιτου corr. from τ. 26. ἵνα Pap. 28. 1. ἀπήντησα. 31. 1.  
 μαρτυρήσει. 33. Second ο of αντινοου corr. 34. ἴσως Pap. 35. 1. με for μοι. και  
 added above the line. αι of αραι corr. (?) 37. ικ of πολιτικην added above the line.

Concerning all the insults uttered by him against me. He shut up his own slaves and mine with my foster-daughters and his agent and son for seven whole days in his cellars, having insulted his slaves and my slave Zoë and half killed them with blows, and he applied fire to my foster-daughters, having stripped them quite naked, which is contrary to the laws. He also said to the same foster-daughters, "Give up all that is hers," and they said, "She has nothing with us"; and to the slaves when they were being beaten he said, "What did she take from my house?" and they under torture said, "She has taken nothing of yours, but all your property is safe." Zoilus went to see him because he had shut up his foster-son, and he said to him, "Have you come on account of your foster-son or of such a woman, to talk about her?" He swore in the presence of the bishops and of his own brothers, "Henceforward I will not hide all my keys from her (he trusted his slaves but would not trust me); I will stop and not insult her." Whereupon a marriage deed was made, and after this agreement and his oaths, he again hid the keys from me; and when I had gone out to the church at Sambatho he had the outside doors shut on me, saying, "Why did you go to the church?" and using many terms of abuse to my face, and through his nose. There were 100 artabae of corn due to the State on my account of which he paid nothing, not a single artaba. He obtained possession of the books, and shut them up saying, "Pay the price of the hundred artabae" having himself paid nothing, as I stated before; and he said to his slaves, "Provide helpers, to shut her up also." Choous his assistant was carried off to prison, and Euthalamus gave security for him which was insufficient, so I took a little more and gave it for the said Choous. When I met him at Antinoöpolis having my bathing-bag (?) with my ornaments, he said to me, "I shall take anything you have with you on account of the security which you gave to my assistant Choous for his dues to the State." To all this his mother will bear witness. He also persisted in vexing my soul about his slave Anilla, both at Antinoöpolis and here, saying, "Send away this slave, for she knows how much she has possessed herself of," probably wanting to get me involved, and on this pretext to take away whatever I have myself. But I refused to send her away, and he kept saying, "A month hence I will take a mistress." God knows this is true.

3. τροφίμ[ω]ν: cf. P. Leipzig 47. 10. The τροφίμαι here were apparently some girls who were being brought up by the complainant, the masculine in l. 8 being an error. A different male τροφίμος is mentioned in l. 12.

6. For the hyperbole in ἀποκτίνας cf. e.g. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113. 12 (d). 11 ὁ χρεώστης ἐφόνευσέν με. The instrumental use of the genitive τῶν π[λ]ηγῶν is noticeable.

9. παρ' ἡμῶν (literally 'on our side') is practically equivalent to παρ' ἡμῖν.

14. τοίαν is a slighting reference to the writer of this indictment. For ἐπάνω cf. 131. 14-5 μάρτυρας τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ἐπάνω τοῦ πατρός μου, B. G. U. 29. 1-2 ἔσχον . . . ἐπάνω τῶν ἐμῶν κλήρων (both of Byzantine period); the word is used in another uncommon sense in l. 20.

15. With this oath made in the presence of the bishops cf. P. Leipzig 43, where a bishop acts as a judge.

16-7. The insertion above the line is a parenthetical explanation of οὐ μὴ κρύψω . . . κλείς.

22. Speaking through the nose aggravated the insult; cf. μυκτηρίζειν, *naso suspendere*, &c. In Persius 1. 33 *balba de nare locutus* has a different meaning.

29. πρὸς βαλανίον is perhaps better written as two words than one. In either case the article meant seems to be some kind of handbag which was carried by a lady in going to the bath, and would hold trinkets and similar objects. A connexion with βαλανίη, sc. στολί (cf. 265. 3), is less likely.

34. αὐτὴ οἶδεν: cf. P. Tebt. 424. 5 εἰ δὲ μετανοεῖς, σὺ οἶδας.

35. καταπλέξαι is the opposite of ἐκπλέκειν as used in P. Tebt. 315. 21 κἀγὼ σε ἐκπλέξω.

37. For πολιτική in the sense of πόρνη cf. P. Grenf. II. 73. 9. The present passage, which supplies a contemporary parallel, supports our view of that papyrus as against the interpretation of Deissmann (*The Epistle of Psenosiris*) who wished to make τὴν πολιτικὴν there a proper name.

## 904. PETITION TO A PRAESES.

31.3 × 88.5 cm.

Fifth century.

A petition addressed to an unnamed praeses (of the Thebaid) by a certain Flavius, who had consented to act as substitute for Philoxenus in the post of *riparius*, a police official (cf. l. 3, note). Philoxenus had undertaken to provide Flavius with the requisite staff of helpers and indemnity in case of accident, but had failed to fulfil his bond; and Flavius, who had been subjected to much indignity and even violence in the performance of his duties, now prays that he may be released from them and the original holder made responsible. The petition is cast in a stilted and rhetorical style; the handwriting is an exceptionally large, formal cursive.

1 Παρὰ Φλ(αυίου).

2 ἡ τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοκρισί]ας καθαρότης πάντως κἀμὲ ἐλεήσει τὸν γεγενη-  
κότα καὶ ἀσυνθηκῇ διαπεπονθότα καὶ χλεύην παρὰ Φιλοξένου τοῦ καθο-  
σιωμένου μαγιστριανοῦ.

- 3 οὗτος γὰρ λόγον ἐνωμότως μοι δεδοκῶς καὶ ἐπαγ[γειλ]άμενος ὡς πάντως  
 ὅσαπερ ἐπιζητεῖται εἰς τὴν τοῦ ρίπαρίου λειτουργίαν ἐκτὸς πάσης  
 ὑπομνήσεως πληρώσει,
- 4 παρέχων μοι καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν οἰκέτας τε καὶ συμμάχους καὶ [ἄ]λλους τοὺς  
 ὀφείλοντας τὴν παραφυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο,  
 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συμβῇ ἀτόπημά τι γενέσθαι
- 5 αὐτὸν τὸ ἀξήμιον πληροῖν τοῖ[s] τὴν βλάβην ὑπομένουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
 πάντα τὰ συντίνοντα εἰς τὴν λειτουργίαν ταύτην ἀποκαθιστᾶν· τούτων  
 δὲ ὅλων ἐκτὸς γεγένηται
- 6 καὶ παρορῶν με τὸν ἄθλιον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν μετεωρίζ[ό]μενον σχοινοῖς  
 καὶ πληγαῖς κατακοπτόμενον κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, μὴ κεκτημένον μὴ ἀδελφὸν  
 μὴ συγγενῇ μὴ
- 7 υἱὸν δυνάμενον ἅμα μοι συνπαθῖν, ὡς λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς σωτηρίας πνεῦμα  
 δυστυχῖν με. ὅθεν τὰς ἱκεσίας προσφέρω τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ὥστε ἐμὲ  
 μὲν ἐλευθερωθῆναι
- 8 τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργεῖ[α]ς, [τὸν] δὲ [πρω]τότυπον καταναγκάζεσθαι ἢ δι' ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἢ διὰ οἰουδήποτε προσώπου τὴν τοιαύτην λειτουργίαν ἐξανύσαι, ἐμοῦ ἀπο-  
 ταξαμένου καὶ μὴ
- 9 δυναμένου [μηδαμῶς ὑπομένειν τ]ὴν τοιαύτην ἀπαρέτητον καὶ φορτικωτάτην  
 λειτουργίαν, ἵνα κάγῳ τούτου τυχὼν εὐχαριστήσω ταῖς ἀκλειεῖς ἀκοαῖς  
 τῆς ὑμετέρας
- 10 ἐξουσίας, μεγαλο[πρεπέστατε] ἡμῶν ἡγ[ε]μῶν κύριε. +

2. ὑμετέρας Pap.; so in ll. 7 and 9. 1. καθωσιωμένου. 3. επαγ[γειλ]άμενος Pap.  
 ὑπομνήσεως Pap. 4. ἀλλ' Pap. 5. ὑπομένουσιν . . . ἀποκαθίσταν Pap. 7. υἱὸν . . .  
 ἱκεσίας . . . ὑμετέρα Pap. 8. 1. τῆς τοιαύτης. 9. 1. ἀπαραίτητον. ἵνα Pap. 1. ἀκλιεῖσι.

‘From Flavius. The purity of your righteous judgement will surely pity me, an old man who has suffered a breach of covenant and mockery at the hands of Philoxenus, the devoted magistratus. He gave me his word on oath, and promised that he would surely fulfil without any reminding every requirement for the office of riparius, providing for my support both servants and assistants and others whose duty it would be to undertake the guarding of the city; and not only so, but he promised that, if anything extraordinary happened, he would himself make up the loss to those who suffered injury, and also that he would set right everything connected with this office. But all this he has evaded, paying no attention to my unfortunate self, who am daily suspended by ropes and have my body belaboured with blows, and possess no brother, no relative, no son to sympathize with me, so that at last the very breath of my life is in danger. Accordingly I make my entreaties to your highness that I should be released from so grievous an office, and that the original holder should be compelled to finish it either himself or through some other person, as I renounce

it, being unable to endure any longer an office so severe and onerous, in order that having gained my request I may bless the impartial ears of your highness, our most noble lord praeses.'

2. ἀσύνθηκεί is presumably an adverb from ἀσύνθηκος, a form occurring in Onesand. *Strateg.* 1. 37. ἀσύνθηκα would have been more normal with καὶ χλεύην following.

μαγιστριάνοῦ: the *magistriani* were the *agentes in rebus* in the service of the *magister officiorum*, and were employed as messengers or representatives in the provinces; cf. Cod. Theod. 6. 27, Cod. Just. 12. 20 *De agentibus in rebus*. καθωσιωμένος which = *devotissimus*, i. e. a true servant of the State, was the regular epithet of *magistriani*; cf. e. g. Cod. Just. 12. 21. 7 *schola devotissimorum agentum in rebus*, C. I. G. 3467. 7-8 καθωσιωμένῳ μ[αγ]ιστριάνῳ καὶ ἐκδ(ικῶ).

3. ῥιπαρίου: that the riparius, who first appears in the fourth century, was primarily a police official appears clearly from l. 4, where the παραφυλακή τῆς πόλεως is mentioned as the sphere of duties of his assistants, and the other evidence is in accordance with this. In P. Amh. 146 a riparius issues to eirenarchs an order for arrest similar to those sent in earlier times by the strategus (e. g. P. Tebt. 290), decurion (64), or beneficiarius (65). Petitions to riparii concerning cases of assault are extant in P. Cairo 10269 and P. Leipzig 37, and in 897 they are found engaged in the search for offenders. Other references to them are P. Leipzig 49, where a riparius appears as surety for the appearance of a person, P. Leipzig 62. i. 34, where two riparii are found acting with a ὑποδέκτης χρυσοῦ τριώνων in the delivery of gold to a χρυσώτης, C. P. R. 30. 52, where a ῥιπάριος τοῦ ἐνάτου οἴκου occurs in a papyrus of the sixth century, when the 'houses' of the great nobles play an important part in the administration of the country (cf. 133. 8), and P. Brit. Mus. 653. 17. They were sometimes officials of μητροπόλεις (e. g. P. Leipzig 49), sometimes of the nome (P. Leipzig 37 and 897), and are often found acting in pairs, e. g. 897, and P. Cairo 10269. The office, as 904 shows, was a burdensome λειτουργία.

5. ἀποκαθιστάν: this form occurs as early as Aristotle, *Metaph.* 11. 8. 12; cf. Diod. 1. 78, *Act. Apost.* 17. 15 καθιστάντες, &c.

8. [πρω]τότυπον: cf. 136. 11 ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ πρωτότυπος, P. Strassb. 40. 25-8 μετ' ἐγγυητ[οῦ] . . . ἀναδεχομέν(ον) . . . τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πρωτοτύπου.

## (d) CONTRACTS

### 905. MARRIAGE CONTRACT.

20.4 × 18 cm.

A. D. 170.

A short but interesting contract of marriage between two inhabitants of the Oxyrhynchite village Psobthis. The formula, as usual in Oxyrhynchus marriage-contracts, is of the protocol type, not that of a ὁμολογία as in the Fayûm; cf. 496. The dowry brought by the bride is briefly described, the obligation of the husband to maintain his wife adequately is emphasized in the stereotyped phraseology, and provision is made for the restoration of the dowry in case of a separation. An uncommon clause is added at the end, where the bridegroom's father appears as a consenting party to the deed and guarantor of the repayment of the dowry; and the opening formula is also remarkable; cf. l. 1, note.

[. . . . .] Ἀντωνί]νου καὶ Φαυστεΐνας Σεβαστῶν.

[ἐξέδοτο Μηνόδωρο]ς Ὡρου μητ(ρὸς) Τακαλλίππου ἀπὸ κώμης Ψώβθεως

[τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατ]έραν Θατρήν μητρὸς Θατρήτος Ἀπολλωνίῳ

[Ἡρακλέους μητρὸς] Ταυσοράπιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης πρὸς γάμου κοι-

5 [νωνίαν. ἡ δ' ἐκδοτ]ος φέρει τῷ ἀνδρὶ [εἰς φε]ρνὴν λόγου [χ]ρυσοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ  
σταθμῷ

[Ὁξυρυγχείτη] μναγαῖον ἐν [[τεταρτον]] ἐν εἵδεσι συντιμηθέν,

[καὶ ἔτι ἐν παρ]αφέρνοις ἱματίων σουβροκομαφόρτια δύο,

[ἐν μὲν . . . . .]νον τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λευκόν. [[ορνουν]] συμβιούτωσαν

[οὖν ἀλλήλοισι οἱ γ]αμοῦντες φυλάσσοντες τὰ τοῦ γάμου δίκαια,

10 [καὶ ὁ γαμῶν ἐπι]χορηγέτω τῇ γαμουμένη τὰ δέοντα κατὰ δύνα-  
μιν [τοῦ βίου. ἐ]ὰν δ[ὲ] ἀ]παλλαγή γένητ[α]ι τέκνων ὄντων ἢ καὶ

[μὴ γενομένων ἀποδότ]ω ὁ γαμῶν τὰ παράφερνα πάντα

μὲν ἄμ[α] τ[ῇ] ἀπ]αλλαγῇ τὴν δ[ὲ] φερνὴν ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξή-

κοντα ἀ[φ'] ἧς ἐ[ὰν] ἡ ἀ]παλλαγή γένηται, τῆς πράξεως [[αυ]] οὔσης

15 τῷ ἐκδιδόν[τ]ι Μηνοδώρου παρὰ τοῦ γαμοῦντος καὶ ἐκ

τῶν ὑπαρχ[ό]ντων αὐτῷ πάντων. παρὼν δὲ ὁ πατήρ τοῦ

γαμοῦντος Ἡρ[α]κλῆς Μώρου μητ(ρὸς) Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης

εὐδοκεῖ τῷ [[τῇ]] γάμῳ καὶ ἐνγυᾶται εἰς ἕκτισιν

τὴν προκειμένην φερνὴν. κυρία ἡ συνγραφὴ διςσὴ γρα-

φεῖσα πρὸς τὸ ἐκάτερον μέρος ἔχει μοναχόν, καὶ ἐπερωτη-

20 [θέν]τες ἑαυτοῖς [[ἀλλήλοισι]] ὁμολόγησαν. (ἔτους) ι Φαμενώθ ιη.

4. κ of κώμης corr. from π, and γ and μ of γαμου written above μ and γ which are crossed through. 5. [εἰς φε]ρνὴν λόγου added above the line; 1. φε]ρνῆς λόγον. 6. 1. μνααῖον. 7. ἱματιων Pap. 1. σουβρικομαφόρτια. 14. ο of ουσης corr. from τ. 15. 1. Μηνοδώρω. 17. ηρ[α]κλῆς . . . κώμης added above the line.

' . . Antoninus and Faustina, Augusti. Menodorus son of Horus and Tacallippus of the village of Psobthis has given for partnership of marriage Thatres, his daughter by Thatres, to Apollonius son of Heracles and Tausorapis. The bride brings to her husband in respect of dowry one mina's weight on the Oxyrhynchite standard of common gold, in kind, according to valuation, and in *parapherna* in clothing two outer veils, one . . ., the other white. Let the husband and wife therefore live together observing the duties of marriage, and the husband shall supply the wife with necessities in proportion to his means. If a separation takes place after the birth of children or before it, the husband shall restore all the superdowry at the time of separation, and the dowry in sixty days from the day on which the separation takes place; and Menodorus, the giver of the bride, shall have the right of execution upon the husband and upon all his property. The father of the husband, Heracles son of Morus and Apollonia, of the said village, being present assents to the

marriage, and is surety for the payment of the aforesaid dowry. This contract is valid, being written in duplicate in order that each party may have a copy; and in answer to the formal question they have declared to each other their consent. The 10th year, Phamenoth 18.'

1. It is very unlikely that this line is a date. There seems to be barely room for (ἔτους) ι (cf. l. 20) Ἀντωνίου Ἀντωνίου, even if ἔτους were written as a symbol; it is also noticeable that the month is not added (there being a blank space after Σεβαστῶν), and the date at the end makes another at the beginning quite superfluous. Moreover, the mention of the empress in a date would be very unusual, though possibly it might have been thought appropriate in a marriage-contract; cf. the coins in which Faustina is associated with *Fecunditas*, *Fortuna muliebris*, *Laetitia*, &c. These considerations suggest the probability that l. 1 contains some unfamiliar formula, e.g. τῇ τύχῃ Ἀντωνίου κ.τ.λ., with which might be compared the ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ common in wills. In any case, however, the mention of Φαυστίνα Σεβαστή here appears to fix the year given in l. 20 as the 10th of Marcus Aurelius, for though the phrase ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολόγησαν in ll. 19-20 suggests a later period (cf. note *ad loc.*), the fact that none of the parties to the contract is an Aurelius gives strong support to a date earlier than Caracalla. For Faustina cf. 502. 3-4, where a priest of Φαυστίνα Σεβαστή occurs in the reign of Marcus.

5. ὁ δὲ Μηρόδωρος is too long, and the natural subject of φέρεi is the bride. We therefore suggest ἔκδοτος, though that word does not apparently occur in the papyri; cf. however, ἐκιδδόναι and ἐκδότης.

6. [Ὁξυρυγχείτη]: cf. 496. 3 χρυσίου σταθμῷ Ὁξυρυγχείτῃ μναία πέντε. The insertion of γ in μναγίων exemplifies a common phenomenon; cf. P. Tebt. 26. 12, Mayser, *Grammatik*, pp. 167-8.

7. σουβρι(ι)κομαφόρτιον seems to be a new compound; cf. 921. 4 and B.G.U. 327. 7 σου(β)ρικοπάλλιον.

8. ]νον is the termination of some word like σανδύκινον or κροκώτινον.

10. ἐπιχορηγέτω: cf. e.g. 906. 6.

12-3. Cf. 603, where it is similarly provided that the παράφερνα were to be returned on demand, and the φερνή within sixty days. The latter term is also that fixed in 497. 6 and P. Gen. 21 (*Archiv*, III. p. 387); in Roman marriage-contracts thirty days is a commoner limit. At the beginning of l. 13 the space is rather broad for ἀμ[α, and perhaps ἀμ[α αὐ]τῇ (τῇ) should be read.

16-8. On the analogy of this passage we would suggest that the signature which in 497. 22-4 follows those of the bridegroom and the bride's father is that of the bridegroom's father, who was perhaps made security, as here, for the repayment. Similarly in 906. 10 Isidorus, who is only a few years younger than the father of the wife, may well be the father of the husband. In P. Leipzig 27, which like 906 is an agreement for divorce, the husband is associated with a person who actually pays over the dowry on his behalf to the wife's father; but this fourth person is there unlikely to be the husband's father, since not only is no such relationship stated, but the husband was a freedman, who would not be expected to have an assignable father. Mitteis suggests that he was the banker, but that does not seem at all probable; we should prefer to suppose that he was more intimately concerned in the transaction, and had appeared in the original marriage-contract as the husband's guarantor.

19. This is a remarkably early example of the use in Egypt of the stipulatory formula, which only becomes common in the third century. In fact we are unable to refer to another instance from the second century apart from those in which Roman citizens are concerned, for in C. P. R. 22. 35, which is cited by Mitteis, *Reichsrecht*, p. 486<sup>3</sup>, ἐπερωτηθεῖσα is an erroneous reading (Hunt, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 462).

## 906. DEED OF DIVORCE.

12.6 × 33.1 cm. Second or early third century.

The conclusion of a contract for divorce; cf. 266, P. Leipzig 27, C. P. R. I. 23, &c. The document is apparently called an ἀποχή, referring to the repayment of the dowry; cf. note on l. 10. At the end are the names and descriptions of the principal parties to the contract, Horion who is no doubt the wife's father, Plutarche the wife, and a third person who is not the husband but may have been a surety for him; cf. 905. 16-8, note.

[ 45 letters ] α . [ . ] . [ . ]  
 [ 24 „ ] . αλ[ . . . . . ] σο . [ . ] κ[αί] τὰ διὰ  
 τῆς αὐτῆς συγγραφῆς ἐ[σ]ταμ[ένα]  
 παράφ[ε]ρ[να ὄντα ἐκ] δραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς καὶ μὴ ἐνκαλεῖν  
 ἀλλήλοις μηδὲ ἐνκαλέσειν  
 μηδὲ ἐπελεύσεσθαι μήτε περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν εἰς τὴν συνβίωσιν τοῦ Διογένους  
 καὶ τῆς Πλουτάρχης  
 5 τεινόντων μηδὲ περὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας. ὁ δὲ  
 Δ[ι]ογένης  
 καὶ ἐπιχορηγῆ[σ]ει ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν τὰ [δ]έοντα τοῖς αὐτοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν παρ' αὐτῶ  
 δαιτωμέν[ο]ις ἄχρι  
 ἡλικίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἐξεῖναι τῶ Διογένει καὶ τῇ Πλουτάρχει ἐκάτερος  
 αὐτῶν ἀρμόξεσ[θαι] ὥς ἐὰν αἰρῇ-  
 ται γάμφ' ἀνευθύνῳ ὄντι, ἢ τὴν ἐσομένην ἔφοδον ἄκυρον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ δηλου-  
 μένην σ[υ]γγραφὴν  
 κ[αί] τὴν [γ]ειομένην αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου δημοσιώσιν [καί] μετάδοσιν  
 συγχωροῦσι ἄκυρον εἶναι.  
 10 κυρία ἡ ἀποχή. Ὁρίων ὅς (ἐτῶν) νζ ἄσημ(ος). Πλουτάρχει ὥς (ἐτῶν) κδ  
 ἄσημ(ος). Ο[ . . ( ) ] Ἰσίδ(ωρος) ὥς (ἐτῶν) μη οὐλ(ῆ) ὀφρ(ύι) δεξ(ιῶ).

7. l. ἐκατέρω.

10. l. ὥς for ὅς.

' . . . and the *parapherna* fixed in the said contract, worth 40 drachmae. The three further agree that they neither make nor will make any claim or proceed against each other on any point connected with the union of Diogenes and Plutarche, or on any other subject whatever up to the present day. Diogenes shall henceforth provide the necessary means for the said sons, who shall live with him until they come of age; and henceforth it shall

be lawful for Diogenes and Plutarche, either of them, to marry as they choose without incurring liability, any act of aggression against them being invalid. The above-mentioned contract, and the registration of it through the record-office, and communication of it are acknowledged to be invalid. This receipt is valid. Horion, aged about 57, with no distinguishing mark. Plutarche, aged about 24, with no distinguishing mark. O . . Isidorus, aged about 48, with a scar on his right eyebrow.'

1-2. Cf. P. Leipz. 27. 20-3 "Ἡρῶν δὲ ἀπέχιν παρὰ τοῦ Σωσῆ τὰς διὰ τῆς συγγραφῆς φερνῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τρι[ακο]σίας κ[αὶ] τὰ πα[ρά]φερνα πάντα. In marriage-contracts the repayment of the *παράφερνα* is generally provided for without any stipulation concerning their value, such as commonly occurs in connexion with the *φερνή*. In the marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche, however, though ε[ς]-ταμ[ένα] and *ὄντα ἐκ* are very uncertain, the value of the *παράφερνα* seem to have been stated.

7. ἐκατέρ[ο]ς cannot be read, nor *ὧς* for *ὡς*.

9. διὰ τοῦ καταλογείου δημοσίωσιν apparently refers to the registration of deeds through the archidicastes in the Library of Hadrian and Nanaeum at Alexandria; cf. 719, P. Leipzig 10, and, for the latest discussion, P. Strassb. 29 introd. These deeds were, however, in all previously known instances *χειρόγραφα*, i. e. private notes of hand without the intervention of the agoranomus or other notarial official, whereas the document in the present case was a *συγγραφή*, i. e. the original marriage-contract of Diogenes and Plutarche. The extant marriage-contracts of the Roman period are all notarial *συγγραφαί* (cf. P. M. Meyer, *Klio*, VI. pp. 442 sqq.), and that a *συγγραφή* should have undergone *δημοσίωσις* at Alexandria is a new and surprising phenomenon. The only explanation which we can suggest is that the *συγγραφή* in question resembled that mentioned in 259. 11 in being *ιδιόγραφος*, i. e. that it was really a *χειρόγραφον* (cf. P. M. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 447), which required to be sent to Alexandria to receive official *δημοσίωσις*. What is precisely meant by *μετάδοσιν* here is also not quite clear, owing to our ignorance of the terms of the *συγγραφή* and the circumstances of its *δημοσίωσις*, but *μετάδοσιν* is likely to be connected with *μεταδοθήτω* which occurs in the instructions of the archidicastes quoted in the documents bearing upon the *δημοσίωσις*, e. g. 719. 4, B. G. U. 578. 7. *μεταδοθήτω* in the latter example is explained by Mitteis (*Hermes*, xxxii. p. 647) as 'the communication of the copy of the petition concerning *δημοσίωσις* to the defendant through the strategus', but this explanation does not very well suit the other cases where the *δημοσίωσις* is not preparatory to an action at law as in B. G. U. 578, but is only a precautionary step (cf. 719. introd.). Perhaps *μετάδοσις* means the official communication of the fact of *δημοσίωσις* to all concerned.

10. ἀποχή: the reading of the last three letters is uncertain, but an abbreviation of ἀπαλλαγή or ἀποζυγή is not admissible. The repayment of the dowry was the chief point in a contract concerning divorce; the formula of 266 and P. Brit. Mus. II. 178 is simply that of an ἀποχή: cf. Lesquier, *Rev. de Phil.* 1906, p. 25.

## 907. WILL OF HERMOGENES.

26.5 × 22.4 cm.

A. D. 276.

The following will is preserved on the verso of 412, a fragment from the *Κεστοί* of Julius Africanus. The testator, Aurelius Hermogenes, a president of the boule at Oxyrhynchus, divides a considerable real estate between his five children—three sons and two daughters—and his wife. Property of various

kinds is first apportioned to the sons, a special bequest being made to the eldest of them (ll. 7-11). Other property was similarly to be shared by the daughters, the elder of whom was married; the dowry bestowed on this elder daughter is confirmed, and provision made for the future marriage-portion of her sister (ll. 11-6, 24-5). To the wife is given the absolute ownership of some land hypothecated as security for her dowry. A guardian is appointed for the three younger children who were still under age, to act in the case of the sons until they attained their majority, in that of the daughter until her marriage; the wife of Hermogenes is associated in the guardianship, and a nephew is requested to give his assistance when required.

The chief point of interest in this will, which is not the original document but a copy taken after the original was opened (cf. l. 28 and note), lies in its adherence to Latin formulae. According to the express statement of l. 2 the deed was drawn up in Greek; yet it reproduces in a striking manner the phraseology of the will of Gaius Longinus Castor at Berlin (B. G. U. 326; cf. Mommsen, *Sitzungsber. d. Pr. Akad.* 1894, p. 47, Scialoja, *Bull. dell' Inst. di dir. rom.* vii, p. 2, &c.), which was translated from the Latin. In the recent monograph of Arangio-Ruiz, *La successione testamentaria secondo i papiri greco-egizii*, where the evidence is conveniently collected and fully discussed, it is remarked (pp. 277-9) how little difference the promulgation of the *constitutio Antonina* made to the testamentary formulae current in Egypt. Latin phrases and forms appear sporadically, but the few previously published Greek wills of the third and following centuries have been cast in the typically Greek shape. In the light of the present text this conclusion needs some modification. The preference here shown for Latin forms may be traceable in a greater or less degree to the high municipal position of the testator; but the influence of Roman law upon the formulae of Egyptian wills was evidently stronger than has hitherto been suspected.

The papyrus is dated on Pauni 7 (June 1) of the first year of the emperor Tacitus, and is said to have been opened in the following month Epeiph (June 25-July 24) of the 'same first year'. Aurelian seems to have been killed before March 25, 275, but since Tacitus was not chosen emperor till about September and his accession could not have been foreseen, it is evident that the date of the papyrus refers to the year 276. Tacitus only reigned six months, his death probably occurring early in April; that the news of it had not yet reached Oxyrhynchus by Epeiph is however not very remarkable, for there were considerable variations in the length of the periods which elapsed before changes in the imperial succession became generally known in Egypt: Commodus appears in the date of B. G. U. 515 more than five months after his death. Cf.

912. 40, note, and P. Strassburg 8. 17, where Pauni 14 of the first year of Tacitus occurs, and Preisigke's discussion in pp. 30 sqq.

The ends of the lines are missing throughout and the exact extent of the loss is not quite certain. Assuming that l. 6 corresponded verbally to B. G. U. 326. i. 15, the number of letters to be supplied in ll. 1-16 is about 35, in the remainder 2 or 3 less; and our restorations are made on this hypothesis. In one or two places a slightly longer supplement seems necessary, but not more than can be accounted for by a reasonable variation in the length of the lines and the size of the writing.

[Αὐρή]λιος Ἑρμογένης ὁ καὶ Ε[ὐ]δαίμων ἐξηγητῆς βουλευτῆς [καὶ π]ρ[ύ]τανις  
τῆς λαμπ[ρ]ᾶς καὶ λαμπροτά[της] Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως τόδε τὸ βούλημα  
Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι κατὰ τὰ συνεχωρημένα ὑπηγόρευσεν

Αὐρήλιοι Ἑρμείνος καὶ Ὠρεῖων καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Πτολεμαῖς καὶ Διδύμη,  
οἱ ἐπέντε τέκνα μου γλυκύτατα [ἐ]κ [τῆς] συνούσης μοι 18 letters γυναι-  
κὸς Αὐρηλίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Πρέϊσκας ματρῶνας στολάτας, αἰρέσει τῇ  
ὑποτεταγμένη ἐφ' οἷς ἕκαστος προσδ[. . . . .] κληρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν, οἱ  
δὲ λοιποὶ

5 πάντες ἀποκληρόνομοι μου ἔστωσαν, προσερχέσθωσάν τε τῇ κληρονομίᾳ μου  
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκάστῳ καταλιμ[πανομένοις] ὁπότεν . . . . . ρασθαι  
ἑαυτοὺς ἐμοῦ κληρονόμους εἶναι, οὗτοί τε ὑπεύθυνοι ἔστωσαν διδόναι ποιῆσαι  
παρασχέσθαι ταῦτα πάντα [ὅσα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαθήκῃ μου γεγραμμένα  
ἐστί,

τοῦτό τε τῇ π[ίστ]ει αὐτῶν παρακατατέθε(ι)μαι. Αὐρηλίοις Ἑρμείνῳ καὶ  
Ὠρεῖωνι καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ τοῖς τρισὶ μου [υἱοῖς] ὥς πρόκειται καταλείπω  
κοινῶς ἐξ ἑ-

σου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς ὃ ἔχω περὶ τὸ Ἰστρου τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω  
Ἰσείον ἀμπελικὸν χωρίον καὶ σειτ[ικὰς] ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ 16 letters

νυς καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συνκυροῦντα πάντα καὶ ἃς ἔχω περὶ Σεφῶ σειτικὰς  
ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ ἐν τῇ μητροπ[όλει] τὴν 28 letters

10 μου οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνδομενείαν πᾶσαν, τῷ δὲ Ἑρμείνῳ μόνῳ κατ'  
ἐξαίρετον ἃς ἔχω περὶ Σετ[. . . . .] κοινὰς πρὸς

σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ δοῦλόν μου ὀνόματι Φιλοδιόσκορον. Αὐρηλίας  
Πτολεμαίδι καὶ Διδύμῃ ταῖς πρ[ογεγραμμέναις] θυγατράσι μου . . . . .  
δίδω-

- μι καταλείπω καὶ αὐταῖς κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομίας τῆς ἐμῆς ὃ ἔχω  
 κοινὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτ[ὸν] 24 letters ἀμπελικὸν  
 χωρίον καὶ σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας καὶ προχρείας καὶ χρηστήρια καὶ συν-  
 κυροῦντα πάντα, τῇ δὲ Διδύμῃ [μόνη κατ' ἐξαίρετον] 20 letters  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Πτολεμαίδι βεβαιῶ διὰ τούτου μου τοῦ βουλήματος ἣν φθάσας  
 ἐπιδέδωκα αὐτῇ προῖκα εἰ 21 letters καὶ καταλείπω τὴν  
 15 δούλην ὀνόματι Εὐνοίαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μου δοῦλα σώματα τέσσαρα Διοσκου-  
 ρίδην καὶ Σαβεῖνον καὶ Ἑρμ[. . . καὶ . . . . τοῖς προκειμένοις ἄρρεσι τοῖς  
 τρισὶ καὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν θηλειῶν, λέγω δὴ τῇ Διδύμῃ. Αὐρηλία Ἰσιδώρα τῇ καὶ  
 Πρείσκᾳ τῇ συνούσῃ μοι [γυναικὶ] 29 letters  
 πρεπόντως περὶ τὴν συμβίωσιν ἀναστραφείσῃ καταλ[εί]πω κυριευτικῶς ἃς ἔχω  
 κοινὰς πρὸς τὸν [αὐτὸν] 22 letters περὶ . . .-  
 βιν σειτικὰς ἀρούρας πάσας προυπαλλαγείσας αὐτῇ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὴν προσ-  
 ενεχθεϊσάν μοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τ[. . . φερνήν. ἐπίτροπον δὲ ποιῶ τῶν προκειμέ-  
 νων ἀφελίκων μου τέκνων τ[ριῶ]ν Ὀρείωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Διδύμης ἕως  
 ἂν οἱ μὲν ἄρρενες τῆς ἡλικίας γένωνται ἢ δὲ θήλεια  
 20 ἀνδρὶ γαμητῇ Αὐρήλιον Δημήτριον [τοῦ] Διονυσοθέωνος, ἐπακολουθούσης πᾶσι  
 τοῖς τῇ ἐπιτροπείᾳ διαφέρ[ουσι] τῆς προγεγραμμένης μου γυναικὸς  
 Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Πρείσκας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο [οὐ] βούλομαι ἄρχοντα ἢ ἀντάρχοντα  
 ἢ ἕτερόν τινα παρεντιθῆναι ἑαυτ[ὸν] 29 letters ἐ-  
 πιτέλλω γὰρ καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μοῦ[ν] Διδύμου εἶναι εὐσεβείας βοηθήσειν τῷ  
 Δημητρίῳ ἐν οἷς ἐὰν αὐτοῦ [δέηται] 26 letters  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσάμμωνι φίλῳ μ[ε]ν καταλείπω δοθῆναί τε βούλομαι κατ' ἔτος  
 ἐφ' ὃν ζήσεται χρόνον ἄ[φ'] ὧν ἔχω 26 letters  
 περὶ Μῶα σειτικῶν ἀρου[ρ]ῶν οἴνου μὲν ἅμα τρύγῃ κεράμια τριάκοντα καὶ  
 πυροῦ μέτρῳ δεκάτῳ τῷ Παῦ[νι] μηνὶ ἀρτάβας 14 letters τῇ Δι-  
 25 δύμῃ . φρα . [.] . . . γενομ[ε]ν . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα  
 τέσσαρα, τὴν φροντίδα τ[.] 32 letters  
 κληρον[ο]μία. τὸ βούλημα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγ-  
 χειτῶν πόλει α (ἔτει) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν [Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου  
 Παῦνι ζ.  
 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Κλαυδίου Τακίτου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι ζ. Αὐρή[λ]ιος Ἑρμογένης ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων  
 τὸ βούλημα πεποίη-  
 κα ἐπὶ [πᾶσ]ι τοῖ[ς] προκειμένοις. ἐλύθη τοῦ αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους) Ἐπείφ.

3. *πτολεμαῖς* Pap.: so in ll. 11, 14. 4. *ἰσιδώρας* Pap.: so in l. 16. 6. *ὑπενθυνοί* Pap.  
 7. *αὐρηλίοις* Pap. 12. *κ* of *κοινων* corr. from *π*. 18. *προῦπαλλαγείσας* Pap.  
 27. *παῦνι* Pap.

' Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon, exegetes, councillor and prytanis of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, dictated the following will in the Greek language, in accordance with the permission. Aurelius Herminus, Aurelius Horion, Aurelius Heraclides, Aurelia Ptolemais and Aurelia Didyme, my five dearest children by my . . . wife Aurelia Isidora also called Prisca, a matron wearing the stola, shall be my heirs according to the disposition below written, and on the conditions on which each . . ., all other persons being disinherited; they shall proceed to my inheritance in accordance with the bequests made to each of them whenever they . . . themselves to be my heirs; they shall be responsible for giving, doing, and providing all this which is written in this my testament, and I confide this to their honour. To Aurelius Herminus, Aurelius Horion, and Aurelius Heraclides my three sons as aforesaid I bequeath jointly in equal shares on behalf of my inheritance the vineyard belonging to me near the village of (?) Istrus by the upper temple of Isis, and all the corn-land and . . . and utensils and all appurtenances, and all the corn-land belonging to me at Sepho, and in the metropolis my . . . house and all the furniture in it; and to Herminus alone as his special property all the corn-land belonging to me at Sen . . . jointly with . . ., and my slave called Philodioscorus. To Aurelia Ptolemais and Aurelia Didyme my aforesaid daughters . . . I give and bequeath likewise jointly, and in equal shares on behalf of my inheritance, the vineyard belonging to me at . . . jointly with the said . . . with all the corn-land and the plant, utensils, and all appurtenances. To Didyme alone as her special property I bequeath . . . and I also confirm to Ptolemais by this my will the dowry . . . which I previously gave her, and I leave to her my slave named Eunoea; my remaining four slaves, Dioscurides and Sabinus and Herm . . . and . . ., I bequeath to the three sons and one of the daughters, to wit Didyme. To Aurelia Isidora also called Prisca, my wedded wife . . . who has conducted herself becomingly in our married life, I leave as her own property all the corn-land belonging to me at . . . bis jointly with the said . . ., which was previously mortgaged by me to her in security for the dowry brought to me with her . . . I appoint as guardian of my three children aforesaid who are under age, Horion, Heraclides, and Didyme, until the boys attain majority and the girl is married, Aurelius Demetrius son of Dionysiotheon, with the concurrence, in all that pertains to the guardianship, of my aforesaid wife Isidora also called Prisca; and accordingly I do not wish any magistrate or deputy or any other person to intrude himself . . ., for I further enjoin it upon the piety of my nephew Didymus to assist Demetrius in any way that may be required of him. To my friend Aurelius Dionysammon I bequeath and I wish that there be given him during his lifetime from . . . and the corn-land belonging to me at Moa thirty jars of wine at the vintage and . . . artabae of wheat by the tenth measure in the month of Pauni. (I direct that there be provided as dowry) for Didyme . . . by her brothers four talents of silver . . . This will was made by me in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus in the first year of our lord Marcus Claudius Tacitus, Pauni 7. The first year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Claudius Tacitus Pius Felix Augustus, Pauni 7. I, Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon, have made this will with all the above provisions. Opened in the same first year, Epeiph.'

1. *βούλημα*: cf. ll. 14 and 26 below, and P. Leipzig 29. 7 'Ελληνικοῦ βουλήματος.

2. Cf. 990 and P. Rainer 1702. 13 (*Wien. Stud.* ix. p. 241) *γράμμασιν* 'Ελληνικοῖς ἀκο-  
 λούτως τῇ θεῖα [διατάξει. According to the older Roman law the use of the Latin language  
 was essential in all legal transactions. The emperor who established the right to use Greek

is thought to have been Alexander Severus, to whose reign the Rainer papyrus belongs; whether the permission applied to other countries besides Egypt is disputed; cf. Arangio-Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 266 sqq.

3. *συνούσης μοι* is restored from l. 16, and was probably followed by some epithet. *ἀδελφῆς καὶ* would not fill the space.

4. *ματῶνας στολάτας*: cf. B. G. U. 860. 1, P. Flor. 16. 1. The *stola* was the mark of rank and dignity. *αἰρέσει* = *voluntati*, a common term in connexion with wills. *προσδ* [is a verb apparently meaning 'shares' or 'is endowed'.

For the supplement *κληρονόμοι μου ἔστωσαν* cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 6, where, as Schubart informs us, the fifth letter is almost certainly ι, and therefore something like *καὶ αὐταὶ ἔστωσαν κληρονόμοι* is probably to be restored. The construction of the rest of that line remains uncertain; *μ[έρους]*, however, is not necessary (cf. e.g. ll. 7 and 12 of our papyrus) and possibly *μόναι δ' ἐμὸν κληρο[νόμοι]* may be read (cf. P. Leipzig 29. 5 *κληρονόμον σέ μ[ό]ν[η]ν κατὰ πάντας τοὺς ἡ[ό]μους καθίστημι*), though the repetition of *κληρονόμοι* is awkward. Or perhaps *νομοι* is part of some phrase with *οἱ νόμοι*, for which cf. the passage of the Leipzig papyrus just quoted, and P. Brit. Mus. I. 77. 13-4 (Will of Abraham<sup>1</sup>) *ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν . . . νόμων διηγορευμένα*.

4-5. *οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ* . . . *ἔστωσαν*: cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 7, and the will published by de Ricci in Wessely's *Stud. z. Paläographie* I, p. 6, l. 24; the phrase corresponds to the Latin formula *ceteri omnes exheredes sunto* (Gaius 2. 128). The papyrus proves that *μου*, not *μοι* which Arangio-Ruiz wishes to read before *ἔστωσαν* (*op. cit.*, pp 223, 276), is correct.

5. B. G. U. 326. i. 7-8 is on this analogy to be read *προσε[ρ]χέσ[θω]σάν τε τῇ κληρονομίᾳ* *μου*, which is now confirmed by Schubart. *ἐπὶ* . . . *καταλιμ[πανομένοις]* is there replaced by *ἐκάστη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους*, after which l. *ὁπότεν* (Schubart) for *ἀπὸ τ[ῶ]ν*. We accordingly read *ὁπότεν* in the corresponding position, the infinitive . . . *ρασθαι*, which is also adopted from the Berlin papyrus, perhaps depending on an intervening verb, e.g. *φαίνηται*. The ρ of *ρασθαι*, Schubart tells us, can be any letter having a long tail, i. e. ι, φ, or ψ, and it is preceded at an interval of three letters by a similar long stroke. *ἀπογράψασθαι* therefore does not seem suitable. Dareste proposed *μετὰ τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι*, and Gradenwitz suggests a connexion with *cernere*, but this is hardly convincing.

6-7. Cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 14-5, where *ταῦτα* (so Schubart) not *αὐτά* is no doubt to be read after *παρασχέσθαι*, as here. Schubart would write in the Berlin text *πάντα [τὰ] ἐν . . . γεγραμμένα. εἴη. τῇ τε πίστει [τα]ύτης* (not *[α]ύτης*) *παρακατατίθεμαι*, but this absolute use of *εἴη* does not greatly commend itself, and the mood might be due to a *sint* in the original Latin. It therefore seems more satisfactory to have either *ὅσα . . . γεγραμμένα ἐστί* or *τὰ . . . γεγραμμένα* in the lacuna here. The corresponding Latin formulae are *damnas esto dare facere praestare . . . fideique eius committo*; cf. the will of Dasumius C. I. L. 1352. 116 and 125, the will of Hadoindus in Brissonius, *de Formulis* vii, *ita ut ubicumque aliquid per hoc testamentum meum dederō legavero dareque iussero id ut detur fiat praestetur fidei tuae heres mea committo*, &c.

7. Or perhaps *τέκνους ἄρρεσι δίδωμι καταλείπω*: cf. ll. 11-2. *μου* is by no means certain.

8. *περὶ τὸ . . . Ἰσείον*: it is not quite clear how these words should be constructed or even how some of them should be divided. Perhaps *τὸ Ἰστρου*, sc. *ἐποίκιον*, *τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄνω Ἰσ.*, sc. *οἰκοπέδων*, is the best interpretation; but the first *τό* may refer to *Ἰσείον* and *Ἰστρου* . . . *ἄνω* be descriptive of that name; cf. combinations like *Ἰσείον Παγγᾶ* (899. 7), *Ἰσείον Τρύφωνος* (719. 14).

9. *νυς*, which is clearly written, is puzzling. Some expression corresponding to

<sup>1</sup> We are surprised to see that Arangio-Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 295, repeats the error of writing *ἐφῶ* in l. 51 of that papyrus. Evidently *ἐφ' ᾧ* should be read there as well as in ll. 28 and 60.

προχρείας in l. 13 is expected. The lacuna at the end of the line was presumably occupied with a description of the οἰκία.

10. The names of several Oxyrhynchite villages beginning with Σε are known, Σεγκελεύ, Σεπέπτα, Σενοκωλενώ, Σενοκώμις, Σεπτώ. The following κοινὰς πρὸς is indicated by l. 12 where τὸν αὐτ[όν], if correct, implies a previous mention of a person with whom Hermogenes held property in common, and the end of l. 10 seems the most suitable place for the name to be given; cf. also l. 17.

11-2. δίδωμι καταλείπω = *do lego*, as e.g. in C. I. L. 1352. 125; cf. B. G. U. 326. i. 18 [ἢ καὶ δίδωμι καταλείπω, and ii. 17. The name to which τὸν αὐτ[όν] refers probably occurred at the end of l. 10; cf. the previous note.

14. Perhaps εἰν ἀργυρίου ταλάντοις . . . : cf. l. 25.

16. The line may be completed e.g. εὐνοοῦσθ μοι (so 494. 9) καὶ κατὰ πάντα.

17. Perhaps περὶ Κορῶ]βιν (45. 9) or Θῶσ]βιν (614, &c.).

18. It was the usual practice in marriage contracts to give the wife a general claim against the husband's property for the repayment of her dowry, but in the present case the security seems to have been limited to a portion of the husband's estate which was formally mortgaged for this purpose. For ἐπ' αὐτῇ cf. e.g. 266. 9 προσηνέγκατο αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ ἐν φερνῇ. τ[οῦ γάμου] might be supplied before φερνήν, but three or four letters would be enough.

19. For ἡλικίας γενέσθαι cf. e.g. 496. 12, 651; the age of 14 years is probably here meant, at which time a boy passed from the care of a *tutor* (ἐπίτροπος) to that of a *curator* (φροντιστής). According to the provisions of some Oxyrhynchus wills (cf. 491. 9, 495. 10) ἐπίτροποι are appointed to act for minors up to the age of 20 or 25 years, but these cases are anterior to the *constitutio Antonina*, and considering the strong tendency of Hermogenes to use Roman formulae, it is safer to take ἐπίτροπος here in its technical Roman sense. A *tutor* but not a *curator* could be appointed by a Roman will. For the phrase ἐπίτροπον ποιεῖν cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 17 ἐποίησα ἐπίτροπον τῇ ἰδίᾳ πίστι. The analogy of the present passage, in which the *tutor* is assigned to the daughter as well as the sons, makes it clear that in that much discussed clause also (cf. Arangio-Ruiz, *op. cit.* pp. 232 sqq.) ἐπίτροπος means *tutor*.

20. ἐπακολουθούσης: cf. 909. 4 ἀφελίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολουθήτρια, and note.

21. ἄρχοντα ἢ ἀντάρχοντα: cf. e.g. C. I. G. 2222. 17 ἀ[ρ]χόντων ἢ ἀνταρχόντων. ἀντι- corresponds to the Latin *pro-*. But the intervention of a magistrate would according to Roman law be necessary when the sons required a *curator*; cf. 888. introd.

23. φίλω μου is very doubtful; the name of Dionysammon's (?) father may be given instead.

25. Possibly ἐν ᾧρα γάμου γενομένη, with δοθῆναι βούλομαι before τῇ Διδύμῃ, but the reading would not be very satisfactory, and γενομένη, if rightly deciphered, may also be constructed with ὑπό.

26. We suppose that there is a small dash after κληρονομία, followed by a short blank space; but the papyrus is damaged in this part, and a letter or two may have intervened before the supposed το. There is not room for Εὐσεβοῦς κ.τ.λ. at the end of this line. Perhaps Τακίτου alone stood here, with the Roman month or a reference to the consuls; cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 11-2.

28. ἐλύθη κ.τ.λ.: this entry, which is in the same hand and was evidently written at the same time as the rest of the text, indicates that the whole document is a copy made after the λύσις had taken place. Cf. B. G. U. 326. ii. 21 καὶ ἀνεγνώσθησαν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ διαθήκη ἐλύθη, and for λύειν in this connexion also 715. 19, B. G. U. 592. ii. 7, &c.

## 908. CONTRACT BETWEEN EUTHENIARCHS.

30.6 x 8.5 cm.

A. D. 199.

An agreement between Sarapion, who was either himself a eutheniarch at Oxyrhynchus or, more probably, the grandson of a person holding that office (cf. note on l. 5), and five other eutheniarchs concerning the grinding of wheat for bread to be supplied to the city. The precise terms of the agreement are much obscured by the mutilation of the papyrus; the five eutheniarchs were however each to bear the expense of one factory, and Sarapion and his grandfather were apparently together made responsible for a sixth, the average daily output of each mill being fixed at 20 artabae. But the details are comparatively unimportant, and the value of the document lies mainly in the fresh information supplied regarding the office of gymnasiarch and eutheniarch. The eutheniarchs, who first appear towards the end of the second century, superintended the food supply of the capital towns; but they are not very often mentioned and their official rank is not yet clear (cf. P. Tebt. 397. 14-5, note). They are sometimes found holding another office simultaneously, e. g. that of exegetes; in the present case five eutheniarchs were gymnasiarchs. We here learn further that at Oxyrhynchus they formed a board of at least six; and ll. 18-21 indicate that these six held office for a period of a single month. Hence it would appear that the number for the year was twelve, and that they exercised their functions in alternate months in two sections of six. With regard to the number of the gymnasiarchs, of whom five are mentioned in ll. 6-15, this is the largest figure yet attested for Oxyrhynchus; but C. P. Herm. 57 (to which Wilcken called our attention) indicates the coexistence of at least ten gymnasiarchs at Hermopolis, and there may well have been ten or twelve or even more at Oxyrhynchus. At Athens at this period there were monthly as well as yearly gymnasiarchs, and the monthly office was sometimes held by more than one person (Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung*, I. 548).

Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Ὡρείων . . .  
 ωνος διὰ τοῦ κατὰ πατ[έρα] πάπ-  
 που Ἀπίωνος γυμνα[σ]ιαρχή-  
 σαντος τῆς Ὀξύρυγχιτων  
 5 πόλεως νυνεὶ εὐθηνιάρχης  
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Τιβερίω  
 Κλαυδίω Διδύμῳ καὶ ὥς χρημα-

- τίξει τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διονυσείου  
 καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου ἱερonei-  
 10 κῶν ἀτελῶν καὶ Θέωνι τῷ  
 [καὶ Ἀν]τιμάχῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ καὶ  
 [. . . κ]αὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ τῷ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ  
 [ἐξ]ηγητεύσαντι καὶ Ὡρείωνι  
 [τῷ κ]αὶ Βερενεικιανῷ ἐξηγη-  
 15 [τεύ]σαντι τοῖς ἐ γυμνασιάρ-  
 [χαις] καὶ εὐθηνιάρχαις τῆς αὐτῆς  
 [Ὁξ]υρυχειτῶν πόλεως χ[αίρ]ειν.  
 [συ]νέθεμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς νῦν  
 [ἐ]ὐθηνιαρχοῦντι ἀπ[ὸ λ] τοῦ ὄν-  
 20 [τος] μηνὸς Παῦνι ἕως κθ τοῦ  
 [ἐ]ξῆς μηνὸς Ἐπειφ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 [τος] ζ (ἔτους) ὥστε ὑφ' ἐκάστου ὑμῶν  
 ἀρτοκοπεῖον ἐν ἀπαρτισθῆναι  
 [. .] . ησιε . . τρεφόντων ὑμῶν τὰ  
 25 [κ]τήνη χόρτῳ τε καὶ κριθῇ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 [ἀ]λήθειν τ[ὰ κτ]ήνη ἡμερησίως καθ' ἑ-  
 καστον ἐρ[γ]αστήριον μέχρι πυρ[οῦ]  
 ἀρταβῶν εἰ[κοσι] . [. .] . ασαρ . . . . . [. χο-  
 [ρηγ]οῦντος τὰ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἐργαστηρί[ῳ]  
 30 κ[τ]ήνη κατὰ τὸ σ[.] . [. .] . λῳκαμε  
 [. .] . [. .] . ὑμῶν . . σ[αν]μασυν[.] . [. .] . π[α]-  
 [ρ]έχειν ἐν ἐργαστή[ρ]ι[ν] τὸν . . [. . . . .]  
 [. γερπ( ) ἐμοῦ παρ[έ]χον[τ]ος τροφᾶς . . .  
 [ἀ]λήθοντας πρὸς τὸ . . . . [ἐργ]αστήριον τ[ὰ]ς  
 35 ἡσας ἡμερησίως ν[.] . . . . ἀρτάβας  
 εἴκοσι, οὐκ ἐξόντος [οὐδενὶ] ἡμῶν [π]α[ρα]-  
 [βα]ίνειν τὰ προγεγραμμ[ένα] κ[ύρι]α ταῦ[τ]α  
 τὰ γράμματα ἐξασσὰ γραφέν[τα] πρὸς [τὸ ἐ]κ[ά]-  
 τερον ἡμῶν ἔχειν μοναχόν. (ἔτους) ζ  
 40 Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Λουκίου  
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνα[κος]  
 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβ[η]νικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου

καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου Σεβαστῶν  
 Παῦνι κη. (2nd hand) Σαραπίων (δ) καὶ Ὡρεῖ[αν  
 45 δι' ἐμοῦ Ἀπίωνος π[ά]ππου  
 εὐδοκῶ πᾶσιν τοῖς προκει-  
 μένοις.

5. 1. εὐθηνιάρχου (ῖ). 9. ἱερας . . . ἱερονεικων Pap. 12. ἰσιδωρω Pap. 18. ὕμας  
 Pap. 19. 1. [ε]ὐθηνιρχοῦντας. 20. παῦνι Pap. 22. ὕφ . . . ὕμων Pap. 35. ὕσας Pap. (?)

‘Sarapion also called Horion, son of . . . on, through his paternal grandfather Apion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, at present eutheniarch of the said city, to Tiberius Claudius Didymus and however he is styled, a victor in the games and exempt from taxation, member of the Dionyseum and the sacred club, and to Theon also called Antimachus and Dionysius also called . . . and Achilles also called Isidorus, ex-exegetes, and Horion also called Berenicianus, ex-exegetes, all five gymnasiarchs and eutheniarchs of the said city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I have made a compact with you being now eutheniarchs from the (30th?) of the present month Pauni till the 29th of the following month Epeiph in the current 7th year, that one bakery be fitted out by each of you . . . the animals being fed by you with grass and barley, on the understanding that they grind daily in each factory as much as 20 artabae of wheat . . . supplying the animals in each factory . . . to provide one factory, the fodder being provided by me, and we shall grind at (this) factory an equal amount daily, namely 20 artabae; and it shall be unlawful for any of us to transgress the aforesaid conditions. This contract, done in six copies in order that each of us may have one, is valid.’ Date and signature of Sarapion.

1. Probably Ὡρεῖ[ωνος] or Ἀπί[ωνος].

5. It is not clear whether εὐθηνιάρχης refers to Sarapion or to Apion; in the former case the order is irregular, in the latter εὐθηνιάρχου should have been written. On the whole we prefer the second alternative, though why Sarapion appears in the business at all then becomes obscure, and his action must be supposed to depend upon a private arrangement between himself and his grandfather.

8-10. This Διονυσεῖον is more probably an Oxyrhynchite than an Alexandrian temple; cf. B. G. U. 1073, a notification from the boule of Oxyrhynchus to the record-office of the election of a person to the σύλλογος of a ἱερὰ σύνοδος, which entitled him to ἀτέλεια, and 1074, the statement of this individual's claim, which in l. 1 cites a rescript of Claudius Gothicus (cf. Wilcken, *Archiv*, IV. p. 564 and Viereck, *Klio*, VIII. p. 413) addressed τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονίκαις στεφανείταις. A τόπος καλούμενος Διονύσου Τεχνιτῶν at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in 171 (Part II, p. 208), and the impost in 917. 3 apparently called σπ(ονδῇ) Διόν(ύσου) may in some way have benefited the Διονυσεῖον.

19. ἀπὸ [λ]: cf. l. 44, which shows that this contract was written on Pauni 28. 30 days would be a natural period.

24. [ἐκ] τῆς ὕσης is not satisfactory, for though the doubtful ε may be σ, the vestiges of the next letter do not seem to suit η; a stroke below the line suggests rather ξ or ρ. With ὕσης moreover a diaeresis would be expected over the ι. [ἡμε]ρησίως cannot be read.

28. Not ἐμοῦ Σαραπίωνος.

30. There may be a letter at the end of the line after ε, e.g. ν, but a first person plural does not accord at all well with κατὰ τό. The traces do not suit δεδηλώκαμεν, and ἀνηλώκαμεν is unsatisfactory. π might be read in place of το.

31. Perhaps *pāsan*. The doubtful  $\mu$  may be  $\lambda$  or  $\delta$ ; *ἄνδρας* would be possible. . . . *ἡμᾶς τοῦ[ς]* would assist [*ἀ*]λήθοντας in l. 34, but the  $\tau$  especially is difficult.

32. Perhaps τὸν Ἀπ[ίωνα].

33. *ερ* is followed by the curved mark commonly used in abbreviations to represent  $\pi$ . *παρ[ε]χον[τ]ος* is very doubtful.

38. *έξασσός* is unknown to the lexica but is parallel to *τετρασσός*, P. Amh. 107. 16, B. G. U. 817. 17. The word is also to be recognized in P. Strassb. 29. 46 where, as the facsimile shows, *έξασσῇ γραφίσα* should be read for *έξās συνγραφίσα*.

## 909. SALE OF ACACIA-TREES.

27.5 × 10.8 cm.

A. D. 225.

A contract for the sale of fourteen acacia-trees on the edge of a vineyard for 1200 drachmae, the purchase-money being devoted to the payment of arrears of taxes upon the vineyard.

*Αὐρήλιος Πολλίων Πολλίωνος ἀπ' Ὀξύρυγχων*  
*πόλεως ἐπίτροπος ἀφηλίκων τέκνων*  
*Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου Ὀνησᾶτος*  
*καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀφηλίκων μήτηρ καὶ ἐπακολου-*  
5 *θήτρια Αὐρηλία Εὐδαιμονὶς Ἀντινόου*  
*τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Ἀντινοῖς χωρὶς κυρίου χρη-*  
*ματίζουσα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθῃ τέκνων*  
*δικαίῳ Αὐρηλίοις Σερήνῳ υἱῷ Αὐρηλίου*  
*Ἀμμωνίου ἐξηγητεύσαντος τῆς Ὀξύρυγ-*  
10 *χειτῶν πόλεως καὶ Σερήνῳ Σερήνου*  
*καὶ Θεωνᾷτι χρηματίζοντι μητρὸς*  
*Τααρμιύσιος καὶ Σωτηρίχῳ Διδύμου ἀπ[ὸ]*  
*τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν*  
*πεπρακέναι ὑμῖν τοῖς τέσσαρσι ἐξ ἴσου*  
15 *τὰς οὖσας ἐπὶ χώματος ἀμπελ[ι]κοῦ*  
*κτήματος νεοφύτου τῶν ἀφηλίκων*  
*περὶ κώμην Σενέπτα ἀκάνθας ἀριθμῷ*  
*τελείας δεκατέσσαρας τειμῆς τῆς συμ-*  
*πεφωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀργυ-*  
20 *ρίου δραχμῶν χειλ[ί]ων διακοσίων, αἱ πρὸς*  
*εχώρησαν εἰς συνωνὴν πυροῦ χωρή-*

σ[α]ντος ὑπὲρ μετρημάτων τῆς προκ[ει-  
 μένης ἀμπέλου χρόνων θεοῦ Κομόδο[υ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἀκαν-  
 25 θῶν ἀναβολὴν ἐξ [ἐ]πιρίζων καὶ ἄρσιν  
 ταῖς ὑμῶν δαπάναις ποιήσασθαι ὅποτεν  
 αἰρῆσθαι, ἐπάναγκον δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους), καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν  
 ἀναβολὴν καὶ ἄρσιν τὸν [κ]όσμον τῶν τό-  
 30 πων τὸ ἴσον ποιήσασθαι ἡμᾶς τε κατὰ τὸ ἡ-  
 μι[σ]υ καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πεπρακότας κατὰ τὸ ἕτερο[ν  
 ἡμῖς καθὼς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστάθη, καὶ ἐπηρω-  
 τηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν. κυρία ἡ πρᾶσις  
 δισση γραφείσα. (ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρ[ος  
 35 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξ[άνδρου] Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι ιε.  
 2nd hand Αὐρήλιος Πτολλί[ων] Πτολλίωνος μετ' ἐπα-  
 κολουθητρίας τῇ[ς] μητρὸς  
 . . . . .

7. τεκνω— Pap. 8. νῖω Pap. 9. εὐ of ἐξηγητευσαντος corr. from η. 14. ἴσου  
 Pap. 21-2. ο of χωρησ[α]ντος corr. from α and s added above the line. 27. 1. αἰρήσθε.  
 28. των added above the line. 30. ἴσον Pap. 32. 1. ἐπερωτηθέντες.

'Aurelius Ptolion son of Ptolion, of Oxyrhynchus, *tutor* of the children of Apollonius also called Didymus, son of Onesas, who are minors, and the mother of the minors, who gives her concurrence, Aurelia Eudaemonis daughter of Antinous also called Hermes, of Antinoöpolis, acting without a guardian in accordance with Roman custom by the right of her children, to the Aurelii Serenus son of Aurelius Ammonius, formerly exegetes of Oxyrhynchus, and Serenus son of Serenus, and Theonas styled as having Taarmiusis as his mother, and Soterichus son of Didymus, of the said city, greeting. We acknowledge that we have sold to you four in equal shares the fourteen acacia-trees in good condition growing upon the embankment of the newly-planted vineyard belonging to the minors, at the price agreed upon between us of 1200 drachmae of silver, which sum was devoted to the purchase of wheat paid for the dues upon the aforesaid vineyard in the reign of the deified Commodus, on condition that you shall perform the complete uprooting and removal of the aforesaid acacia-trees at your own expense whenever you choose, but of necessity not later than Mesore of the present 4th year, and after the pulling up and removal of the acacia-trees the place shall be set in order in equal shares, half by us and the other half by you the buyers, as hereby agreed, and in answer to the formal question we have given our consent. This sale, of which there are two copies, is valid. The 4th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Tubi 15.' Signature of Aurelius Ptolion.

4. Cf. P. Leipzig 9. 6, where three ἀφήλικες send an ἀπογραφὴ through their mother as ἐπακολουθήτρια, and 907. 20, where the concurrence (ἐπακολουθεῖν) of the mother in the acts of the guardian of minors is provided for by will.

15. For ἄκανθαι in vineyards cf. P. Brit. Mus. 214. 13-5 (II. p. 162). The wood was used for boat-building (Hdt. ii. 96), and for various kinds of machinery (P. Brit. Mus. 1177. 177-220 = III. pp. 186-7), and gum arabic was obtained from it (Hdt. ii. 96).

20. The clause αἱ προσεχώρησαν κ.τ.λ. takes the place of the usual acknowledgement of the purchase-price by the seller. Apparently the money in question had been paid direct to the sellers of the corn.

25. ἀναβολήν: this word is generally used for 'banking up', and the trees were ἐπὶ χώματος (l. 15); but the context shows that it must here be employed in the unusual sense of digging up or uprooting. ἐξ [ἐ]πιρίζων is very uncertain; ω[.] can be read for εξ, but ὧ[ς] yields no sense, ὧ[ς] ἐπὶ ῥητῶν being inadmissible. We suppose the sense of ἐπιρρίζος, which apparently does not occur, to be similar to that of ἐπιρρίζιον which is read by editors in Diosc. 1. 10 ῥίζα δὲ . . . πλάγια δὲ τὰ ἐπιρρίζια ἔχει, i. e. the smaller roots subsidiary to the main ones; for the form cf. ἐπόρριζος.

## 910. LEASE OF LAND.

31.5 × 9 cm.

A. D. 197.

A lease of 5 arourae of land at Pakerke for four years, following the usual formula. In the first and third years of the lease the land was to be sown with wheat at a rent of 6 artabae per aroura, in the second and fourth years with green-stuffs at a rent of 32 drachmae per aroura; cf. e.g. P. Tebt. 377. Seven artabae of seed-corn were lent by the landlord for the first year's crop. Caracalla is called in the date formula emperor-designate on Nov. 4, 197, as in inscriptions and coins of that year; his *tribunicia potestas* began in the following January, and already by May, 198, he was placed on an equality with his father (C. I. L. viii. 2465); cf. 976, which was written 22 days later than 910, Caracalla being still emperor-designate, and 916, where he appears as full emperor in Pauni (May 26-June 24 A.D. 198).

[Ἐμίς]θωσεν Ἱερακ[ί]ων Ἱερακίωνος ἀπ' Ὁ-  
 [ξυρύγχ]ων πόλεως ἀγορανομήσας τῆς αὐτῆς  
 [πόλεως] Τεῶτι Σαραπάμμωνος μητρὸς  
 [. . .]ατος καταγεινομένῳ ἐν κώμῃ Πα-  
 5 [κέρκη] ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχίας εἰς ἔτη  
 [τέσσα]ρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος 5 (ἔτους) τὰς  
 [ὑπαρχο]ύσας αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Πακέρκη ἀρού-  
 [ρας πέν]τε, ὥστε τῷ μὲν ἐνεστῶτι 5 (ἔτει)  
 [καὶ ἡ (ἔτει)] σπεῖραι πυρῷ ἐκφορίου κατ' ἔτος

- 10 [κατ' ἄ]ρουραν ἀνὰ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἕξ, τῷ δὲ  
 [ἐξῆ]ς ζ' (ἔτει) καὶ θ' (ἔτει) ξυλαμῆσαι χλω-  
 [ροῖς φό]ρου ὡσαύτως κατ' ἔτος κατ' ἄρου-  
 [ραν ἀνὰ] δραχμὰς τριάκοντα δύο. ὁμο-  
 [λογεῖ δὲ] ὁ μεμισθωμένος αὐτόθι
- 15 [ἐσχηκέναι] καὶ παραμεμετρηῆσθαι παρὰ  
 [τοῦ γεο]ύχου ἐν προ[ο]χρεῖα εἰς σπέρμα  
 [ὑπὲρ τῇ]ς γῆς μόνου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους  
 [πυροῦ ἀρ]τάβας ἑπτὰ, ὧν τὰς ἵσας ἑπά-  
 [ναγκο]ν ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ ἅμα τοῖς τῆς
- 20 [γῆς ἐκ]φορίοις τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 [ἐνεστ]ῶτος ἔτου[ς] μέτρῳ ᾧ παρείληφεν  
 [ἀκίνδ]υνα πάντα [π]αντὸς κινδύνου,  
 [τῶν] τῆς γῆς δη[μ]οσίων ὄντων πρὸς  
 [τὸν γεο]ύχον, ὃν [κ]αὶ κυριεύειν τῶν
- 25 [καρπ]ῶν ἕως τὰ κατ' ἔτος ὀφειλόμε-  
 [να κο]μίσηται. ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰσιόν-  
 [τος ἔ]τους, ὃ μὴ εἴ[η], ἄβροχος γένηται  
 [παρα]δεχθήσετα[ι] τῷ μεμισθωμένῳ,  
 [ὃς β]εβαιουμένη[ς] τῆς μισθώσεως
- 30 [ἀπο]δῶτω τὰ ἐκ[φ]όρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους  
 [κα]τ' ἔτος μηνὶ [Π]αῦνι, τὸν δὲ πυρὸν  
 [ἐ]φ' ἄλλω τῆς Πακέρκη νέον καθαρὸν  
 ἄδολον ἄκρειθον κεκοσκινευμένον  
 μέτρῳ τετραχοινείῳ παραλημ-
- 35 πτικῷ τοῦ γεούχου, τῆς μετρήσεως  
 γ[ε]ινομένης ὑπ[ὲρ] τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ πρᾶ-  
 ξ[ι]ς ἔ[σ]τω ἕκ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων, ἐπ[ὶ] τῷ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν μεμισθωμένον παραδῶναι τὴν
- 40 γ[ῆν] τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τεθρυκο-  
 πημένην καὶ κα[θ]αρὰν ἀπὸ θρύου καὶ δει-  
 σης πάσης. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις. (ἔτους) 5  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ

- 45 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος ἀποδεδειγμένου  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀθὺρ η. (2nd hand) Τεῶς Σαρα-  
 πάμμωνος μεμίσθωμαι ἐπὶ  
 τὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη τὴν γῆν ἐκφορί-  
 50 ου καὶ φόρου κ[α]τ' ἄρουραν κατ' ἔτος  
 τῆς μὲν ἐν π[υ]ρῷ διετίας ἀνὰ πυ-  
 ροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑξ, [τ]ῆς δὲ ἐν χλω-  
 ροῖς ἀνὰ δραχμὰς τριάκοντα  
 δύο, καὶ ἔσχον τὰς τῶν σπερμάτων  
 55 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας [ἐπ]τὰ καὶ ἀποδώσω  
 πάντα ὥς π[ρ]όκειται. Πτολεμαῖος Διο-  
 νυσίου ἔγραψα [ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδ[ό]-  
 τος γράμματα.

1. ἱερακ[ι]ῶν ἱερ. Pap.

14. ο before μεμισθ. over an erasure.

18. ἱσας Pap.

26. ἱσιου[τος] Pap.

37. ὑπαρχοντων Pap.

'Hieracion son of Hieracion, of Oxyrhynchus, ex-agoranomus of the said city, has leased to Teos son of Sarapammon, his mother being . . . as, inhabiting the village of Pakerke in the eastern toparchy, for four years dating from the present 6th year, the 5 arourae which he owns at Pakerke, on condition that in the present 6th year and in the 8th year Teos shall sow them with wheat at the annual rent of 6 artabae of wheat per aroura, and in the following 7th and 9th years he shall cultivate them with green-stuffs at the annual rent likewise of 32 drachmae per aroura. The lessee acknowledges that he has on the spot received and had measured to him from the landlord as a loan for seed on account of the land, for the present year only, 7 artabae of wheat, of which he shall be compelled to repay an equal amount to the lessor together with the rent in kind in the month Pauni of the said present year, by the same measure as that by which he received it, guaranteed completely against all risks, the taxes upon the land being payable by the landlord, who shall further retain the ownership of the produce until he recovers his annual dues. If after the coming year (which heaven forbid!) any part be unirrigated, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, who when the lease is guaranteed shall pay the rent in kind and money annually in the month of Pauni, the wheat at the threshing-floor of Pakerke, new, pure, unadulterated, unmixed with barley, and sifted, according to the 4-choenix receiving measure of the landlord, the measuring being done by his agents; and he shall have the right of execution upon both the lessee and all his property, and the said lessee shall deliver the land in the last year with all the rushes cut, and free from rushes and dirt of all kinds. This lease is valid.' Date and signature of the lessee.

30. τὰ ἐκ[φ]όρια καὶ τοὺς φόρους: for the distinction cf. P. Tebt. 377. 23-7, note.

## 911. LEASE OF A HOUSE.

11.1 x 7.2 cm.

A. D. 233 or 265.

This contract for the lease of part of a house at Oxyrhynchus follows so far as it goes the ordinary formula (cf. e. g. 502) ; the chief point of interest in it is the mention of a special appointment of a *ὑπογραφεύς* or subscriber to act on behalf of the lessee, whose sight was affected ; cf. note on ll. 6 sqq. The papyrus was written in the third century in the 13th year of an emperor who must be Severus Alexander or Gallienus.

Ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος  
 ὁ καὶ [Ζ]ωίλος ἀρχιερατεύσας ἐξηγη-  
 τῆς β[ο]υλευτῆς τῆς Ὁξυρρυχειῶν πό-  
 λεως Αὐρηλίῳ Θεογένι Θεογένους  
 5 τοῦ Θεογένους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως  
 ἀσθενῇ τὰς ὄψις μετ' ὑπογραφέως  
 τοῦ συνχωρηθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν  
 ὑπομνημάτων τῆς στρατηγίας  
 Αὐρη[λί]ου Διονυ[σίου] τοῦ καὶ Ἀμμωνίου  
 10 ἐπὶ χρ[ὸ]νον ἔτη δύο ἔτι ἀπὸ α Θωθ  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιγ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ-  
 χόντων αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὁξυρύχω[ν]  
 πόλει. [ἐ]π' ἀμφόδου Δρόμου Θοήριδος  
 ἡμισυ μέρος οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ὑφ' ἣν  
 15 κατάγιον καὶ αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν ταύτης  
 χρηστηρίων [π]άντων κοινῆς πρὸς  
 [. . . . .] . . [.]ον κατὰ τὸ[.] . . . .

2. [ζ]ωίλος Pap. 6. μετ' Pap. 1. μεθ'. 8. ὑπομνημάτων Pap. 11. ὑπαρχόντων  
 Pap. 14. ὑφ Pap.

'Aurelius Demetrius also called Zoilus, ex-chief priest, exegetes and councillor of Oxyrhynchus, has leased to Aurelius Theogenes son of Theogenes, of the said city, who has weak sight, and is acting with the subscriber who has been appointed for him in accordance with the memoranda of the office of the strategus, namely Aurelius Dionysius also called Ammonius, for a period of two years from Thoth 1 of the present 13th year, of his property at the said city of Oxyrhynchus in the quarter of the Square of Thoëris, a half share of a house and yard, beneath which is a cellar, and court, and all the appurtenances, being held by me in common with . . .'

6-8. An appointment of a *ὑπογραφεύς* by the strategus seems to be quite novel, and shows the *ὑπογραφεύς* in a somewhat new light. This term is frequently used in contracts to designate the person who signs on behalf of an illiterate party to an agreement, but *per se* has no other concern with the business in hand; there is no reason to suppose that ordinary 'subscribers' of this kind required any official recognition. A man with defective sight would naturally need in his business transactions the services of such a *ὑπογραφεύς*, but the latter would not be expected to have the prominence here accorded him, or to be specially appointed by the strategus. On the other hand if the physical disabilities of Theogenes had been such as to debar him from acting on his own account, his representative should have been termed *κηδεμών* or *φροντιστής*, not *ὑπογραφεύς*. The position of this officially constituted *ὑπογραφεύς* appears to lie somewhere between that of the *curator mente capti* and the normal 'subscriber'.

## 912. LEASE OF A CELLAR.

26.8 x 7.9 cm.

A. D. 235.

A lease of an underground chamber in a house together with the space above the *exhedra*, at an annual rental of 60 drachmae; cf. 502, the phraseology of which is closely similar, and B. G. U. 253. The date in l. 40 appears to show that the death of Alexander Severus and the accession of Maximinus occurred some days earlier in the year 235 than has been generally supposed; cf. the note *ad loc.*

Ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλία Βησοῦς  
 Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς Σαραπιά-  
 δος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 μετὰ συνεστῶτος Αὐρηλίου  
 5 Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Πατύτι Πανούριος  
 ἀπὸ Μερμέρων ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν  
 ἓνα ἀπὸ α Θῶθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος β (ἔτους)  
 ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτὴ ἔχει ἐμ μισθώσει  
 10 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἰσιδώρου Χαιρήμονος  
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Νότου Κρηπείδος  
 οἰκίας τὸ ἐνὸν κατὰγειον καὶ τὸν  
 ἐπάνω τῆς ἐξέδρας τόπον ἐνοι-  
 κίου τοῦ ἔτους ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν  
 15 ἐξήκοντα. βεβαιουμένης δὲ τῆς  
 μισθώσεως χράσθω ὁ μεμι-

νον παραδότην τοὺς μισθο-  
 μένους αὐτῇ ὡς πρόκειται  
 25 τόπους καθαρὸς ἀπὸ κοπρίων  
 καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας ὡς ἐὰν  
 παραλάβῃ καὶ τὰς ἐφεστώσας  
 τοῖς τόποις θύρας καὶ κλεῖδας,  
 ἢ ἀποτεισάτω οὐδ' ἐὰν μὴ πα-  
 30 ραδῶ τὴν ἀξίαν τειμὴν ὃ δ' [ἐὰν]  
 προσοφιλέσῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνοι-  
 κίου μεθ' ἡμιολίας, γεινομέ-  
 νης τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τε αὐ-  
 τοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 35 αὐτῷ πάντων. κυρία ἡ μίσθω-  
 σις, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμο-  
 λόγησεν. (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος  
 Καίσαρος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Οὐήρου

σθαμένος τοῖς μισθουμένοις  
 αὐτῷ τόποις ἐπὶ τὸν χρόνον  
 ἀκωλύτως, καὶ ἀποδότω τὸ ἐνοί-  
 20 κιον ἐν δόσεσι δυσὶ τοῦ ἔτους  
 δι' ἑξαμήνου τὸ ἥμισυ ἀν-  
 υπερθέτως. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χρό-

Μαξιμείνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς  
 40 [Σεβα(στοῦ) Φαμε]νῶθ α. (2nd hand)  
 Αὐρηλία  
 [Βησοῦς μ]εμισθωκα ὥς πρ[ό-  
 [κειται . . . . .] . . . . .  
 . . . . .

7. ενιαυτῷ Pap. 14. δραχμῷ Pap. 21. ανῦπερθετως Pap. 24. 1. αὐτῷ. 30.  
 [εἰ] Pap. 32. μεθ' Pap. 34. υπαρχοντῷ Pap.

'Aurelia Besous, daughter of Sarapion and Sarapias, of Oxyrhynchus, acting with Aurelius Theon also called Asclepiades, has leased to Aurelius Patus son of Panouris, from Mermertha, for one year from Thoth 1 of the coming 2nd year out of the house which she herself holds on lease from Aurelius Isidorus son of Chaeremon in the South Quay quarter, the cellar within it and the space above the hall at the rent of 60 drachmae of silver for the year. When the lease is guaranteed the lessee shall use the parts leased to him throughout the period without hindrance, and shall pay the rent in two instalments in the year, half the sum at intervals of 6 months, without any delay. And at the end of the period he shall deliver the parts leased to him as aforesaid free from filth and dirt of every kind, in the condition in which he receives them, with the existing doors and keys, or shall forfeit a sum equivalent to what he fails to deliver, and for arrears of rent one and a half times the original amount, the lessor having the right of execution upon both his person and all his property. This lease is valid, and in answer to the formal question he gave his consent. The 1st year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Julius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth 1.' Signature of Aurelia Besous.

4. μετὰ συνεστῶτος: the precise legal significance of this phrase, which is found in several papyri of the period subsequent to the *constitutio Antonina*, is somewhat obscure. That it is not equivalent to μετὰ κυρίου is quite clear from e.g. C. P. R. I. 9. 2 (χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζούση . . . συνεστῶτός σοι Αὐρηλίου Εὐδαίμονος: cf. P. Leipzig 4. 8 and P. Strassb. 29. 29), where there is a direct opposition between κύριος and συνεστῶς. Wenger, in his most recent discussion of the subject, *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1907, p. 293, proposes to find an explanation in the distinction between Reichsrecht and Volksrecht; where the former no longer required a κύριος the latter retained him in the form of a συνεστῶς: cf. P. Leipzig 28. 4 μετὰ συνεστῶτος οὗ ἐκ[ο]σ[τ]α ἐμαντῇ παρήνεγκα. συμπάρων is sometimes used as a synonym for συνεστῶς; cf. P. Leipzig 3. i. 2 and 29. 3, 20.

40. Φαμε]νῶθ α: this is a remarkable date, since Alexander Severus is supposed to have been killed about Feb. 10, and that the accession of Maximinus should have been known at Oxyrhynchus so soon after as Feb. 25 is incredible. If Φαμε]νῶθ α here is correct, the death of Alexander must be put back somewhat earlier; a date from about Jan. 10-20 is the latest that would be expected. On the other hand some days of January in this year must be allowed to Alexander in order to account for coins on which is marked the 14th year of his *tribunicia potestas*, which would date from Jan. 1. The problem is further complicated by a papyrus from the Hieracleopolite nome translated by Wessely in *Führer Pap. Erz. Rainer* No. 249, which is dated in Pharmouthi of the 14th year of Alexander; that is to say, the writer of that document continued to reckon the year by Alexander at least 30 days after another writer, at a place further south, had adopted the new reckoning

by Maximinus. The discrepancy, however, is less striking than that between B. G. U. 784 which is dated by Pertinax on April 2, 193, and B. G. U. 515 which is still dated by Commodus on June 2 of the same year, both documents coming from the Fayûm. It seems that the scribes were not very prompt in adapting themselves to the altered conditions, and that force of habit sometimes led careless persons to go on using a superseded formula; cf. 907. introd.

With regard to the reading, the numeral *a* might perhaps be *ε*, but that makes hardly any difference. It is a little surprising that there is nothing to be seen of the abbreviation of Σεβα(στοῦ), for the papyrus is broken only slightly above the line of the letters. [Σεβαστοῦ] Θῶθ might well be read, but Thoth 1 of a first year is an impossible date, since according to the Egyptian reckoning Thoth 1 always began a new regnal year. There is no doubt either about the number of the year in l. 37, which is also guaranteed by l. 8, or that ]. ωθ *a* was written at the same time as the rest of the date. Θῶθ *a* might possibly be explained as an inadvertence of the scribe caused by a reminiscence of l. 8; but this cannot be regarded as a satisfactory hypothesis.

41. πρόκειται may of course have been abbreviated.

## 913. LEASE OF LAND.

31·7 × 23·5 cm.

A. D. 442.

A lease of 9 acres of land for apparently three years (cf. note on l. 8), at the rent of half the produce, the landlord being responsible for taxes and the tenants providing seed.

[Υπατείας Φ]λαουίων Εὐδοξίου κ[αὶ] Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπρ(οτάτων)  
Φαῶφι ιη.

[. . . . . θ]υγατρὶ τοῦ τ[ῆ]ς ἀρίστης μνή(μη)ς Δανηλίου

[προπολιτευο]μένον τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὁξύρυχιτῶν πόλεως

5 [πα]ρὰ Αὐρη[λίου] Ἀρμυσίου υἱοῦ Παδιδύμου καὶ Τάορ θυγατρὸς Κάστορος

[. .]θεσμ[. . .] ἀπὸ κώμης Πτώχεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἐκουσίως

[βουλόμεθ]α μισθώσασθαι ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος

[ἐτους ἕως] σπορᾶς τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀπὸ τῶν

[ὑπαρχόντων] σοι ἐν πεδίῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας κώμης ἐδάφους

10 [σιτικοῦ ἀρ]ούρας ἐννέα ἢ ὅσας ἐὰν ᾧσιν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμᾶς ταύτας

[σπεῖραι οἷς] αἰρώμεθα γενήμασιν ἐφ' ἡμισίας πάντων τῶν

[περιγιγνομ]ένων καρπῶ[ν] ἐφ' ᾧτε ἡμᾶς παρασχέιν σοὶ τῇ γεούχῳ

[τὸ ἡμισυ μέρ]ος ἀντὶ φόρου τῶν περιγιγνομένων καρπῶν

μ[ετὰ καλῆ]ς πίσ[τ]εως, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μεμισθωμένους ἀνθ' ᾧν

15 ποιούμ[εθα] καμάτων τῆς γεωργίας καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν καταβαλλομένων

παρ' ἡμῶ[ν] σ[περμάτων τῇ γῇ] ἔχειν τὸ ἄλλο ἡμισυ μέρος

ἀνυπερ[θέτ]ως, τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς σὲ  
 τὴν γεοῦχ[ον] ἐπάναγκες δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης παρασχεῖν  
 τὸ ἥμισ[υ] μέρους τῶν καρπῶν ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως  
 20 καὶ τὴν ἀν[αβο]λὴν τῶν {ν} ἄ(ρ)ουρῶν ποιήσασθαι. κυρία ἡ μίσθωσις  
 διςσὴ γρ[αφεῖ]σα κα[ὶ] ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὠμ[ολ]ογήσαμεν. (2nd hand) Αὐρή-  
 λειο(ι) Ἀρμύσιον υἱὸν  
 Παδιδύμ{ι}ου κ[α]ὶ [Τάορ] θυγάτηρ Κάστωρος οἱ προγεγραμμένοι μεμισθώμεθα  
 τὴν  
 γῆν καὶ ἀποδώσ[ομ]εν ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος[ς] τῶν περιγιγνο-  
 μένων καρπων  
 καὶ συμφωνῇ ἡμ[ῶν] πάν]τα τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκειται. Φλ(αούιος)  
 Σαραπίων Ὀρίωνος ἀξιώθεις  
 25 ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶ[ν] πα]ρόντων γράμματα μὴ εἰδόντων.

(1st hand) *p di emu . . . . . !h . .*

On the verso vestiges of an endorsement.

3. δανηλιου over an erasure. 5. α of αρμυσιου corr. from ρ. υιου Pap. 7. αλλη-  
 λεγγυης Pap. 8. ἑνδικτιονος Pap. 17. ἀνυπερ[θέτ]ως Pap. 19. ἀνυπερθετως Pap.  
 21. 1. Ἀρμύσιος υἱός. 23. 1. περιγυνομένων καρπῶν.

'In the consulship of Flavius Eudoxius and Flavius Dioscorus the most illustrious, Phaophi 18. To . . . daughter of of Daniel, of excellent memory, president of the council in the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, from Aurelius Harmisius son of Padidymus and Aurelia Taor daughter of Castor, . . . from the village of Ptochis in the said nome. We desire of our own free will to lease upon our mutual security from the present year until the sowing of the 13th indiction, out of the land belonging to you in the fields of our village, 9 arouae of corn-land or thereabouts, on condition that we sow them with any crops we please on the basis of half shares in the resulting produce, the terms being that we shall pay to you the landlord in place of rent the half of the produce in good faith, and that we the lessees in return for the labour bestowed on the cultivation and the seed sown by us in the land shall keep the other half, with no delay, the taxes upon the land being due from you the landlord; and it shall be obligatory upon us on our mutual security to pay the half of the produce at the proper season with no delay, and to perform the banking up of the land. This lease, of which there are two copies, is valid, and in answer to the formal question we have given our assent.' Signatures of the lessees written for them by Flavius Sarapion.

4. [προπολιτευο]μένων: cf. 67, 2, C. P. R. I. 19. 1, P. Leipzig 37. 3. The title probably means president of the *decuriones* (πολιτευόμενοι); cf. Mitteis, C. P. R. I. pp. 61-2.

6. ]θεσμ[ is awkward and raises doubts whether the fragment containing these letters and ]ρα αυρη[ in l. 5 is after all rightly placed here; the hand, however, though not certainly identical, is very similar, the fibres of the papyrus correspond rather well, and the verso, which contains vestiges of an endorsement in the right position, is also suitable. A title

referring to Κάστωρος would be apposite, but ]θεσμ[ suggests nothing likely. The name "Ενθεσμος occurs in 70. 6, and possibly this may be read here as the patronymic of Castor, τοῦ being omitted, though in the case of the other persons concerned grandfathers' names are not added, and there would barely be room for [Εν].

8. For ἕως] σπορᾶς cf. B. G. U. 586. 10 πρὸς μόνην τὴν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους σποράν. ἀπὸ] σπορᾶς is suggested by e. g. P. Tebt. 378. 9; but a difficulty would then arise concerning the number of the indiction, which should in that case be the 11th, not the 13th, and ἕως has the further advantage of defining the term of the lease.

11. There is not room in the lacuna for οἷς ἑάν. The rent of one half the produce was fairly common in the Oxyrhynchite nome; cf. 103, 277, 729.

14. For μ[ετὰ καλῆ]ς (or ἀγαθῆ]ς) πίσ[τ]εως cf. e. g. P. Leipzig 28. 21.

20. The corrupt word ναουρων is more probably for ἀρουρών, as Wilcken suggests, than e. g. for νεουργῶν or νεώρων (cf. Theophrast. *C. Pl.* 3. 13. 3 διὰ τὸ νεουργόν τε εἶναι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀκάρπωτον, and Photius νέωρον νέον).

## 914. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEBT.

17.1 X 11.6 cm.

A. D. 486.

A promissory note for the payment of two solidi of gold, due in consequence of a purchase of dye. The goods had already been delivered to the purchaser, who in the present document undertakes to pay the money for them two months later.

[+ Το]ῖς μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ  
λαμπρ(οτάτου) Μεχεῖρ ε θ ἰνδικ(τίονος).

[Αὐρήλ]ιος Ἀπφοῦτος υἱὸς Ἀρεοῦτος μητρὸς Κυρίας  
[ὀρμ]ώμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξύρυχιτῶν πόλεως

5 [Αὐρη]λίῳ Σερήνῳ υἱῷ Δανηελίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς

[αὐτῆς π]όλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ὀφίλειν σοι καὶ

[χρε]ωστεῖν ἀπὸ τιμῆς διαφόρων βαμμάτων

[ὧν ἐ]ώνημαι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἐβάσταξα κατὰ τὰ μεταξὺ

[σύμφ]ωνα χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) β.

10 [τὰ δὲ το]ῦ χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο ἀκίνδυνα

[πάντ]α ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου ἐπάναγκες

[ἀποδ]ώσω σοι ἐν τῷ Φαρμουῦθι μηνὶ τοῦ

[ἐνεστ]ῶτος ἔτους ρξβ ρλα τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτης

[ἰνδι]κτίονος ἀνυπερθέτως, τῆς εἰσπράξεως

15 [σοι γι]γνομένης π[α]ρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-

[χόντ]ων μοι πάντων ὑποκειμένων τῇ

[ἐκτί]σει τοῦδε τοῦ χρέους ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ  
 [καὶ ὑπο]θήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ γραμματίον  
 [δισσὸ]ν γράφ[ε]ν κ[αὶ] ἐ[περωτηθεὶς] ὁμολόγησα.

On the verso

20 γρ(αμματίον) Ἀφφούτος υἱοῦ Ἀρεώτου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὁξυ[ρυχιτῶν]  
 πόλεως.

1. ὑπατειαν φλαουίου Pap. 2. Ἰνδικ(τίονος) Pap. 3. 1. Ἀφφούς. υἱός Pap. 5. 1.  
 Δανιηλίου. 14. ἀνῦπερθετως Pap. 15. ὑπαρ[χοντ]ῶν Pap. 20. υἱου Pap.

‘The year after the consulship of Flavius Theodoric the most illustrious, Mecheir 5, the 9th indiction. Aurelius Apphous son of Hareous and Cyria, coming from the city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Serenus son of Daniel, of the said city, greeting. I acknowledge that I owe as a debt to you, of the price of various dyes which I have bought from you and removed in accordance with the agreement between us, two solidi of gold, total 2 solidi of gold; and the two solidi of gold I will of necessity repay to you free of all risk in the month Pharmouthi of the current 162nd = the 131st year and the present 9th indiction with no delay, and you shall have the right of execution upon me and all my property, which is mortgaged for the repayment of this debt, as security and lawful pledge. This bond, which is written in duplicate, is valid, and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. (Endorsed) Deed of Apphous son of Hareotes, of the illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus.’

1. There is an inconsistency in the statements of date, for the year after the consulship of Theodoric was A. D. 485, whereas the dates by the indiction in l. 2 and by the Oxyrhynchite eras in l. 13 combine to fix the year as 486. The letters  $\lambda\varsigma$  are broken, but satisfactory enough, and  $\beta$  cannot be read; there would indeed be room for one or two more letters in the lacuna, but with a chrismon and an enlarged initial letter the space would be sufficiently accounted for. The scribe therefore seems to have made a mistake; cf. 133 and 140, in which the eighth year after the consulship of Basilus appears where the ninth would be expected.

3. Ἀρεούτος: in the endorsement on the back the father's name is given as Ἀρεώτου.

9. For [σύμφ]ωνα cf. e. g. P. Strassb. 40. 13.

10. The supplement is a trifle long for the lacuna.

13. On the Oxyrhynchite eras cf. 125. introd.

17-8. Cf. 136. 41 and P. Amh. 151. 19.

## 915. RECEIPT FOR LEAD AND TIN.

6 × 30.4 cm.

A. D. 572.

A receipt for lead and tin supplied by a lead-worker for repairing the pipes of a bath. The papyrus was found rolled up with four similar receipts issued to the same lead-worker, which are described in 1000-1003. The writing is in each case across the fibres. 915 alone is dated by the two Oxyrhynchite eras.

+ Ἐδόθ(ησαν) δ(ιὰ) Ἀπολλῶ μολιβουργ(οῦ) Γεωργίῳ παιδὶ εἰς κόλλησιν  
τῶν σωλήνων

τοῦ λουτρ(οῦ) τοῦ προαστί(ου) Φαῶφι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) 5 μολήδου λίτρ(αι)  
δάδεκα καὶ κασιδηρίου λίτρ(αι) τρῖς,

γί(νονται) μολήδ(ου) λί(τραι) ιβ καὶ κασιδ(ηρίου) λί(τραι) γ μ(όναι).

(2nd hand) γί(νονται) μολ(ύβδου) λί(τραι) δάδεκα καὶ κασιδηρ(ίου)

λί(τραι) τρῖς μ(όναι).

(1st hand) (ἔτους) σμθ καὶ σιη Φαῶφι κ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἔκτ[ης. ]

1. 1. μολυβδουργ(οῦ).

2. 1. μολύβδου . . . κασιτερίου: so in l. 3.

‘Provided by Apollos, lead-worker, for Georgius, servant, for soldering the pipes of the bath in the suburb on Phaophi 20 of the 6th indiction, twelve pounds of lead and three pounds of tin, total 12 lbs. lead and 3 lbs. tin only. Total 12 lbs. lead and 3 lbs. tin only. The 249th which = the 218th year, Phaophi 20, 6th indiction.’

## (e) TAXATION

### 916. TAX-RECEIPT.

16.3 × 19.4 cm.

A. D. 198.

A receipt for a series of payments on account of a tax of which the name is abbreviated as  $\eta\varsigma$  or  $\eta^+$  and the precise nature is still a matter of uncertainty. This impost is known from two other published texts, B. G. U. 572. 5 and 10, and P. Tebt. 500, in both instances occurring along with the *ναύβιον* and other imposts on land. Wilcken (*Ost.* I. p. 174<sup>1</sup>) interprets it as meaning *ὀγδόη*. The present text shows that it was calculated upon the *aroura*, and the mention of the praefect's instructions concerning it suggests that it was a special levy rather than a regular tax. The sums paid are rather high, amounting to 640 drachmae within two months (ll. 12-9), but it is not clear whether the individual to whom the receipt is issued was the tax-collector or the tax-payer. Caracalla appears as full emperor in Pauni of the 6th year (May 26-June 24 of A. D. 198); cf. 910. introd.

\*Ἐτους 5 Λουκίου Σεπτιμί[ου

Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακ[ος

Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρ(α)βικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικ[οῦ

- Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ[άτο]ρος  
 5 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντ[ωνί]νου  
 Σεβαστοῦ Παῦνι. διεγράφη Πασίωνι  
 [κ]αὶ μετόχ[οις] δημ[οσίοις] τραπ[εζίταις] Ὁξ[υρυγχίτου] [λ]όγ[ου] ης  
 τῆς κελ[ε]υ-  
 σθείσης κατ' ἄρουρα[ν ἀν]ενεχθῆναι  
 ἀκολούθως τοῖς γρα[φεί]σι ὑπὸ Αἰμιλί[ου]  
 10 Σατουρνίνου τοῦ λα[μ]προτάτου ἡγεμ[ό]νος  
 Τιβέριος Κλούδιος Γέμεινος ὁ κ[αὶ]  
 Γαίων δραχ[μὰς] διακοσί[α]ς, γί[ν]ονται (δραχμαὶ) σ. Πασί[ων]  
 βασιλικ[ὸς] τραπ[εζίτης] σεσημ[ε]ίωμαι.  
 καὶ τῇ ις τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ὁμοί[ως] ὁ αὐτὸς δρα[χμὰς]  
 15 τριακοσίας τεσσεράκον[τ]α, γί[ν]ονται (δραχμαὶ) τμ. Πασί[ων]  
 βασιλικ[ὸς] τραπ[εζίτης] σεσημ[ε]ίωμαι.  
 2nd hand καὶ τῇ ια τοῦ Ἐπειφ ὁμοί[ως] λόγ[ου] η<sup>+</sup>  
 δραχμὰς ἑκατόν, / (δραχμαὶ) ρ. Ζωίλ[ος] ὕ[π]η[ρ]έ[της]  
 σεσημ[ε]ίωμαι.  
 20 καὶ τῇ κδ τοῦ Φαῶφι ὁμοί[ως] [λόγ[ου] η<sup>+</sup> δρα-  
 χμὰς [δ]ι[α]κοσ[ί]α[ς], [ / (δραχμαὶ) σ.  
 . . . . .

3. β of αρβικου written through an α. 6. 1. διέγραψε. 11. os of κλουδιος corr.  
 1. Κλαύδιος. 17. υ of του and first ε of επειφ corr. 20. δ of κδ corr.

'The sixth year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus  
 Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus  
 Augustus, Pauni. Paid to Pasion and his associates, public bankers of the Oxyrhynchite  
 nome, on account of the tax of  $\frac{1}{3}$  (?) ordered to be paid upon the aroua in accordance with  
 the edict of his excellency the praefect Aemilius Saturninus, by Tiberius Claudius Geminus  
 also called Gaiion (?) two hundred drachmae, total 200 dr. Signed by me, Pasion, public  
 banker.' Records of other instalments follow.

9. On the praefecture of Aemilius Saturninus cf. 899. 10, note.

11-2. The name Γαίων occurs in P. Brit. Mus. II. 258. 130-1, &c., and the repetition  
 of the ι here was perhaps a clerical error. The initial letter is uncertain, and might be meant  
 for σ or possibly ε, and ε could also be read in place of α. In any case a second name  
 seems here more likely than e. g. οἱ π(έρ) (for ὑπέρ) ἐγγαί[ι]ων, for though the interchange  
 of α and υ is common enough, to postulate it in a doubtful passage is not very satisfactory.  
 There would too only just be room for the abbreviation of π and εγ in the lacuna.

## 917. TAXING-MEMORANDUM.

5 x 9.8 cm. Late second or early third century.

A memorandum extracted from the day-book of a collector of money-taxes, summarizing payments under various heads. Of the imposts mentioned two, the *ναύβιον* (l. 2) and *ἐπαρούριον* (l. 3), are familiar. The tax of  $\frac{1}{6}$  (l. 2) is not often met with in Roman times, but a *ἐκτη τεμαχῶν* occurs in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1171. 72 and a *ἐκτη* levied upon *παράδεισοι* apparently in P. Tebt. 343. 69, where we supposed that it was connected with the Ptolemaic tax of  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the produce for *ἀπόμοιρα* upon vineyards and gardens, in spite of the fact that the *ἀπόμοιρα* is known to have been sometimes calculated in Roman times upon the acreage of land. That the *ἐκτη* here too means the *ἀπόμοιρα* is very likely, especially as the latter is found in 653, where several of the taxes mentioned in 917 occur; the name *ἐκτη*, however, may be a mere survival and not necessarily imply that the tax was actually  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the produce. The tax *να( ) φο( )* (l. 2) is known from 653, where we resolved the abbreviations doubtfully as *να(ῦλον) φο(ρτίων)*. *να(ῦλον)* is on the whole more probable than *να(ύβιον)*; but *φο(ρτίων)* is unsatisfactory, and *φο(ρέτρον)* is more likely than *φό(ρον)* though *να(ύλον) φο(ρέτρον)* is a somewhat tautologous expression; *φουνίκων* or *φουνικῶνος*, however, would more naturally be abbreviated *φοι( )*. The remaining impost, abbreviated *σπ( ) διον( )* (l. 3), we connect with *σπονδ(ή)* in 653, and regard it as levied nominally for a libation to Dionysus; cf. *σπονδή* as a tax in P. Tebt. 347. 2. There may well be a connexion between this tax and the *Διονυσείον* at Oxyrhynchus, which perhaps benefited by the proceeds; cf. 908. 8-10, note.

Two other similar memoranda by the same tax-collector are described in 981-2. One of these has only the beginnings of lines; the other, which is complete, mentions besides *ἐπαρο(ύριον)* a tax called *πηχ(ισμοῦ) περισ(τερώνων)*, for which 47 dr. 1 ob. 2 chal. are paid. *πηχισμοῦ* by itself appears as an impost in P. Brit. Mus. II. 1171. 73, where  $7\frac{1}{2}$  dr. are paid for it, and 400 drachmae are entered for *ἐπιβολ(ῆς) πηχισμοῦ* in P. Brit. Mus. III. 1157. 111, 600 dr. in l. 113, and 400 dr. for *πηχ(ισμοῦ) οἰκοπ(έδων)* in l. 152. The editors suggest that the charges for *πηχισμός* were for measuring areas, but remark that the amounts paid are high; possibly the impost was levied upon the areas measured, not on behalf of the measuring. That the impost *γεωμετρίας* means land-tax, not a tax for measuring, was maintained by Wilcken (*Ost.* I. pp. 173-6), but the evidence subsequently discovered does not support that view; cf. P. Tebt. I. p. 39. There is, however, somewhat less difficulty in referring the term *πηχισμός* than *γεωμετρία* to an area measured, and we are disposed to regard the *πηχισμὸς περιστερώνων*

as a tax upon pigeon-houses levied according to their size. In Ptolemaic times there was a tax upon them called *τρίτη περιστερώνων* (i. e.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the profits; cf. P. Tebt. 84. 9, note), but this is not known to have survived into Roman times, and the *πηχισμὸς περιστ.* may have taken its place. The 4th year, in which 917 and 981 are written (982 is dated in the 3rd year), more probably refers to the reign of Septimius Severus than to that of Marcus Aurelius, Elagabalus, or Severus Alexander.

Ἐξ ἐφη(μερίδος) Ἀπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Ταλαώ.  
 να(υβίου) καὶ 5' καὶ να(ύλου) φο(ρέτρου?) τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ)  
 κβ (ἡμιωβέλιον),  
 ἐπαρο(υρίου) (δραχμαὶ) ρθ χα(λκοῖ) γ, σπ(ονδῆς) Διον(ύσου?) (δραχμαὶ) η  
 (τετράβολον) χα(λκοῦς) α,  
 / (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ (πεντάβολον). δόσις (δραχμαὶ) ρλθ ὀβ(ολοὶ) 5,  
 5 / (δραχμαὶ) ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ἐννέα ὀβολοὶ) 5.  
 (ἔτους) δ Παῦνι ε.

2. β of κβ corr. from δ.

'From the day-book of Apion, collector of money-taxes at Talao. For naubion and the tax of  $\frac{1}{8}$  and freight by water for the present 4th year 22 dr.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ob., for land-tax 109 dr. 3 chalci, for a libation to Dionysus(?) 8 dr. 4 ob. 1 chal. Total 139 dr. 5 ob. Paid 139 dr. 6 ob. Total one hundred and thirty-nine dr. 6 obols. The 4th year, Pauni 5.'

3. σπ(ονδῆς): the first letter might possibly be ε, but σ is a more suitable reading and is confirmed by 653; cf. introd.

4. The sum actually paid is 1 obol in excess of what was due; similarly in 981 the δόσις exceeds the previous total by nearly 2 obols.

#### 918. LAND-SURVEY.

Height 21.2 cm.

Second century.

The verso of this long papyrus contains the text of the new Greek historian (842), and a short description of the document on the recto was given in Part V, pp. 110-1. This is a very elaborate survey-register of Crown land at a village in the south-west of the Arsinoite nome near Ibion Argaci, which is mentioned e. g. in v. 17. The plots leased to separate cultivators are arranged in *σφραγίδες* of varying sizes which have a double system of numbering. One set of numbers refers to the order in which they occur in the present list, beginning with the 1st *σφραγίς* and ending, so far as the papyrus goes, with the 12th; the other set of numbers refers to some more extensive register, of which the *σφραγίδες* here

described formed a part. In only two cases are the figures of the second set preserved, the 1st and 2nd *σφραγίδες* of the present list corresponding to the 17th and 18th of the other; and it is not unlikely that there was a difference of 16 between the two sets of numbers throughout. From these numbered *σφραγίδες* must be distinguished the use of the term *σφραγίς* in 918 to denote the individual plots; cf. ii. 16, note.

The normal scheme of the survey is as follows. First comes a description of a particular *σφραγίς* as a whole,—its geographical relation to the preceding *σφραγίς*, its number on both systems, its size, the rents yielded by it, and its adjacent areas. Where as the result of flooding or other cause in former years (ranging from the 3rd to the 12th of an unnamed emperor) the rents were no longer paid or had been reduced, or the land had changed its category (e. g. *χερσάλμυρος* which had become pasture land), information is added on these points, there being several references to earlier surveys. The general account of each *σφραγίς* closes with the words *ὅν τὸ κατακ* ( . . ) (cf. ii. 13, note), referring to the following description of the individual plots into which it was subdivided. These more detailed entries give the geographical position of each plot (in the first entry the arourae are defined as *ἀρχόμεναι*, in the later ones as *ἐχόμεναι*), the name of the lessee or cultivator, the size and rent of the plot, the adjacent areas, and the addition made to the rent as the result of a reassessment. Where the land was not paying the normal rent or had undergone changes, the details already summarized in the general account of the *σφραγίς* are repeated in reference to the particular cultivators, e. g. in Col. xi.

The papyrus is divided into four sections separated by gaps, and as the writing on the recto and verso runs in opposite directions, D, the last section of the historical work containing Cols. xi–xxi, is the first of the land-survey, comprising Cols. i–viii. Col. i, which is much mutilated, is in a different hand from the rest, and is apparently the concluding part of a summary of the succeeding columns. It is concerned chiefly with land *καθ' ὕδατος* (cf. Cols. ix–xv), and ends *γίνονται καθ' ὕδατος* (*ἀρouraί*) *ψκηλίς' Χ' β' ξ' δ'.* *ὅν ἡ ποσεία.* In Col. ii begins the detailed list of *σφραγίδες*. Lines 1–2 indicate the point from which the survey starts, and ll. 3–7 apparently define the position of certain arourae, 22 $\frac{5}{8}$  in number, which stand in some obscure relationship to the 1st *σφραγίς*. The general description of that *σφραγίς* occupies ll. 8–13, and the details concerning the two sets of cultivators of the 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  arourae comprised in it fill ii. 1–iii. 2. In iii. 3 begins the general description of the 2nd *σφραγίς*, which contained 10 $\frac{1}{8}$  arourae, the details following in iii. 11–v. 14. The 3rd *σφραγίς* (v. 15–21) contained only 2 arourae situated in a hollow which seems to have been formerly dry but was now flooded, and as no rent or cultivators were assigned to it only

the general description was required. The account of the 4th *σφραγίς* (vi. 1-8) is incomplete, but the number of the arourae in it (8, including  $\frac{1}{16}$  aroura for a canal) is preserved. It was divided among three sets of cultivators who owned respectively  $4\frac{1}{16}$ , 2, and  $1\frac{5}{16}$  arourae. vi. 19-vii. 1 contains the description of what is clearly the 5th *σφραγίς*, though the number is for some reason omitted. It comprised  $5\frac{1}{2}$  arourae, but only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  are accounted for in vii. 2-11, so that either  $5\frac{1}{2}$  is an error for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or an entry has been left out. vii. 12-18 gives the description of the 6th *σφραγίς*, which contained  $30\frac{5}{16}$  arourae, and the details concerning the several plots followed in Col. viii, of which only a few letters from the beginnings of lines are preserved, section D breaking off at this point. So far the land in question, with the exception of that in the 2nd *σφραγίς*, had been in good condition. The rents up to this point range with one exception from  $6\frac{1}{4}$  artabae per aroura down to  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , this being the commonest rate; cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 267, where the rents of Crown land near Lake Moeris range from 7 to  $2\frac{1}{3}$  artabae per aroura,  $4\frac{2}{3}$  art. being the most frequent. The exception occurs in the description of the 6th *σφραγίς*, where the  $30\frac{5}{16}$  arourae pay at the rate of (*πυροῦ ἀρτάβας*) δ κ' ξ' ρ' ξ', i. e.  $4\frac{1}{20} \frac{1}{60} \frac{1}{160}$ , or  $4\frac{7}{96}$  art., a fraction which could not be expressed without departing from the ordinary series of fractions of the artaba  $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{12}$ , &c. In every instance an addition to the rents had been recently made of amounts ranging from  $\frac{1}{12}$  to 1 artaba, and in one case (iii. 1-2) the rent had been twice raised. The case is different when we turn to the later columns of the survey on the recto of sections C, B, and A. These are chiefly concerned with land which had been flooded, and was therefore unproductive except where it had been reclaimed for pastures. A, containing the ends of lines of Col. xiii, Col. xiv, which is incomplete, and Col. xv, of which the ends of lines are lost, deals with the 11th and 12th *σφραγίδες*; but to which *σφραγίς* C (parts of 12 lines from Col. ix) and B (containing a portion of Col. x, Col. xi, which is fairly well preserved, and a few letters from the beginnings of lines of Col. xii) refer is not indicated, and the relative order of these three sections would be quite doubtful apart from the text on the verso. If we are right in regarding A as the first section of the historical work (cf. Part V, pp. 114-5), it is the last of the survey, and C and B must belong to the *σφραγίδες* intervening between the 6th and 11th; but it remains uncertain whether C comes between D and B or between B and A; cf. Part V, pp. 113-4. Col. ix, so far as can be judged from its scanty remains, deals with land similar to that described in Col. xi, various *ἀναμετρήσεις* (cf. xi. 5) being mentioned. Nothing can be made of Col. x, but Col. xi. 1-9 gives the conclusion of a general description of a new *σφραγίς*, which had been flooded, the entries concerning the individual holdings following in ll. 10 sqq. Owing to the loss of the beginning and the uncertainty of the construction of the various

relative clauses which are piled one upon another the details are not clear, but various categories of land καθ' ὕδατος are distinguishable: (1) in l. 2 that on which rent continued for a time at any rate to be exacted, ὧν τὰ [ἐ]κφόρια διεστάλ(η), (2) in ll. 3 and 13 land of which the rent had been reduced and which subsequently had been converted into pasture land, (3) in l. 21 land ἐν ἐποχῇ, a category frequently mentioned also in Cols. xiii-xiv, and apparently implying land upon which the collection of the rents (in xi. 21 4 artabae to the aroura) had been suspended indefinitely; cf. P. Tebt. 336. 13-5 and 337. 2, notes. Col. xii, as we have said, is represented only by a few letters, and Col. xiii, with which section A begins, has only ends of lines. Both this column and Col. xiv give part of a detailed list of entries referring to what must be the 11th σφραγίς, since the account of the 12th σφραγίς begins at the top of Col. xv. Of the five entries in Col. xiii two are concerned with land ἐν ἐποχῇ, two with land in another category, the arourae being called ἐναφει(μέναι), a term which occurs in P. Tebt. II. 325. 5; cf. note *ad loc.* The land had presumably been placed in this class because it had been flooded, but to judge by P. Tebt. 325 ἐναφει(μένη) γῆ was capable of being cultivated, though at only a nominal rent. Col. xiv contains five more entries concerning lands placed ἐν ἐποχῇ in the 8th year. Rents at the rate of  $4\frac{1}{4}$  and  $1\frac{5}{8}$  artabae to the aroura are mentioned (the latter being exceptionally low, cf. p. 274), but if our interpretation of ἐποχή is correct these represent only the rents paid before the land went out of cultivation. Col. xv begins with a description of the 12th σφραγίς, which occupies ll. 1-12. Lines 3-11 summarize in a manner similar to xi. 1-5 the changes which had taken place in the character of the land since the 4th year as the result of various ἐπισκέψεις, but owing to the loss of the ends no connected sense is obtainable. The σφραγίς seems to have consisted largely of χερσάλλ(μυρος) which had been converted into νομαί at different periods, and, since  $30\frac{2}{3}\frac{3}{2}$  arourae are mentioned in l. 6, to have been more extensive than usual. Lines 13-21 give the first three entries concerning individual holdings. In one of these the land had become καθ' ὕδατος in the 12th year, but the remark is added ἀποκατεστάθ(η) τ[ὸ] ἐνεστ[ῶτι] (ἔτει) [ , showing that it had been reclaimed in the year in which the survey was written. Since no years later than the 12th are mentioned elsewhere in the papyrus, the ἐνεστὸς ἔτος is likely to have been very soon after the 12th, and may even be the 13th. The handwriting proves that the survey belongs to the second century, and most probably to the reign of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. We print Cols. ii. 1-iii. 16, v. 15-21, xi and xiii, which afford good specimens of the whole. The parts omitted mainly consist of repetitions of the same formulae or are too much damaged to be intelligible.

Two other land-surveys of the Roman period exhibit a classification of land

by numbered σφραγίδες, P. Fay. 339 and P. Bruxell. 1 (Mayence and de Ricci, *Musée Belge*, 1904, pp. 101 sqq.). P. Fay. 339 is a mere fragment, but the accounts of the 11th and 12th σφραγίδες are for the most part preserved; the text of the entry concerning the 12th σφραγίς is quoted in our publication, that of the 11th follows the same formula. The geographical situation of each σφραγίς, its size, rent, cultivator, and surroundings are given; but the areas are much smaller than in 918, being only 1 and 1½ arourae in the two cases, and the term σφραγίς seems to be used to denote a plot of ground belonging to a single lessee rather than a group of such plots; cf. ii. 16, note. On the other hand in the Brussels papyrus, which though reputed to come from Dimeh is on account of the proper names more likely to have been discovered at Hermopolis and to refer to land in the Hermopolite, not the Arsinoite, nome, the σφραγίδες are much larger than those in 918, one of them containing over 635 arourae. ιδιωτική as well as βασιλική γῆ is included in them, and the land-tax upon the former is added to receipts from rents of the latter, whereas in 918 private land, though frequently mentioned among the γείτορες, is not included in the survey. The Brussels survey, of which the extant portions cover the 6th to the 10th σφραγίδες, is moreover on a much less elaborate scale than 918, and does not enter into any details concerning individual cultivators of Crown land.

## Col. ii.

- 2nd hand [ἀρχομέν]ων ἀπὸ νότ[ου . . . . .]ους φοι(νικῶνος) ἐν ἡπίρῳ  
 [. . . . .]λουμ(ένῳ)  
 [. . . . .] Ὀριγένους ἀπ[. . . . .] ἐξ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρχο(ς) Τεκ-  
 [νάνις κα]λουμ(ένης) μεθ' (ἡν) γύης [. . . . .] κβλῆ' διατίν[ο(υσαι)]  
 ἐπὶ  
 5 νότ(ον). γ[ί(τονες)] νότ(ον) τῶν τῆς [. . . . .] Ἀ]μυνταροῦτο[ς τ]ῆς  
 Ἀμύν[το]ν, βορρᾶ διῶρυξ [. . . . .], ἀπηλ(ιώτου) Τασαταβοῦτος  
 [τ]ῆς Ὀννώφ[ρ]εως σι(τοφόρος), [λιβδ(ς) διῶρυ]ξ μεθ' (ἡν) ὀδό(ς).  
 [α] σφρα(γίς) ἢ ἐστ(ι) ιξ σφρα(γίς) ε[. . . . .] . ἐνείλ( ) καὶ  
 καμπ(ύλη?) σπόρω  
 (ἄρourke) θί'ς' ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ςδ' (ἄρourke) β [καὶ ἀ(νὰ)  
 (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] δδ' μ' (ή) (ἄρourke) ζί'ς', / αἱ προκείμεναι.  
 10 γί(τονες) νότ(ον) διῶρυξ, μεθ' (ἡν) γύη[ς α]ἰνυδρ(ος), βορρᾶ βασιλ(ικῇ) γῆ  
 ἡπιρο(ς)  
 διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) Ἀγχορίμφεω[ς] Ὀννώφρεως καὶ Πατύνιος

- "*Ἡρωνο(ς) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως τῆς*  
*Πε[σούρεως,*  
*λιβὸς(ς) Τεκνάνις λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἡν) ὁδός. ὦν [τὸ κατακ( )·*  
*ἀρχόμ(εναι) ἀπὸ νότ(ου) [. . .] . εὗς Ἀμήους τοῦ Σοκονώπ(ιος) καὶ [. . .*  
 15 *Ἀμήους τοῦ Πατύνεως ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ' μ' ἡ'*  
*(ἄρουνται) ἐδ' ἡ' ἰς'.*  
*γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ, βορρᾶ ἢ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς), ἀπηλ(ιώτου)*  
*κατοικ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη), λι(βὸς)*  
*διῶρυξ. καὶ προσωρίσθ(η) ἄλλο κατὰ (ἄρουνται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) β'.*  
*βορρᾶ ἐχόμ(εναι) ἐγβ(αίνουσιν) ἀπηλ(ιώτου) Ἀγχορίμφ(εως) Ὀννώφ(ρεως)*  
*τοῦ*  
*Δείου καὶ Ἰσίωνο(ς) Πανεφρέμ(εως) καὶ Πατύνις Ἡρων[ο(ς)]*  
 20 *τοῦ Ἡρωνο(ς) ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) (ἄρουνται) γλδ' ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)*  
*ςδ' (ἄρουνται) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δλδ' μ' ἡ'*  
*(ἄρουνται) αλδ', / αἰ π(ροκείμεναι), ἐν αἷς κοίλωμ(α) καθ' ὕδ(ατος).*  
*γί(τονες) νότ(ου) ἢ ἐπάνω*  
*σφρα(γίς) καὶ ἐπὶ τι μ(έρος) ἰδι(ωτικὰ) ἐδ(άφη) Θεαβήσεως Π(ε)σού-*  
*ρεως, βορρᾶ*  
*βασιλ(ικὴ) γῆ ἡπειρος διὰ γεωργ(ῶν) Ἀγχορ[ί]μ(φ(εως) Ὀννώφ(ρεως)*  
*καὶ Πατύνι[ο(ς)]*  
*"Ἡρωνο(ς) καὶ μετόχ(ου), ἀπ(η)λιώτου Θεαβήσεως Π(ε)σούρεως*  
*κλήρ(ος), [*

5. *ντ* of *αμυνταροντο[ς]* corr.6. Final *ο* of *τασαταβουτος* corr. from *η*.

## Col. iii.

- λιβὸς διῶ[ρυ]ξ. [καὶ προσωρίσθ(η) ἄλ]λο κατὰ (ἄρουνται) (πυροῦ*  
*ἀρτάβης) λ.*  
*ιβ (ἔτει) (ἄρουνται) β . του . [. . . προσωρίσθ(η)] ἄλλο κατὰ*  
*(ἄρουνται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) δ'.*  
*ἀπηλ(ιώτου), λ ἀνὰ μέσο[ν ὄντων ἰδι]ωτικ(ῶν) ἐδαφ(ῶν) παρατ(εινόντων)*  
*βορρᾶ ἐπὶ νότ(ου) [. . . . .]ξ, β σφρα(γίς) ἢ ἐστ(ι) ιη*  
*σφρα(γίς)*  
 5 *σπ(όρφ) (ἄρουνται) ιη' ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) ἐδ' [(ἄρουνται) α ἀ(νὰ)*  
*(πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δλδ' μ' ἡ'] (ἄρουνται) θη', / αἰ π(ροκείμεναι).*

γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶ(ρυξ) Τεκ[νάνις λε]γομ(ένη) μεθ' (ἦν) ὀδό(ς), βορρά  
 βασιλ(ικῇ)

γῆ ἥπειρο(ς) διὰ [γεωργ(ῶν)] Ὀννώφρεως τοῦ Ὀρου καὶ  
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Πανε]φρέμμεως, λιβὸς Τααμείους

[. μω( ) ἰδιω(τικῶ) ἐδ(άφη)  
 τῆς Ἀρμιέω[ς καὶ] ἐπὶ τι μέρος ἡ προκ(ειμένη) βασιλ(ικῇ) γῆ,  
 10 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ. ὦν τὸ κατακ( )·

ἀρχόμ(εναι) λιβὸς Βενιῶ[. . os Ἀγχ]ορίμμεως τοῦ  
 Ἀγχορίμμεως καὶ [Πατύνιο(ς)] Ἡρωνο(ς) τοῦ Ν[εστνήφ]εως  
 ἐξ ἀλληλ(εγγύης) ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δλδ' μ' ἡ' [(ἄρουνται) . .  
 γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) Τεκνά[νις

λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ, βορρά [βασιλ(ικῇ) γῆ ἥ]πειρο(ς) διὰ γεω[ργ(ῶν),  
 15 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς), λιβ[ὸ(ς)] . . . . . καὶ προσω-  
 ρί[σθ(η)] ἄλλο

κατὰ (ἄρουνται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) λδ'.

7 more lines.

Col. v.

14 lines.

15 νότ(ου) καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου), § ἀνὰ μ(έσον) οὔσης διῶρυχο(ς) καὶ ἱκανοῦ  
 διαστήματ(ος),

γ σφρα(γίς) χέρσο(υ) ἐν κοιλ(ώματι) καθ' ὕδατος (ἄρουνται) β.  
 γί(τονες) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ

Φαγήους λεγομ(ένη) μεθ' (ἦν) συνώρ(ια) Ἰβιῶνο(ς) Ἀργαίου, βορρά

Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς Σαραπίωνος κληρο(ς) κατοικ(ικὸς) ἀνὰ μ(έσον)

οὔσης διῶρυχο(ς) καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου(ς) κληρο(ς),

20 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ὀδό(ς) δημοσί(α) ἐν ἧ ἄφεςις λιθίνη, λιβὸς

ἡ ἐχομ(ένη) Φακήους λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ.

17. 1. συνόρ(ια).

21. ε of ἐχομ(ένη) corr.

Col. xi.

[. . . . . διὰ] τὸ καθ' ὕδατος γεγο(νέναι) (ἄρουνται) δδ' ἡ' ἰ' ἑ' λ' β' . .  
 α[. . .] ἐδ' αὶ ἐτ[. ( )

[διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ]ατο(ς) γεγο(νέναι), ὦν τὰ [ἐ]κφά(ρια) διεστάλ(η),  
 μ[εμισθ]ωμ(έναι) γ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ

- πρεσ(βυτέρων) τῆς κώ(μης)] (ἄρουνται) ιηλδ', ὦν τὰ ἐκφύ(ρια) τῷ δ  
 (ἔτει) ἡλασσ[ώθ(η)] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὑδ(ατος)  
 [γεγο(νέναι), ἀλωνείας] (ἄρουνται) α ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ', ὦν  
 εἰσιν αἱ ἐκ τῆς [γε]νομ(ένης) τῷ ια (ἔτει)  
 5 [τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ] ἀναμ[ετρή]σεως εὐρεθ(εῖσαι) ἀντὶ καθ' ὑδ(ατος) νομῶν  
 (ἄρουνται) ε[λ]δ'  
 [. . . . .] γί(τονες) τῶν ὄλ(ων) νότ(ου) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἦν) ἡ ἐξῆς  
 σφρα(γίς),  
 [βορρά ιδιω(τικὰ)] ἐδ(άφη), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ μεθ' (ἦν) βασιλ(ικῇ)  
 γῇ ἥπ(ειρος) δι(ὰ) γεωργ(ῶν) καὶ τοῦ πρὸς νότ(ου)  
 [μέρους . . . .] γ( ) ἡ σφρα(γίς), λιβδ(ς) διῶ(ρυξ) καὶ ἐπ[ί] τι μ(έρος)  
 ιδιωτ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη).  
 ὦν [τδ] κα[τα]κ( )  
 10 ἀρχόμ(εναι) νότ(ου) χ[ορ]τονομῶν ἐμφό(ρων) (ἄρουνται) ιδλ' ἡ ξδ'. γί(τονες)  
 νότ(ου) διῶρυξ,  
 [βο]ρρά πρότ(ερον) μεμισθ(ωμένη) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) ι . . . [ι] μ( ), ἀπη-  
 λ(ιώτου) καὶ λιβ[δ]ς διῶρυξ.  
 β[ορ]ρά ἐχόμ(εναι) μ[εμι]σθ(ωμέναι) γ (ἔτει) ὑπὸ Ἀ[.]π[ι]έους" Ἡρωνο(ς) καὶ  
 τῶν λοιπ(ῶν) πρεσβυτέρων)  
 [τ]ῆς κ[ώ]μης] (ἄρουνται) λ[ι] δ' αἱ οὖσ(αι) καθ' ὑδ(ατος), ὦν τὰ  
 ἐκ[φύ(ρια)] τῷ δ (ἔτει) ἡλασσώθ(η),  
 ὦν εἰ[σιν αἱ ἐκ] τῆς γενο(μένης) τῷ ια (ἔτει) τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνα-  
 μετρήσεως  
 15 [εὐρεθ(εῖσαι) ἀντὶ κ]αθ' ὑδ(ατος) ἐν νομ(αῖς) (ἄρουνται) ελδ' κα[ι] . . .] .,  
 / αἱ προκείμεναι.  
 [γί(τονες) νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπά]νω [σ]φρα(γίς), βορρά κλη[ρ]ος] κ(ατ)οι(κικὸς)  
 [καὶ ἐ]πί τι μέρος) ἀλωνεί[α]ς  
 [. . . . ., ἀπ]ηλ(ιώτου) διῶρυξ καὶ κ[ατοι]κ(ικὰ) ἐδ(άφη) [καὶ]  
 εἰσαγ(ωγός), λιβδ(ς) διῶρυξ.  
 [βορρ]ά καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐχομ(ένη) διὰ γεω[ργ]ῶν) . . . . . ἀ]λωνείας  
 (ἄρουνται) α ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ'.  
 [γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπάνω σφ[ρα]γίς), [βορρά καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου)  
 δ]ιῶρυξ, λιβδ(ς) ἡ ἐπ(άνω) σφ[ρα]γίς).  
 20 [βορρ]ά ἐχόμ(εναι) ἐγβ(αίνουσαι) λιβδ(ς) Χ[α]ιρήμον[ος Ἀγχο]ρίμφεως  
 τοῦ Ὀννώ(φρεως) καὶ Ἀγχο(ρίμφεως).

᾽Ωρου ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δ εῖ κωθ . [ . . . . . ] . [ . ] . . .  
γεω[ρ(γ )] αἰ·οῦσ(αι) ἐν ἐποχῇ  
ἀπὸ [ . (ἔτους) ] διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) [γε]γο(νέναι)

i. ε of ετ[ corr. from α. The fractions after δδ' have a horizontal stroke above them; similarly in l. 10 and xiii. i and 16.

## Col. xiii.

[ 27 letters (ᾄρουναι) . ] δ' ἡ' ξ' δ' ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) δδ'  
[ 28 ,, ἐν ἐποχῇ τεταγμ(έναι)  
[ τῷ . (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) γεγο(νέναι). γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ  
βο]ρρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς διῶ(ρυξ),  
[ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) 25 letters ]  
5 [ 23 letters καὶ με]τόχ(ων) (ᾄρουναι) γλδ', αἰ οῦσ(αι)  
[ 29 ,, ] γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ βορρᾶ  
[ 29 ,, ] τοῦ πρὸς νότ(ου) μέρους  
[ 29 ,, ]  
[ 28 ,, τ]ῷ δ (ἔτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ  
10 [ 26 ,, γί(τονες)] νότ(ου) βασιλ(ικῇ) γῇ αἰγι(αλίτις),  
[ βορρᾶ 24 letters ]  
[ 28 letters τ]ῷ δ (ἔτει) ἐναφει(μέναι) διὰ τὸ  
[ 27 ,, γ]ί(τονες) νότ(ου) Πέλωρος  
[ 26 ,, δι]ῶρυξ, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἑτέρα  
15 [ διῶρυξ, λι(βὸς) 20 letters]  
23 letters ] . [ . . . ]s (ᾄρουναι) αδ' ἡ' ι' ζ' ξ' δ', ὦν  
[ 23 ,, ] / αἰ π(ροκείμεναι). καὶ ἐν ἐποχ(ῇ)  
ἐτάγ(ησαν)  
[ τῷ . (ἔτει) διὰ τὸ καθ' ὕδ(ατος) γεγο(νέναι). γί(τονες) νότ(ου) καὶ  
βορρᾶ καὶ λι(βὸς) μεμισθ(ωμέν )  
[ ]

ii. 2. Probably not κα]λουμ(ένω), for there is hardly room for a proper name, even if an ἡπειρος was likely to bear one.

4. μεθ' (ῆν): the abbreviation μεθ( ) occurs frequently in this survey, always following the description of one of the γείτονες, but is nowhere written out. It is clearly different from ἀπὸ μέσον which occurs in a corresponding position, e. g. in v. 18, and is, we think, contrasted with it, meaning 'beyond' as opposed to 'between'; cf. v. 17, where μεθ( ) συνώρ(ια) Ἰβίωνο(ς) Ἀργαίου must mean that the boundary between the lands of Ibion and the village with which

918 is concerned lay beyond the canal which was the south γείτων of the 3rd σφραγίς. μεθ(ύριον) would hardly give the required sense, and would have been probably abbreviated μεθορ( ), and μεθ' (ήν) (or ὄν or ὅ) is practically certain. In B.G. U. 571. 9-10, where Wilcken reads ἀπὸ χέρσου(ν) ὑπολ(όγου) (ἄρουρα) α ἥς γί(τουνες) βο(ρρᾶ) ὑδρ(αγωγός) μέθορος, λιβός χέρσος, νότου ὑδρ(αγωγός) μέθ(ορος) ἐδ( ), ἀπηλ(ιώτου) κ.τ.λ., we propose μεθ' (ὄν) ὄρος, . . . μεθ' (ὄν) ἐδ(άφη).

κβζη': the interpretation of these figures, which seem to give the total of the arourae described in ll. 3-7, is uncertain, for they have a line above them such as is found elsewhere in the papyrus above a series of fractions, e.g. xi. 10, but not above numerals referring to arourae. The relationship of ll. 3-7 to ll. 1-2 and 8 sqq. is very obscure, but regarded as fractions the figures are still more difficult.

8. [α] σφρα(γίς): the restoration of the missing figure is certain, not only from the position of the entry at the beginning of the list (cf. iii. 4) but from Col. vi, where a σφρα(γίς) ἥ ἐστ(ι) ις σ[φρα(γίς) occurs in connexion with the south γείτων of the 4th σφραγίς.

ενειλ( ) is perhaps for ἐν εἰλ(υμένη): ἰλύω meaning to cover with slime is quoted by Hesychius. ἐνειλ(ημμένη) and ἐνειλ(ημένη) are unsatisfactory. σπόρφ is to be connected with (ἄρουραι), not with the preceding words; cf. iii. 5.

12. μετόχ(ου) is more probable than μετόχ(ων) here and in l. 24, since Ἰσίων Πανεφρέμεως (l. 19) seems to be meant.

13. Τεκνάνις λεγομ(ένη) διῶρυξ: neither this canal nor that called Φαγήους (v. 17), or Φακήους (v. 21), was known previously. For ὄν [τὸ κατακ( ) cf. iii. 10, xi. 9. The abbreviation κατακ( ) perhaps stands for κατὰ κεφαλὴν, which is used e.g. in Arist. Pol. 2. 10. 7 in the sense of κατ' ἄνδρα. Cf. P. Tebt. 343. 5 and 88, where ἀκεφάλου(ν) in a survey-list apparently means 'nondescript', 'unclassified'.

16. βορρᾶ ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς) means not the 2nd or any other σφραγίς adjoining the 1st, but the plot described in ll. 18 sqq.; cf. l. 21, where νότ(ου) ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) refers back to the plot described in ll. 14-7, both plots being comprised in the 1st σφραγίς. Similarly in iii. 15 ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἡ ἐχο(μένη) σφρα(γίς) corresponds to λιβός ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) in the γείτονες of the next plot described; cf. also xi. 16 and 19, where ἡ ἐπάνω σφραγίς refers in each case to the preceding holding. This, the ordinary use of σφραγίς, which occurs throughout 918 in describing the γείτονες of the individual holdings to express the separate parcels, must be distinguished from its use to denote the larger areas which had numbers, and contained several σφραγίδες in the narrower sense. Where, as e.g. in xi. 6, ἡ ἐξῆς or ἡ ἐπάνω σφρα(γίς) occurs in the description of a numbered σφραγίς as a whole, it refers to another numbered σφραγίς, not to an individual holding.

18. For ἐγβ(αίνουσαι) cf. P. Tebt. 84. 91 and note.

iii. 3. For the occurrence of an angular sign before ἀνὰ μέσον cf. P. Tebt. 86. 32. In v. 1 it takes the shape of a wavy line.

5. σπ(όρφ): cf. ii. 8, where σπόρφ is written out.

The missing figure of the arourae assessed at  $5\frac{1}{4}$  artabae is supplied by the arithmetic ( $10\frac{1}{8} = 1 + 9\frac{1}{8}$ ), and confirmed by the details concerning the 2nd σφραγίς given in iii. 17-v. 14, since two mentions of  $\frac{1}{2}$  aroura at that rate occur. The rate at which the  $9\frac{1}{8}$  arourae were assessed ( $4\frac{3}{8}$  artabae) is restored from l. 13, &c.

11-2. The restorations of the proper names are derived from an entry in Col. iv, where 1 aroura belonging to these three persons is described. Βενιάμιος is not improbable, but there is no likelihood of a connexion between this name, which ought to be Graeco-Egyptian, and Benjamin.

v. 17. Though the ω of συνώρ(ια) is for the most part lost in a lacuna, this spelling is confirmed by συνώρ(ια) Ἰβ. Ἀργ. which occurs in Col. vii.

21. ἔχομ(ένη) is superfluous and should be omitted, or perhaps altered to προκειμένη, since the canals called Φαγήους (l. 17) and Φακήους are obviously identical.

xi. 1. In the fractions of the aroura after  $\frac{1}{16}$  we should expect  $\frac{1}{32}$   $\frac{1}{64}$ ; λβ can be read, but the two following letters are irreconcilable with ξδ. The following α may be for ἀ(νά), but the sign for πυροῦ ἀρτάβας would not fill the lacuna. At the end of the line ετ[ is perhaps ἐτ[άγ(ησαν), sc. ἐν ἐποχῇ; cf. xiii. 17.

2-5. The punctuation of these lines is not clear, and to what figure ὧν in each case refers is uncertain. The land 'leased in the 3rd year' (l. 2) corresponds to that described in ll. 12-3, the 1 aroura in l. 4 to that in l. 18, and the  $6\frac{3}{4}$  arourae in l. 5 to the  $6\frac{3}{4}$  arourae in l. 15. The  $18\frac{3}{4}$  arourae in l. 3 would be expected to correspond to the figure in l. 13, but the vestiges following (ἄρουραι) there suit λ, not ι.

9. η before σφρα(γίς) is probably ἦ, not the number of the σφραγίς, since there is no stroke above it such as occurs with the numbers of the σφραγίδες elsewhere.

11. ἡ ἐχο(μένη) clearly refers to the land described in ll. 12-7; the following word is not σφρα(γίς), and to read ιβ [σφρα(γίς)] is unsatisfactory, for the individual holdings comprised in the numbered σφραγίδες do not themselves have numbers; cf. ii. 16, note. Moreover after ι . . [ . ] is a horizontal line indicating μ, or merely a mark of abbreviation, but not occurring in the abbreviation of σφραγίς elsewhere in the papyrus.

21. It is not clear whether εῖ means  $5\frac{1}{2}$  (arourae) or is an abbreviated word.  $\frac{1}{3}$  is not a common fraction of the aroura, but occurs in Rev. Laws lx. 23. It is not possible to read Λ for ε and connect the fractions with the preceding δ.

#### 919. ADVANCE OF DUES ON A FREIGHT.

14.5 × 10.3 cm.

A. D. 182?

Memorandum of an advance of 160 drachmae to a ship's captain for customs-dues to be paid at Memphis on a cargo of olives and honey. The 22nd year in which the document is dated probably refers to the reign of Commodus.

Κβ (ἔτους) Παῦνι κς  
ἐκ λόγ(ου) κλή(ρου?) 'Ιουλ(ίου) Σαραπ(ίωνος).

Καλλέα κυβερνήτ(η) εἰς τέλη

Μέμφως τῶν ἐμ[β]ληθέντ(ων)

5 αὐτῶι ἐλαίας Προσωπ(ιτῶν) α  
κομισθ(έντων) ἀπ' Ἀρσινοείτ(ου) καὶ

μόνη Κλαυδία 'Ισιδώρα

μέλιτος κερα(μίων) ζ καὶ σε-

βειτίων κ ὧν λόγ(ον)

10 δώσει (δραχμαὶ) ρξ.

δότη(ω) λόγ(ον) Σαραπ(ίωνι) (δραχμῶν) ρξ.

4. θ of ἐμ[β]ληθέντ(ων) corr. from τ.

'The 22nd year, Pauni 27, on account of the holding (?) of Julius Sarapion. Paid to Calleas, pilot, for the taxes of Memphis upon his freight of 90 Prosopite measures of olives carried from the Arsinoite nome, and 7 jars and 20 boxes of honey for Claudia Isidora solely, 160 drachmae, of which he shall render an account.

Let him render an account to Sarapion of 160 drachmae.'

2. κλί(ρον) is not quite satisfactory, but κλη(ρονόμου) or -ων is unlikely owing to l. 11, where a Sarapion is apparently mentioned whom it is natural to identify with the Julius Sarapion here.

3-4. The τέλη Μέμφεως are analogous to the duty called λιμένος Μέμφεως in Fayûm customs-receipts, e. g. P. Fay. 69, 72, &c.; cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1107 and Preisigke's recent discussion of this tax in P. Strassb. I. p. 50. In P. Hibeh 110. 24, of the third century B. C., only a small sum for γραμματικόν was paid at Memphis upon a freight of corn.

5. We suppose Προσωπ(ίτης) to be a measure deriving its name from the Prosopite nome, like the Ὀξύρυνχίτης (P. Brit. Mus. III. 1170. verso 79, &c.) from Oxyrhynchus. Προσωπ(ίτιδος) might also be read in agreement with ἐλαίας (cf. e. g. 116. 11 μέτρον Ὀμβειτικοῦ φοίνικο(ς)), in which case the measure is not specified; but apart from that small difficulty it is unlikely that olives from the Prosopite nome in the Delta would be taken to Memphis via the Fayûm. The figure at the end of the line is doubtful; it is more like 9 than 1, but does not greatly resemble either. A figure of some kind however seems essential.

8. σεβειτίων: cf. P. Par. 10. 22 σεβίτιον γυναικείον. The word is supposed to be a diminutive of σεβίς, which according to Hesychius = πνξίς.

11. Σαραπ(ίωνι): the letters are damaged but fairly secure.

## (f) ACCOUNTS

### 920. ACCOUNT OF FOOD.

13.9 × 13.8 cm.

Late second or early third century.

A short list of various articles, largely comestibles, with the prices paid for them. This is written on the verso of another money account of which parts of two columns remain, the beginnings and ends of lines respectively being lost. The items in the second column are dated in Phamenoth and Pharmouthi of the 21st year of an emperor whom from the handwriting we should suppose to be Antoninus or Commodus; the document on the verso, which is in a different hand, is unlikely to be very much later.

Διζύφων (ἀρτάβη) α	(δραχμαὶ) κ (δυόβολοι),
σινάπεως μ(έτρα) ζ	(δραχμαὶ) ις,
πλατακίων	(δραχμαὶ) κδ (ὀβολός),
λεπτῶν	(δραχμαὶ) η,
5 σαλῳτία	(δραχμαὶ) β (δυόβολοι),

ἐλαιαι	(δραχμαὶ) ιθ (δυόβολοι),
πλατακίων	(δραχμαὶ) μη,
στρουτ(οῦ) μεγάλ(ου)	(δραχμαὶ) η,
σφαι[ρ]ίων	(δραχμαὶ) κδ,
10 πλατακίων	(δραχμαὶ) νς,
σφαιρίων	(δραχμαὶ) νβ,
ἰς λόγ(ον) ἀραβῶ(νος) στρουτ(οῦ)	(δραχμαὶ) ιβ [
ῥοῶν	(δραχμαὶ) ε [

1. διζύφων Pap. 3. First α of πλατακιων corr. 6. 1. ἐλαΐαι. 8. 1. στρουθ(οῦ); so in l. 12.

1. διζύφων: cf. Anth. Pal. ix. 503 Οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐν διζύφοις δύναμιν τινα θείαν εἶναι ἔφην. χθές γοῦν δίζυφον ἐν χρονίῳ ἡπιάλῳ κάμνοντι τεταρταίῳ περιῆψα, καὶ γέγονεν ταχέως, οἷα κρότων, ὑγιής. διζύφοις and δίζυφον have been commonly rejected (διζύθοις Erasmus., ζιζύφοις (cf. *Geop.* x. 44 ζιζυφα εἰς οἶνόμελι φυλάττεται) Bapt. Pius, &c., ζωυφίους Toup, 'genuina vox nondum reperta' Stadtmüller), but are now confirmed by the papyrus. Διζύφων is apparently another form of ζιζύφον, the fruit of the zizyphus or jujube-tree; cf. e. g. Pliny, *H. N.* 15. 14. § 47.

2. μ(έτρα): or perhaps μ(άτια): the abbreviation consists of a μ with a small ζ written above and somewhat to the right of it.

3. πλατάκιον is a (new) diminutive of πλάταξ, which, according to Athen. 309 a, was an Alexandrian name of the fish κορακίνος.

4. For λεπτῶν cf. P. Strassb. 40. 48 τὰ ἐξ ἔθους διδόμενα λεπτά . . .; what exactly is meant is not clear.

5. σαλώτια: the word is unknown.

8. στρουθὸς μέγας or μεγάλη means an ostrich, but ostriches can hardly have been purchased for 8 drachmae. Perhaps this was a part payment; cf. l. 12, where 12 drachmae are paid as earnest money for στρουτ(οῦ). In P. Leipzig 97. xxviii. 18 and 20, xxix. 19 and 21 occur entries of an artaba εἰς τὰ στρουθῶν.

9. σφαιρία are probably sweetmeats, so called from their shape; cf. *Vita MS. S. Simeonis Salī* σιλήγνια καὶ σφαιρία καὶ ὀψάρια.

## 921. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY.

34.3 × 14.4 cm.

Third century.

A list of various articles, chiefly of dress; cf. 109, 741, P. Tebt. 406, P. Gen. 80, &c. The list is on the verso of a lengthy third-century account, of which the beginnings of lines are lost throughout, mostly concerning measurements of buildings, &c., and mentioning different kinds of πήχεις—ἀπλοῖ, καμαρωτικοί (or -ωτοί), and ἐμβαδοί: e. g. ἐπὶ τῷ α(ὐτὸ) ἀπλοῖ πήχ(εις) χπθζς'ίβ', ὧν καμαρωτικοί | συνδ, οἱ] λοιπ(οὶ) πήχ(εις) υκεζς'ίβ'. πήχεις καμαρωτικοί are not otherwise attested; the form ἐμβαδοί for ἐμβαδικοί occurs in Heron, *De Mensuris*, p. 314. Mention is made of

πήγματος γουβενάρων ἐρικίνων, <sup>8</sup>συνψελίων, and καινῶν πλακίων. At the bottom is an entry concerning κ]εράμια, followed by the signature Ἀνρήλιο[s] Σαρᾶς ἐσημ(ειωσάμην), part of a date, and . . .] ἐπιδέδωκα.

Τὰ ἀποκείμενα παρὰ Ἀρσινόην	ἐπικάρσιον καινὸν	α,
περιβολάδια ἐρεᾶ	γ, 15 σινδόνια σκιωτὰ	β,
στρώματα σ . ικιανα	γ, κολόβια τριβακὰ	δ,
σουρικοπάλλιον	α, ἀναβολάδια	γ,
5 ἱμάτιον λευκὸν	α, βαλανάριον	α,
κολόβια σμάλλα	δ, σινδόνιον παχὺ	α,
μαφόρτιον λευκὸν	α, 20 κερπικάρια τριβακ(ὰ)	β,
κερπικάρια ἐρεᾶ Καλλέ(ου)	β σινδόνιν Κυνοπολ(ίτου) τριβ(ακὸν)	α,
καὶ λινᾶ,	Ἀφροδίτη,	
10 περίζωμα	α, ξέσται β,	
σαβανοφακιάριον μει(κρὸν)	α, καὶ ἐν τῷ πυρ{ι} γίσκω	
σανανοφακιάρι(ον) Θαήσι(ος)	α, 25 μύστρα,	
ἄλλο τριβακὸν	α, πίπερας.	

8. καλλέ(ου) inserted later: the final letter has a stroke above it. 12. 1. σαβανο-φακιάρι(ον). 16. δ written through γ. 24. κω of πυριγισκω above the line.

‘Articles deposited with Arsinoë:—3 woollen wraps, 3 . . . coverings, 1 outer cloak, 1 white mantle, 4 woollen (?) shirts, 1 white veil, 2 woollen pillows belonging to Calles, and some linen ones, 1 girdle, 1 small face-cloth, 1 face-cloth belonging to Thaësis, 1 ditto, worn, 1 new cross-band, 2 cambrics with shaded stripes, 4 worn shirts, 3 shawls, 1 bathing-bag (?), 1 thick cambric, 2 worn pillows, 1 Cynopolite cambric, worn, an Aphrodite, 2 cups; and in the casket some spoons, some pepper.’

3. σ . ικιανα is perhaps a geographical adjective; the first letter may be α.

4. σουρικοπάλλιον: usually spelled σουβρικοπάλλιον; cf. B. G. U. 327. 7, C. P. R. I. p. 124.

6. σμάλλα is possibly to be connected with μαλλός: cf. the collateral forms μαρίλη σμαρίλη, μάραγμα σμάραγμα, &c.; but there seems to be no other trace of the spelling with an initial σ in the case of μαλλός.

8. κερπικάρια = *cervicalia*; the word is found in the form κερβικάρια in a similar list published by Wessely in C. P. R. I. p. 125, and in B. G. U. 814. 11. We interpret Καλλέ(ου) as a proper name on the analogy of Θαήσι(ος) in l. 12.

11. σαβανοφακιάριον is a new compound. σαβάνιον occurs in P. Gen. 80. 4.

14. ἐπικάρσιον: cf. C. P. R. I. 21. 19 σουδάριον [ἐπικ]άρσιον and 27. 9 παλλίολον γλοι[όν] ἐπ]ικάρσιον.

15. σκιωτὰ: cf. Arrian, *Peripl. Mar. Rubr.* p. 13 ζῶναι σκιωταί, explained to be variegated girdles. σικιωτεν in P. Tebt. 413. 11 is perhaps for σκιωτόν.

17. ἀναβολάδια occur also in 109. 9. How they differed from περιβολάδια is not clear.

18. βαλανάριον is apparently novel; the word may mean a towel or perhaps a bag carried by a person going to the bath like πρὸς βαλανίον in 903. 29.

24. *πυργίσκω* seems to be the word intended, though there is something between the *ρ* and *γ*. The surface of the papyrus was faulty here, and this may have disconcerted the writer.

26. *πίπερας* is apparently a form of *πέπερις*: cf. Alex. Trall. i. p. 67 *πιπερόγαρον* for *πεπερόγαρον*.

## 922. ACCOUNT OF HORSES.

31.1 x 21.7 cm.

Late sixth or early seventh century.

This document contains particulars concerning a number of horses and other ζῶα, how they had been disposed of, changes effected by sale and purchase, and losses through deccase. The use to which these animals were put is not stated, but some of them may well have been employed in the ὄξυς δρόμος (cf. 900. 6, note), or perhaps the δημόσιος κίρκος (145. 2). The popularity of horse-racing at this period seems to have led to the introduction of foreign breeds and variation of qualities; one of the horses here enumerated came from Constantinople (l. 15), and several unknown technical terms or epithets occur.

The sheet of papyrus is so made up that the recto of a strip added along one side coincides with the verso of the remainder, and on this surface, which is thus mostly verso, the account is written. On the back at a distance from each other are two semi-effaced and illegible lines in which we can discover no connexion with the main document.

- + Τὰ δύο ἱππάρια Ἀσκλου ἐδόθη εἰς τὸν ἱππικόν.  
 τὸ ἱππάριν Ὡφεως ἐδόθη(η) εἰς τὸ ἄνω στάβλον.  
 τὸ ἱππάριν τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐδόθη(η) εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.  
 τὸ ἱππάρ(ιον) Σπανίας ἐδόθη(η) εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.  
 5 τὸ ἱππάρ(ιον) τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου ἐδόθη(η) εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ στάβλον.  
 τὸ μικρὸν λευκὸν ἱππάριν ἐδόθη(η) εἰς τὸν ἱππικόν.  
 Πατρίκιον καὶ τὸν μικρὸν γεράτην δεδώκαμεν  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ πυρροῦ ἵππου τοῦ ἄνω στάβλου.  
 τὸ λευκὸν φοράδιον καὶ πέλατον δεδώκαμεν  
 10 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος μικροῦ ἵππου.  
 τὸν κέντινον πεπράκαμεν καὶ ἡγοράσαμεν  
 τὸν μικρὸν μελανὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ στάβλῳ.  
 τὸν ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλεβ πεπράκαμεν  
 ὑπὲρ τριῶν νομισμάτων καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενος.

15 τὸ ἱππάριν Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως πεπράκαμεν  
 ὑπὲρ [νο(μισμάτων)] γ καὶ ταῦτα ἔχει ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενος.  
 τὰ β ζῶ[α τ]ῆς Ἡρακλέους καὶ τὸ ζῶον Οὐρεειῖβτ  
 πεπρά[κ]αμεν ὑπ(ὲρ) νο(μισμάτων) εβ' καὶ ταῦτα ἐδόθ(η) τῷ αὐτῷ.  
 τὸ ζῶον το[ῦ] ἄρχο(ντος) καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὑδροφόρου καὶ ὁμουργὸς  
 20 ἀπαίθαναν.

τὸ φοράδιν τὸ ἀποθανὼν ὑποκάτω Μηνᾶ μειζοτέρ(ου).  
 ἡγοράσθη ἀπὸ Ὡφews ζῶα τρία νο(μισμάτων) γγ',  
 καὶ ἀπὸ Παλλώσεως ἄλλο ζῶον νο(μισμάτων) γ.

2nd hand ἡπέθανεν ἡ ὀνοθήλ(εια) τῶν Καρανεωτῶν.

25 τὴν ἄλλην ὀνοθήλιαν τῶν αὐτῶν Καρανεωτῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπὸ  
 Λουκίου

καὶ τὴν μικρὰν ἐπώλυσα καὶ ἔλαβα τέσσαρα νο(μίσματα) ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

1. δῶο Pap. ἱπ'παρια Pap.; so in ll. 2-6, 15. ἱπ'πικ(ον) Pap.; so in l. 6. 5. αρσι-  
 νοῖτου Pap. 7. π of πατρικιον corr. (?). 8. ὑπερ Pap.; so in ll. 10, 14, 16, and 26.  
 ἱπ'που Pap.; so in ll. 10, 13. 17. Above the last 5 letters of ουρεειῖβτ there is a horizontal  
 stroke. 19. ὑδροφορον Pap. 20. l. ἀπέθανον. 21. l. ἀποθανόν. ὑποκατω Pap.  
 24. l. ἀπέθανεν. 25. τὴν in both cases corr. from η, and final ν of αλλην and ονοθηλιαν  
 inserted. 26. l. ἐπώλησα.

'The two horses from Asclou were delivered to the groom. The horse from Ophis was delivered to the upper stable. The horse of the magistrate was delivered to the same stable. The horse from Spania was delivered to the same stable. The horse from the Arsinoite nome was delivered to the same stable. The small white horse was delivered to the groom. I gave Patricius (?) and the small . . . for the bay horse of the upper stable. I gave the white mare and the . . . for the small horse which died. I sold the . . . and bought the small black one which is in the stable. I sold the horse called Pleb for 3 solidi, which the revered Philoxenus has. I sold the horse from Constantinople for 3 solidi, which the revered Philoxenus has. I sold the two asses (?) from Heracleopolis and the ass from Oureeibt for  $5\frac{2}{3}$  solidi, which were paid to the same. The ass of the magistrate and that of the water-carrier and its mate are dead. The mare which died belonged to Menas the official. Three asses were bought from Ophis for  $8\frac{1}{3}$  solidi, and another from Pallosis for 3 solidi. The she-ass of the Karaneots is dead. The other she-ass of the said Karaneots and that belonging to the people from Lucii and the small one I sold, and received 4 solidi for them.'

1. Ἄσκλου on the analogy of Ὡφews, Σπανίας (which occurred in 190), &c., should be a place-name.

7. Πατρικιον here appears to be a proper name rather than a title. The paragraphus after l. 6 indicates that ἱππικ(όν) ends the sentence (cf. l. 1), so that Patricius does not refer to the groom. Perhaps the name of a horse is meant; cf. l. 13 and note. γεράτην may possibly mean 'aged'; cf. the late form γεραία. The τ might be read as γ.

9. πέλατον: οἱ πέλαγον, which is no easier. For φοράδι(ο)ν cf. Hesych. φοράδες αἱ θήλειαι ἵπποι.

11. κέντινος is an unknown word.

13. ἵππον τὸν λεγόμενον Πλέβ: cf. 140. 22 ζῶου τοῦ λεγομένου Περισσοῦ. Is Πλέβ connected with *plebeius* (cf. Πατρίκιον in l. 7 and note)?

17. ζῶα in this context more probably signifies asses or mules than oxen (cf. P. Amh. 146. 3 βοῖα ζῶα). In P. Amh. 150. 23-4 χύρ(του) ξηρ(οῦ) πεφορτ(ισ)μένα ζῶα πενήκοντα asses are likely to be meant; cf. 140. 22 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ζῶον in a contract concerning a στάβλον. According to Sophocles' *Lex.* ζῶον was not used of horses.

19. ὁμουργός does not seem to occur elsewhere, but ὁμοεργής and ὁμοεργία are attested in late writers. ὁμουργοῦ was perhaps intended.

24-5. Καρανεωτῶν is not likely to mean natives of Karanis in the Fayûm, though cf. l. 5 Ἀρσιωίτον. There may well have been a village called Κάρανεια nearer to Oxyrhynchus.

## (g) PRAYERS

### 923. PETITION TO A PAGAN DEITY.

20.1 × 8.4 cm.

Late second or early third century.

A petition addressed to the deity of some Oxyrhynchite temple, perhaps Sarapis, apparently with a view to prevent the departure of a certain person to Alexandria for purposes of sacrifice, and to cause him to sacrifice at the Oxyrhynchite Sarapeum instead; but owing to the incompleteness of the first six lines, where the construction is uncertain, the precise object of the prayer is obscure; cf. l. 6, note. Similar petitions or questions addressed to Graeco-Egyptian deities are extant in P. Fay. 137-8, B. G. U. 229-30, Wessely, *Script. Gr. Spec.* no. 26, and P. Brit. Mus. 1267 d (*Archiv.* IV. p. 559); cf. also 925. The papyrus is broken at the top, but it is not certain that any lines are missing.

. . . . .  
 [. . . . .] . ιω μεγαλ[. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] . . σε Ἀπιων[. . . . .]  
 τ . . [. . .] η Ἐξάκων . [. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .] . τισαι αὐτοῖς ὥστε  
 5 [. . . . .] . ιεις αὐτοῖς τὸν  
 μ[. . . . .] ν ὃν εἶσαν εἰς  
 θυσίαν σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ  
 κατενέγκαι εἰς Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρειαν, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν  
 10 τῶν φροντίδων αὐ-

τῶν ἡργάσατο, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον  
 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκείνον  
 θῦσαι ἐν τῷ ἐν Ὁξυρυγχείτῃ  
 Σαραπαίῳ. τοῦτο ἡμεῖν

15 δός.

1. Perhaps μεγάλ[ω], for which cf. e.g. P. Fay. 137 beginning Σοκωννωκωνῆ θεῶι με(γά)λλ(ωι) μεγάλωι. Line 1 here may be the beginning of the petition, but {τῷ κυ}ρίῳ (cf. P. Fay. 138. 1 κύριοι Διόσκουροι) is unsuitable; the traces of the letter before the supposed ι rather suggest γ or τ.

2. The letter before σε may be ι, ν, or υ.

3. Unless Ἐξάκων is nominative, the following letter must be τ, which is possible.

4. Possibly [χρημ]ατίσαι.

5. ]εις seems to be the termination of a future verb, though this does not yield a satisfactory construction. ν or π can be read in place of ι.

6. Possibly μ[όσχο]ν, in which case ἐκείνον in l. 12 is the object, not the subject, of θῦσαι. But it seems hardly likely that the petition should be merely concerned with the place where a calf was to be sacrificed, and the question whether a person was to make a journey was frequently asked of an oracle; cf. P. Fay. 137-8 and P. Tebt. 284. 2 sqq., and for a Christian parallel 925. We prefer therefore to suppose that τὸν μ[. . .]ν is a personal name or description.

8. κατενέγκαι: less probably κατενέγκη.

#### 924. GNOSTIC CHARM.

9 x 7.6 cm.

Fourth century.

A charm for warding off fever, similar to B. G. U. 956 (edited with a commentary by Wilcken in *Archiv*, I. pp. 420-7) and P. Tebt. 275, but Christian instead of pagan; cf. B. G. U. 954-5. The Deity is not addressed under any particular name at the beginning, but the essentially Gnostic character of the charm is shown at the end by the mystical symbols and the occurrence of the title Abrasax, a common Gnostic name of the Supreme Being.

Ἡ μὴν φυλάξης καὶ συντη-  
 ρήσης Ἀρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπιημερι-  
 νοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καθημε-  
 ρινοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νυκτερι-  
 5 νοῦ φρικὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτοῦ  
 {το(υ) λεπτοῦ} πυρε[τοῦ . . . . .  
 φης. ταῦτα εὐ[μενῶ]ς [π]ράξι-  
 εις ὅλως κατὰ τὸ θέλημά

U

σου πρῶτον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πίσ-  
 10 τιν αὐτῆς ὅτι δούλη ἐστὶν  
 τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ ἵνα  
 τὸ ὄνομά σου ᾗ διὰ παντὸς  
 {η} δεδοξασμέν[ον. ]

15 α Ἰ(ησο)ῦ πατήρ υἱός μῆτηρ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ο  
 η ————— υ  
 ι π(ι) (εὐ)α α ω ἅγιος ω  
 Ἀβρα σάξ

On the verso

Ἀρί(α)ς.

2. l. Ἀρίαν . . . τῆς ἐφημερινῆς. υ of ἐπιμερινου corr. from σ. 3-4. l. τῆς καθημερινῆς  
 . . . τῆς νυκτερινῆς. 16. l. ἁγιον.

‘Verily guard and protect Aria from ague by day and quotidian ague and ague by night and slight fever and . . . All this thou wilt graciously do in accordance with thy will first and with her faith, since she is a servant of the living God, and in order that thy name may be glorified for ever.’

1. ἡ μήν; cf. B. G. U. 229. 3 and 230. 3 ἡ μὲν σοθήσωι (*sic*).

2. ἐπιμερινός is contrasted with νυκτερινός (l. 4), καθημερινός with e. g. *τριταῖος*; cf. P. Tebt. 275. 21, &c.

6. Above the τ of *λεπτου* is what looks like a π, but in any case seems to be superfluous. The line cannot have proceeded καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπα|φῆς, for though ἐπαφή is coupled with *ιερὰ νόσος* in contracts relating to the purchase of slaves, who are guaranteed to be ἀναπόριφοι πλὴν *ιερὰς νόσου καὶ ἐπαφῆς* (e. g. in 95. 19), the term does not signify a disease, as will shortly be demonstrated by Prof. Kübler.

7-8. [π]ρᾶ[ξ]εις is very doubtful, for the writer elsewhere divides words between two lines correctly, and the supposed ρ might be ι, τ, or φ, while of the supposed α only the slightest vestige remains.

10-11. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 8 ἐμοῦ τοῦ δούλου σου; δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος occurs in Daniel (Theodot.) 6. 20.

15-7. *ω* and *χ* are written larger than the rest. The use of the vowels is very common in magical formulae, but it is curious that here they are six, not seven in number, ε being omitted, unless indeed it was written to the left of α or η, where the edge of the papyrus is damaged.

## 925. CHRISTIAN PRAYER.

5.6 × 9.6 cm.

Fifth or sixth century.

This prayer is a Christian counterpart of the pagan petitions to the oracle of which 923 is a specimen. The writer asks whether it was the divine will that he should make a certain journey and whether success would attend him. Presumably this prayer was to be deposited in some church, just as the similar pagan documents were left in the temples; cf. P. Fay. 137. introd. It is written in a clear cursive of the fifth or sixth century.

+ 'Ο θ(ε)ς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἅγιος  
 ὁ ἀληθινὸς φιλόανθρωπος καὶ  
 δημιουργὸς ὁ π(ατ)ήρ τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ (καὶ) σω(τῆ)ρ(ο)ς  
 ἡμῶν 'Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φανέρωσόν μοι τήν  
 5 παρὰ σοὶ ἀλήθειαν εἰ βούλῃ με ἀπελθεῖν  
 εἰς Χιοῦτ ἢ εὐρίσκω σε σὺν ἐμοὶ  
 πράττοντα (καὶ) εὐμενῇν. γένοιτο, qθ.

'O God almighty, holy, true, and merciful, Creator, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, reveal to me thy truth, whether it be thy will that I go to Chiout, and whether I shall find thee aiding me and gracious. So be it; Amen.'

1-4. Cf. B. G. U. 954. 1-3.

7. qθ is the common symbol for ἀμήν, 99 being the sum of the numerical equivalents of the letters.

## (h) PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

## 926. INVITATION TO DINNER.

2.9 × 4.9 cm.

Third century.

This and the following papyrus (927) are further examples of the formal invitations to feasts of which we have previously published examples from Oxyrhynchus (110-1, 524, 747) and the Fayûm (P. Fay. 132), but which curiously enough have not yet appeared in other collections. The occasion of the party in the present case was the ἐπίκρισις of the person in whose name the invitation was issued, i. e. his admission to the privileged class who were wholly or in part exempt from the poll-tax; cf. P. Oxy. II. pp. 217 sqq. The normal age of candidates for ἐπίκρισις was about 13 years, since on reaching

14 they became liable to the tax; the formality thus heralded the attainment of puberty and the entry upon the duties of a citizen. This invitation is peculiar in having upon the back what seems to be an address, which former instances have lacked; the address, however, is in a different hand and doubtfully deciphered, and possibly it is not really connected with the note on the recto.

Καλεῖ σε Ἡραθέων  
 δειπνῆσαι εἰς τὴν ἐπί-  
 κρισιν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰ-  
 κίᾳ αὐτ[ο]ῦ αὔριον ἥτις  
 5 ἐστὶν ἐ ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) [θ.]

On the verso

2nd hand Χαιλαμμωνι  
 Ἡλασίου.

6. 1. Χαιράμμωνι (?).

‘Heratheon invites you to dine with him, on the occasion of his examination, at his house to-morrow, the 5th, at the 9th hour.’

5. The abbreviation of ὥρας consists of an ω through which a ρ is drawn.

# 927. INVITATION TO A WEDDING.

3·2 × 6·2 cm.

Third century.

A formal invitation to a wedding, by which no doubt a feast in celebration of the wedding is to be understood; cf. 926. introd., and 111, 747, and P. Fay. 132, which are also invitations to wedding feasts. The writing is on the verso of a strip cut from two documents which have been gummed together; one of these apparently mentioned the emperor Alexander Severus, so that the invitation may be referred to the middle or latter part of the third century.

Καλὶ σαι Ἔρως  
 εἰς γάμους ἥτις  
 ἐστὶν αὔριον καθ  
 ἀπὸ ὥρας θ.

1. 1. σε.

2-3. 1. αὔριον ἥτις ἐστὶν: cf. e. g. 926. 4-5.

‘Eros invites you to a wedding to-morrow the 29th at the 9th hour.’

## 928. LETTER OF LUCIUS.

10.2 x 7.3 cm.

Second or third century.

In this kindly letter written by Lucius to Apolinarius, who is addressed as 'brother', the latter is warned of a plot against a girl who had lost her protector, and is asked to befriend her. The writing is across the fibres of the papyrus.

Ἀδ[υ]κίος Ἀπολιναρίω τῷ  
 ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 ἐπὶ Ζωπύρου τελευτήσαντος τῇ  
 Ταῖδι τοῦ Ἀμφιθαλέος εἰσὶν οἱ  
 5 ἐπεδρεύοντες, ὠμείλησας  
 δέ μοί ποτε περὶ τούτου, φα-  
 νερόν σοι ποιῶ ἵνα ἔαν δοκι-  
 μάσης ποιήσης πρὶν προ-  
 λημφθῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ  
 10 Σεβαστείνου μητέρα ἔχει.  
 ἔαν ταρεΐχια σεαυτῷ ποι-  
 ῇ[ς] κάμοι κεράμιον πέμ-  
 ψ[ο]ν. τὰ παιδία παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ  
 Ἰσιδωρίωνος προσαγόρε[υ]ε.  
 15 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι.

On the verso

Ἀπολιναρίω.

4. l. Θαῖδι. 5. l. ἐφεδρεύοντες. 7. ἵνα Pap. 9. τ of του written over something else.  
 14. Ἰσιδωριωνος Pap.

'Lucius to Apolinarius his brother, greeting. Since now that Zopyrus is dead there are persons making designs upon Tha's daughter of Amphithales, and you once had a conversation with me on this subject, I therefore inform you, in order that if you think fit you may act before she is entrapped; for the son (?) of Sebastinus has no mother either. If you are making pickled fish for yourself send me a jar too. Greet the children from me and Isidorion. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Apolinarius.'

3. The use of the article with the proper names in ll. 3-4 is unusual, but neither τη{τ}θίδι nor τῇ παιδί can be read for τῇ Ταίδι.

9. It is difficult to avoid reading ὁ before τοῦ, though the sentence then seems irrelevant. Without ὁ, the subject of ἔχει is Tha's.

## 929. LETTER OF NICANOR.

34.5 × 9.8 cm.

Late second or third century.

The subject of this letter is the loss of some articles of clothing, which the writer wished his correspondent to assist him in recovering. It is on the verso of the papyrus, the recto containing the latter parts of lines of a column of early second-century accounts, of which the upper portion has been erased to receive the address of the letter. Three sections remain, each following the same formula, e. g. (the last) (1) ὑπὲρ 5 (2) ] ἄλφα ξ βῆτ(α) λς (3) ] αμ( ) ρπ Ἀδρι(αν?) καὶ δ' λβ (4) ] ι νς, / τξδ (5) ] Ἀχλς Ἀπολλώνιος τξδ (6) ] λήμ(ματος) τξδ, / ἀνελ(ώματος) τξδ, πλ(ήρες). The preceding sections are similarly headed ] ὑπὲρ δ and ] ὑπὲρ ε respectively, with ἄλφα and βῆτ(α) followed by different figures in the next line; in No. 2, l. 3, there is a γ before αμ( ) and Ἀδ( ) for Ἀδρι( ); Ἀπολλώνιος appears in the same position in both cases.

The verso had already been once used, and has been cleaned to make way for Nicanor's epistle. The original document began with a date of the 21st year of Commodus (A. D. 180), but beyond this only a few isolated letters are legible.

Νεικάνωρ Νιννά-  
 ρω τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 εἰδώς σου τὸ [σ]πουδεον  
 τὸ πρὸς πάντας καὶ  
 5 νῦν ἐν τοῦτό με ὑπη-  
 ρετήσεις. καλῶς ποιή-  
 σεις ἀπαιτήσας Τιθό-  
 ιν τὸν ναυτικὸν δύμα  
 καροίνου χιτῶνος  
 10 ἐν ᾧ λίνον καὶ λέν-  
 τιον τριβακόν, καὶ ἔρια,  
 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συν-  
 ἐνῇ εἰς τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν καροῖνον  
 καὶ ἐσφραγίσθη

On the recto

25 Νιννάρω οἰκονόμῳ Ἀπίωνος στῖρα(τηγοῦ)  
 2nd hand. π(αρά) Νεικάνωρος.

γῇ λευκῇ, καὶ σὺν τού-  
 15 τῷ ἄλλα δύματα πάν-  
 τα, ὡς εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
 ἀριθμῷ ἕξ, ἀποκαταστή-  
 σαί μοι εἰς Ὀξύρυγχείτην  
 ἕξ ὧν ἔσχον τὰ προκεί-  
 20 μενα πάντα. διὸ γράφω  
 σοι, ἀδελφέ, ἵν' εἰ ἀλλότριά  
 ἐστὶν ἰδῆς, ἐρεῖς δέ μοι ἐν  
 τάχει περὶ τούτου.  
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι).

2. .χαίρει Pap.  
 above ll. 13-4.

3. l. [σ]πουδαῖον.

5. l. μοι.

12. l. συνενῆν. εἰς . . . κα|ροῖνον

‘Nicanor to Ninnarus his brother, greeting. Knowing your goodness to all, I ask you now to do me this one service. Please demand from Tithoïs the sailor a garment consisting of a brown tunic, inside which was a linen cloth, a worn towel, and some wool. All these were inside the brown tunic, and it was sealed with white clay, and with it send back to me all the other garments, making the total number six, to the Oxyrhynchite nome whence I obtained all the aforesaid articles. I write therefore to you, brother, to see if they are in some one else’s possession. Please tell me at once about this. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Ninnarus steward of Apion, strategus (?), from Nicanor.’

5. ἐν τούτῳ: or perhaps ἐν τούτῳ(φ), but there is no other case of the confusion of ο and ω in this letter.

8. δύμα for ἔνδυμα is apparently novel.

9. καροίνου seems to be for καρύνιον, ‘nut-brown’; cf. Theophr. *de Sensu* 78 καρύνιον χρώμα ἐκ χλωροῦ καὶ κυανοειδοῦς.

12. συνενῆι: this form is the converse of the common use of ἦν for ἡ, e. g. P. Tebt. 317. 19-20 ἐφ’ ὧν εἶ[α]ν . . . ἦν.

17. ἀποκαταστήσας, continuing the construction of ἀπαιτήσας in l. 7, would have been more regular.

19. ἐξ ὧν makes a bad concord with Ὀξυρυγχίτην.

25. στρα(τηγοῦ) is very doubtful.

## 930. LETTER TO PTOLEMAEUS FROM HIS MOTHER.

15 × 9.2 cm.

Second or third century.

An interesting letter from a mother to her son, whose teacher (καθηγητής) had just left him, and who was now in the charge of his παιδαγωγός. The writer with evident anxiety urges him to find another teacher.

. . . . .  
[. . . . .]ν μὴ ὀκνι μοι  
[γ]ράφειν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐ-  
[α]ν χρεῖαν ἔχης. ἐντεῦ-  
θεν ἐλοιπήθην ἐπιγνοῦ-  
5 σα παρὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς  
τοῦ καθηγητοῦ ἡμῶν  
Διογένους καταπεπλευ-  
κέναι αὐτόν· ἡμερίμουν  
γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰδυῖα ὅ-  
10 τι κατὰ δύν[α]μιν μέλλει  
σοι προσέχειν. ἐμέλησε  
δέ μοι πέμψαι καὶ πυθέ-

15 σκεῖς. καὶ ἔλεγεν τὸ ζήτη-  
ἐμαρτύρει δὲ πολλὰ πε-  
ρὶ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ σου.  
ὥστε οὖν, τέκνον, μελη-  
σάτω σοί τε καὶ τῷ παιδα-  
20 γωγῷ σου καθήκοντι κα-  
θηγητῇ σε παραβάλλειν.  
ἀσπάζονται σε πολλὰ αἱ  
ἀδελφαί σου καὶ τὰ ἀβάσ-  
καντα παιδία Θεωνίδος  
25 καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πάντες  
κατ’ ὄνομα· ἄσπασαι τὸν

σθαι περὶ τῆς ὑγίας σου καὶ  
ἐπιγνῶναι τί ἀναγινώ-

τειμιώτατον παιδαγω-  
γόν σου Ἐρωτα.

In the left-hand margin

] . ταιδ . . ἔρρ[. .] . . . [. . .] Ἀθὺρ κ[.]

On the verso

30 ] Πτολεμαίῳ νίῳι.

4. 1. ἐλνπήθην.

' . . . do not hesitate to write to me about anything which you require. It grieved me to learn from the daughter of our teacher Diogenes that he had sailed, for I had no anxiety about him, knowing that he intended to look after you to the best of his ability. I took care to send and ask about your health and learn what you are reading; he said that it was the sixth book and testified at length concerning your attendant. So my son, I urge both you and your attendant to take care that you go to a suitable teacher. Many salutations are sent to you by your sisters and Theonis' children, whom the evil eye shall not harm, and by all our friends by name. Salute your esteemed attendant Eros . . . (Addressed) . . . to her son Ptolemaeus.'

3. ἐντεῦθεν, whether meaning 'forthwith' (e. g. P. Tebt. 378. 11 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔσχον) or 'therefore', is more probably to be connected with ἐλνπήθην than with the preceding sentence.

15. The subject of ἔλεγεν is the καθηγητής; his daughter could hardly have given this information. τὸ ζῆτα no doubt refers to Homer, and is therefore likely to denote the sixth rather than the seventh book, the Homeric books being commonly numbered by letters not figures; cf. notes on 852. Fr. 25, and 853. iii. 3-5.

23. ἀβάσκαντα: cf. e. g. P. Fay. 126. 10 τὸ ἀβάσκαντον αὐτῆς παιδίον.

28. There is a blank space after Ἐρωτα, which indicates that this is the name of the παιδαγωγός, not the imperative of ἐρωτᾶν to be constructed with what follows in the margin.

29. If the letters ἐρρ are right they no doubt belong to ἔρρωσο or ἐρρῶσθαι, but the succeeding vestiges present difficulties. The letter next after the lacuna may be θ or α, but neither ἐρρ[ῶσθ]αι nor ἐρρ[ῶσθ](αι) εὔχ(ομαι) suits, the plural ἔρρωσθ(ε) is unlikely, and there is not room for ἐρρ[ῶσθ]αι.

### 2931. LETTER OF THEOPOMPUS TO A STRATEGUS.

Chicago.

22.9 x 10.2 cm.

Second century.

A respectful letter to a strategus of the upper Sebennyte nome (cf. l. 15, note) from a friend, accompanying the present of an ounce of purple. The fact that in l. 8 the praefect is called κράτιστος not λαμπρότατος indicates that the letter was written before the close of the second century, and the early occurrence of the formula ἐρρῶσθαί σε . . . εὔχομαι, which is here combined with ἔρρωσο, is noticeable; cf. 237. vi. 35, note. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 163.

- Θεόπομπος Σαραπίωνι τῷ  
 τιμι[ω]τάτῳ χαίρειν.  
 ὥς ἠθέλησας, κύριε, τὴν  
 οὐγκίαν τῆς πορφύρα[s] ἔπεμ-  
 5 ψα διὰ τοῦ κομίσαντος [τ]ὸ ἀπὸ  
 σοῦ ἐπιστόλιον φύλακος δο-  
 θησόμενον εἰς τὴν ξενίαν  
 τῇ μεικρᾷ· σὲ γὰρ τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι  
 ἀκολουθεῖν ἐστοχασάμην.  
 10 ἔρρωσθαί σε, κύριέ μου, σὺν τῇ  
 κρατίστῃ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τῇ Κυρίλλῃ  
 εὐχομαι.  
 ἔρρω(σο).  
 Φαῶφι ιε.

On the verso

- 15 Σαραπίωνι στρατηγῷ Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων  
 π(αρά) Θεοπόμπου  
 φίλου.

8. τῇ μικρᾷ above the line.

6. 1. δοθησομένην.

‘Theopompus to his most esteemed Sarapion, greeting. As you wished, sir, I have sent by the guard who brought the letter from you the ounce of purple to be presented at the entertainment to the little one; for I guessed that you were in attendance upon his excellency the praefect. I pray for the health of you, sir, with your excellent sister and Cyrilla. Good-bye. Phaophi 15. (Addressed) To Sarapion, strategus of the upper toparchy of the Sebennyte nome, from his friend Theopompus.’

8. The μικρά who receives presents at the ξενία (cf. *Archiv*, IV. p. 539) is more likely to be a youthful daughter of the praefect than of Sarapion, especially as γάρ in l. 8 suggests that ll. 8-9 are closely connected with the preceding sentence.

15. στρατηγῷ Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόπων: usually a strategus had a whole nome under his jurisdiction, but the Arsinoite nome had two strategi for the three μερίδες. That the Sebennyte nome was in the Roman period divided for administrative purposes into two distinct halves, the upper and the lower, with Sebennytus and Pachnamounis as their respective μητροπόλεις, was already known from Ptol. *Geogr.* iv. 5. 21 and 23.

## 932. LETTER OF THAÏS.

9.6 × 12 cm.

Late second century.

A letter from a woman to a relative or friend, giving him various instructions about the payment of dues and other matters relating to agriculture. The sentences are loosely constructed and the meaning in consequence not always transparent.

Θαῖς Τιγρίῳ τῷ ἰδίῳ χαίρειν.  
 ἔγραψα Ἀπολιναρίῳ ἵνα γένηται ἐν τῇ  
 Πέτνῃ ἵνα μ[ε]τρήσῃ. ἐρῇ σοι δὲ Ἀπολινάρις  
 πῶς τὰ θέματα καὶ τὰ δημόσια τὸ ὄνο-  
 5 μα ὃ ἂν αὐτός σοι εἴπῃ. ἂν ἔρχῃ ἄφες ἀρ-  
 τάβας ἐξ ἰς τοὺς σάκκους σφραγίσας λαχα-  
 νοσπέρμου ἵνα πρόχριοι ᾧσι, καὶ ἐὰν  
 δύνη ἀναβῆναι ἵνα ἐπιγνοῖς τὸν ὄνον.  
 ἀσπάζεται σε Σαραποδώρα καὶ Σαβίνος. τὰ  
 10 χοιρίδια χωρὶς μου μὴ πῶλι.  
 ἔρρωσο.

1. θαῖς . . . ἰδίῳ Pap. 2. ἵνα Pap.; so in ll. 3, 7, and 8. 7. εἶ Pap. 8. οὐδ  
 Pap. 9. κ' Pap.

‘Thaïs to her own Tigrius, greeting. I wrote to Apolinarius to come to Petne for the measuring. Apolinarius will tell you how the deposits and public dues stand: the name will be that which he will tell you himself. If you come, take out six artabae of vegetable-seed, sealing it in the sacks in order that they may be ready, and if you can go up to find out the ass, do so. Sarapodora and Sabinus salute you. Do not sell the young pigs without me. Good-bye.

3. It appears from 88. 4 and elsewhere that Πέτνη is indeclinable.

4-5. The construction and punctuation of these two lines are not clear. Apparently a verb is to be understood with πῶς, and ὃ ἂν κ.τ.λ. is the predicate of τὸ ὄνομα. After the α of δημόσια above a hole in the papyrus there is a mark which might be taken for the top of a σ, but to suppose that σ was written e.g. for (εἰ)s does not seem likely, and the mark in question is more probably accidental, or denotes a pause. The ‘name’ was presumably that of the person to whom the measuring specially related.

## 933. LETTER OF DIOGENES.

Width 9.2 cm.

Late second century.

A letter to Apolinarius, a *πρεσβευτής*, from a friend, chiefly concerning a little girl who probably was Apolinarius' daughter and had been commended to the care of his correspondent.

<p>Χαίροις, κύριέ μου          Ἀπολινάριε, παρὰ          Διογένους φίλου.          τυχὼν [τ]οῦ πρὸς σ[ἐ] γει-          5 νομένο[υ] ἡδιστά σε ἀσ-          πάζομ[αι] εὐχόμενος          πᾶσι το[ῖς] θεο[ῖς] πε[ρὶ] τ[ῆς]          [σ]ω[τηρίας] σου] κ[αὶ] . . .          about 3 lines lost          [. . . . .]ρ[ε] . . . τὴν με-          γ[ά]λην ἑορτὴν ἦξα.          περὶ τῆς μικρᾶς ἐγενά-          15 μην ἄχρις ἂν καταπλεῖ-</p>	<p>ση καὶ πάντα αὐτῇ          ὑπῆρκται ὥστε ἐπα-          νελθόντα σε μαρτυρη-          θη. καὶ περὶ τοῦ οἴκου          20 ἀμέριμνος γείνου ὡς          σοῦ παρόντος. διεπεμ-          ψάμην τῇ μικρᾷ τὸ          ἐπιστό[λ]ιον, ἐποίησα          δὲ καὶ τὸν νυκτοστρά-          25 τηγον φύ[λακα] κοιμᾶσ-          θαι πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἄσπα-          σ[αι] Πλου[τ]ογένην τὸν φίλον.          ἐρρ[ω]σθ(αί) σε ἐῴχο(μαι), κύριε.</p>
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In the left-hand margin

ἐάν σοι ἀβαρὲς ᾖ [πεύθου] παρὰ Ἀντινόου εἰ ἡγόρασεν τῷ παιδίῳ σου  
 30 τὸ φαιλόδιον, εἰ δ[ὲ] μὴ ἀγόρασον.

On the verso

Ἀπολιναρίῳ β . . . ἀντ( ) πρεσβευτῇ  
 π(αρὰ) Διογένους  
 ὁθονιακοῦ.

18. 1. μαρτυρήσειν.

23. ἐπιστο[λ]ιον' Pap.

'Greeting, my good Apolinarius, from your friend Diogenes. Having met with a man who is going to you I greet you most kindly, praying to all the gods for your preservation. . . . I came to the great festival. With regard to the little girl, I was there until she sailed, and everything was provided for her so that when you come back you will bear me witness. Have no more anxiety about your household than you would if you were present. I sent the letter to the little girl and made the night-strategus sleep on guard at the house. Salute my friend Plutogenes. I pray for your health, sir. If it is no trouble to you inquire of

Antinous whether he bought the cloak for your child, and if not, buy it. (Addressed) To Apolinarius, . . . legate, from Diogenes, linen-merchant.'

1. For the optative in place of the more usual infinitive cf. e.g. 526. 1, P. Tebt. 417. 1.

8. The size of the gap below this line is estimated by the apparent length of the lacunae in ll. 29-30, which are written along the left-hand margin.

13. The late aorist ἤξα occurs e.g. in Pausan. 2. 11. 5 ἤξας.

14-5. Apparently παρ' αὐτῇ is to be understood with ἐγενάμην, and ἄχρις ἂν καταπλεύσῃ is for ἄχρις κατέπλευσε; but possibly an adjective meaning 'careful', 'sollicitous,' has been accidentally omitted after μικρᾶς.

24. νυκτοστράτηγοι occur at Hermopolis, e.g. P. Leipzig 39. 3, 40. iii. 16 (late fourth century) and were probably established in other large provincial towns of Egypt, as they were in those of Asia Minor (Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.* 1891, p. 868); cf. the νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός of Alexandria. Their existence at Oxyrhynchus, however, cannot be inferred from the present passage, since it is uncertain where the letter was written. The office is described as a *munus personale* in Dig. 50. 4. 18. 12. It is somewhat surprising to find the νυκτοστράτηγος himself mounting guard over a particular house, especially as it seems from l. 33 that the writer Diogenes was a person in a private station; his correspondent, however, was a man of some importance.

30. φαιδόνιον: the transposition of λ and ν is common in this word; cf. P. Fay. 347, 2 Ep. Tim. 4. 13 φελόνην.

31. The letters β . . are close to the name Ἀπολιναρίωι, while αντ( ), which is written smaller, is separated by a wide space both from β . . and πρεσβευτῇ. βου[λ(ευτῇ)] Ἀντ(ινοέων πόλεως) is a possible reading, but too doubtful to insert in the text. For πρεσβευτῇ cf. 33. iii. 11 πρε[σ]βευτῇν Ἀλεξανδρέων, B. G. U. 932. 2 πρεσβευτ[οῦ τῶν] βαρβάρων: an error for πρεσβύτῃ is unlikely.

33. ὀθονιακοῦ: cf. C. I. G. 3582. 2 Αἰ[λίον] Ἀγαθόποδος ὀθονιακοῦ. Boeckh regards ὀθονιακοῦ as a proper name, but the word is, we think, more probably a title both there and in our papyrus.

#### 934. LETTER OF AURELIUS STEPHANUS.

14 × 14.3 cm.

Third century.

A letter concerning purchases of yokes and manure, and other domestic matters.

Αὐρήλιος Στέφανος Αὐρηλίῳ Χαιρήμονι

τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.

ἐξιόντος μου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν μετεβα-

λόμην τῷ σχοινοπλόκῳ Πετοβάστει πα-

5 ρόντος Ἡρακλήου εἰς τιμὴν ζευκτηρίων

δραχμᾶς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ εἰς τιμὴν κ[ό]πρου

ἐν Χύσει παρόντος Κοπρέως (δραχμᾶς) μ, καὶ τῇ Κᾶ-

λῇ ὥστε Κοπρεῖ ἂς εἶχον μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς

(δραχμας) μη. μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσης τοῦ βαλεῖν τὴν  
 10 κόπρον. συνεφώνησα γὰρ (ἀρτάβας) κε (δραχμῶν) ρ παρόν-  
 τος Κοπρέως· δώσεις οὖν τὰς λοιπὰς (δραχμας) ιβ. μὴ  
 ἀμελήσης παραβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ καὶ τῇ γυναι-  
 κὶ ἕως ἂν παραγένωμαι καὶ χάριν τῶν  
 ποτισμῶν. εὖρον τὸν Αἰθιοπᾶν καὶ κα-  
 15 λῶς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἡμῶν πάν-  
 τας. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχομαι(αι).

On the verso

Αὐρηλ(ίῳ) Χαιρήμονι π(αρά) Αὐρηλ(ίου) Στεφάνου.

5. Second η of ηρακλεον corr. from ου.

'Aurelius Stephanus to Aurelius Chaeremon, his brother, greeting. As I was setting forth for Alexandria I paid to the rope-weaver Petobastis in the presence of Heracleus as the price of yokes 60 drachmae, and as the price of manure at Chusis in the presence of Kopreus 40 drachmae, and to Kale for Kopreus the 48 drachmae which I had with me. Do not fail therefore to throw the manure on the land. I agreed to pay 100 drachmae for 25 artabae, in the presence of Kopreus; you will therefore give him the remaining 12 drachmae. Do not fail to go there, both to help my wife until I return, and for the sake of the irrigation. I found Aethiopus and it is well with him. Salute all our friends. I pray for your health. (Addressed) To Aurelius Chaeremon from Aurelius Stephanus.'

5. ζευκτηρίων: ζευκτήρια apparently in connexion with a water-wheel (the yokes of the oxen which drew it?) occur in P. Flor. 16. 26.

7. ἐν Χύσει: for the village of this name cf. 899. 6. ἐν χύσει, 'in a heap,' referring to the κόπρος is less likely, even if the κόπρος in the present case consisted of sifted nitrous earth (*sebakhe*), which Wilcken (*Archiv*, II. pp. 308-12) supposes to have been used in Roman times, as now, for purposes of fertilization. For the name Καλή cf. B. G. U. 839. 1.

10. An infinitive is omitted after συνεφώνησα, e. g. λαβεῖν or ὠνεῖσθαι.

12. For παραβάλλειν in the sense of going to a place cf. 930. 20-1 καθήκοντι καθηγητῇ σε παραβάλλειν, 937. 10 παραβάλλης πρὸς τῇ πλατείᾳ, and B. G. U. 824. 14 παράβαλε ἐκεῖ.

### 935. LETTER OF SERENUS.

31.5 × 8.8 cm.

Third century.

A letter from a man to his brother, chiefly concerned with the health of various members of the family. On the recto, perhaps in the same hand, are remains of two columns of a list of persons, many of them women, the names being either in the nominative or dative case, followed in some instances at any rate by amounts in artabae. One entry is Θάησει γυναι(κὶ) 'Ατρή(τος) νί(οῦ) βαλαν[

another "Ωρφ Αὔκτου[, while towards the end of Col. ii is the heading λαχ[αν]οπ(ῶλαι) ἰμοί(ως) with a note below the next entry διάφο(ροι) β (ἔτους) (ἀρτάβης) δ' .[. The names Πρ[ε]σκιλλα and Κακήτ(ος, gen.) also occur. The document appears to be a taxing-list of some kind.

Σερῆνος Διογέν[ε]ι  
τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
θεῶν συνλαμβανόν-  
των ἡ ἀδελφή ἐπὶ τ[ὸ]  
5 κομψότερον ἐτράπη,  
καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἄρπο-  
κρατίων σώζεται  
καὶ [ύγι]αίνει, συνλαμβ[ά]-  
νο[υσι] γὰρ ἡμεῖν αἰεὶ οἱ  
10 π[άτ]ριοι θεοὶ ἡμῶν  
δ[ι]δόντες ἡμεῖν ὑγίαν καὶ  
σω[τ]ηρίαν. ἔμελλον δ[ὲ]  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβῆναι τ[ῇ].  
ἐπε[ὶ] οἱ παρὰ Σαραπίωνος  
15 εἶπον [κακ]ῶς ἔχειν αὐ[τ]όν,  
διὸ γράφω σοι ὅπως δι' οἱ

ἐὰν [ἔχης] διὰ ὥρας γράφ[ης]  
μο[ι] π[ε]ρὶ τούτου. ἡ μεταφ[ορὰ]  
τῶν ἀνκαλῶν ἔστε εὐθ[έ]-  
20 ως ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς· ἔφθανε  
γὰρ προβαστάξας τὰς ἐν ταῖς (ἀρού-  
rais ?) ! .  
ἄσπασαι πολλὰ τὸν γλυκύτα-  
τον ἀδελφὸν Ἄρποκρατίωνα  
καὶ Θεανοῦν καὶ Θέωνα  
25 καὶ Διογένην καὶ Ἡλιόδωρον.  
πολλὰ ὑμᾶς πάντας ἀσπ[ά]-  
ζεται Ἱ[ε]ρακίανα καὶ ἡ  
θυγάτ[ηρ] Τσενῆσις.  
ἐ[ρ]ῶσθ(αί) σε εὐχομ[αι]  
30 πανοικεί.

17. α of δια above the line.  
θεανοῦν corr. from α.

19. l. ἔσται.

21. προ above the line.

24. θ of

'Serenus to Diogenes his brother, greeting. With the assistance of heaven our sister has taken a turn for the better, and our brother Harpocraton is safe and well; for our ancestral gods continually assist us, granting us health and safety. I intended to come up myself on the [.]th, since Sarapion's friends said that he was ill. I write to you therefore to ask you to write to me at once (?) about him by any messenger you may have. The transport of the bundles will be performed immediately by my father: he has already taken away those in the 1[.] arourae. Many salutations to my sweetest brother Harpocraton, Theanous, Theon, Diogenes, and Heliodorus. Many salutations to you all from Hieraciaena and her daughter Tsenesis. I pray for the health of you and all the household.'

5. κομψότερον: cf. P. Tebt. 414. 10 ἐὰν κομψῶς σχῶ, St. John 4. 52 κομψότερον ἔσχειν.

19. ἀνκαλῶν: cf. e.g. P. Amh. 150. 25 χόρτον . . . ἐν ἀγγάλαις (sic), P. Flor. 17. 13, and an Oxyrhynchus ostrakon published in *Arch. Report*, 1904-5, p. 16 τήλεως μανδάκαι ζ, ἀγκάλαι τν.

21. At the end of the line figures apparently follow the symbol for ἄρουραι.

## 936. LETTER OF PAUSANIAS.

16.7 × 14.9 cm.

Third century.

This letter is noticeable for several unusual words which it contains. It is written in a fairly regular sloping uncial hand in two columns, that to the left, of which only the ends of lines remain, following that to the right. The writer apparently anticipated that he would not finish his letter in a single column, but curiously began on the right-hand side of the sheet, leaving a broad margin in front of his first column. The writing of the left column, which was no doubt considerably narrower than the other, is of a reduced size. A graphical peculiarity is a horizontal dash placed below as well as above the figures in ll. 6, 11, &c.

Col. i.

Πανσανίας Ἰουλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ

τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν.

πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν

καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τοῖς

5 ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς. κόμισαι παρὰ Σύρου

κλουῖον ῥῶν π καὶ βαυκάλιον ὅπου

τριχοίνεικον σινάπεως καὶ ἡμίχουν

ἐλαίου ῥαφανίνου καὶ βαυκάλιον ὅπου

ἡμίχουν μέλιτος καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιν.

10 κόμισαι παρὰ Ἀγαθημέρου μελικηρίδα

καὶ κύθραν πλακούντων ι καὶ μελίτινα

στεφάνια γ· ταῦτα δὺς τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου

καὶ ἀσπάζου αὐτὴν λείαν. κόμισαι παρὰ

τοῦ κομίζοντός σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον κλουῖον

15 ἔχον μ καὶ σφυρίδιον Κανωπικὸν ὅπου ζεύγη

ἄρτων δ καὶ ζεύγη σκωρσελείνας.

ὁ ἡπητής λέγει ὅτι οὐ δίδω οὔτε τὸν χαλκὸν

οὔτε τὸ φαινόλιν ἄτερ Ἰούστου, λέγει γὰρ

ὅτι οὔπω λελύτρωται τὸ φαινόλιν οὐδὲ

20 Φιλόξενον ὅλ' ἐξ ὅλων οὐχ εὔρον. ἀπῆλθον

πρὸς τὴν μητέρα (Ἀμ)μωνίου καὶ λέγει ὅτι

οὐκ ἔχω ἄρτι σείτον οὐδὲ τὰ βιβλίδια ἀπῆρ-

[τ]ίσται ἕως ἄρτι. ἔνε(γ)κόν μοι δύο σκυτάρια  
ἀν[ά]βολον καὶ ταλ{λ}ᾶριον ἵππικινακοί

25 πενταετίας καὶ ὑπόδημα. ἄρτι μοι  
πέμψον σαρκοφανήν ἔχοντα μα-

Col. ii.

[	τῶς ἡμᾶς	[	ον γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ
[	ἐμὲ καὶ τήν	[	ἐλ]ᾶβον καὶ ἀφη-
[	ἔρα μου γρα-	[	] ἀνάλωμα καὶ
30 [	μειν καὶ	[	τι] εὐπευκοί
[	το δεῖ ποῇ-	45 [	] δ' ὕστερα πα-
[σαι	ς τὸ γὰρ εἰ	[	] ἐμῶ ὀνόματι
[	] . ὅτι πειρα-	[	ἀσπάξ]ταί σε ἡ μήτηρ
[	]μου ἐλθεῖν	[μου	]νημά μου
35 [	]αν ἔχει ἐν εγ-	[	]
[	] παρὰ σοὶ λη-		
[	] μεστὸν πεν-	50	ἐρ]ρῶσθαί σε εὖ-
[	-δ]ράχμου καὶ βεί-		χομαι πολ]λ[οῖ]ς
[κους	] . ἐρεου μύρου		[χρόνοις. ]
40 [	]ω στατήρα τὸν		

1. ἱουλῖω Pap. 2. τωῖ Pap. 3. ὕγιαίνῃ Pap. 6. κλουῖον Pap.; so in l. 14.  
8. οπ of οπου corr. from και (?). 11. πλακουντων ἱ Pap. α of μελιτινα corr. from ὁ. 12.  
l. δός. 19. ο of φαίνωλιν corr. from ι. 20. χ of ουχ corr.

‘Pausanias to his father Julius Alexander, greeting. Before all else I pray for your health, and I perform the act of worship on your behalf to the gods of the country. Receive from Syrus a basket of 80 eggs and a jug with 3 choinices of mustard and half a chous of raphanus oil and a jug with half a chous of honey and the dagger. From Agathemerus receive a honeycomb and a pot of 10 cakes and 3 honey-sweet garlands; give these to my sister and salute her warmly. Receive from the bearer of the letter a basket containing 40 eggs (?) and a Canopic basket with 4 pairs of loaves and 6 pairs of . . . The cobbler says that he will not give up either the money or the cloak without Justus, for he says “The cloak has not yet been redeemed, and I have entirely failed to find Philoxenus”. I went to the mother of Ammonius, and she says “I have no food now, and the petitions have not yet been got ready”. Bring me two hides, a wrap, and a small crate . . . five years old, and some (?) shoes. Send me now an open-work covering (?) having a . . .’

6. κλουῖον seems to be a form of κλουβίον or κλωβίον, a bird-cage; cf. the Hebrew *kelán*. κλουβίν occurs in P. Tebt. 413. 14, where it was mistakenly regarded as a form of κολόβιον. For ὅπου after β at the end of the line cf. ll. 8 and 15. Both here and in l. 15 the second letter is apparently π not μ, and ὁμοῦ, if that were the word meant, should of

course be followed by a dative; in l. 8 the reading is doubtful on account of a correction and the imperfect state of the papyrus.

11. *μελίτινον* has been altered to *μελίτινα*, the *ο* having been converted to an *α*, but the stroke representing the final *ν* being left untouched. This is more likely than that *μελ(λ)ί-τι(ο)ν* *α* should be read, for numerals in this letter have a stroke below as well as above, and the original *ο* is more unaccountable if a figure was intended.

16. *σχωρσελείνας* is presumably a compound of *σχωρ* and *σέλινον*, but no such word is known; the doubtful *ει* may be *η*, but this is not less difficult.

20. ἄλ' ἐξ ἄλων = *παντάπασι*, 'entirely'; cf. 893. 6 ὅλον τὸ σύνολον.

24. ἀ[ά]βολον: cf. P. Tebt. 413. 10 τέ(σσα)ρα ἀν(ί)βολα, which we were therefore wrong in altering to ἀν(α)βολά(ς) on the analogy of 741. 13-4. The end of this line is puzzling; perhaps *ιππικιν* is a separate word = *ίππικόν*. The final letter is possibly e.g. *ν*, but only a single stroke is visible; *ς* is unlikely.

25. For *πενταετίας* cf. P. Fay. 347 *τετρατίας*, which occurs in a list of miscellaneous articles; but the meaning is obscure in either case.

26. The adjective *σαρκοφανής* is used of animals in Sext. Pyrrh. *Hypoth.* 1. 14. 50 *τά τε ὀστρακόδερμα καὶ τὰ σαρκοφανῆ*, but *σαρκοφανήν* here seems to be a garment of some sort.

39. Not *σ]τερεοῦ*.

42. ἔλ[α]βον: or *λβον*.

48. Perhaps *προσκού]νημά*.

## 937. LETTER OF DEMARCHUS.

21 x 9.1 cm.

Third century.

The following letter to a woman named Taor from her brother Demarchus is chiefly concerned with a stone bowl, about the safety of which the writer was anxious. The usual request for various articles and announcement of other articles on their way to the addressee form the conclusion.

Δήμαρχος Τάορ τῇ  
ἀδελφῇ πλείστα χαίρειν.  
γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι ἔγρα-  
ψάς μοι περὶ οὗ ἐποίησέν μοι  
5 Ἀγατεῖνος. ἐὰν οὖν ζήσω  
χρόνον καὶ ἔλθω εἰς τὴν  
πατρίδα μου ἐκδικήσω ἑμαν-  
τόν. καὶ νῦν οὖν παραγ-  
γέλλω σοι, ὦ κυρία μου ἀδελ-  
10 φή, ἵνα παραβάλης πρὸς τῇ  
πλατεία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ  
μάθῃς περὶ τῆς φιάλης  
τῆς λιθίνης ἐν (τ)ῷ πλοίῳ

καὶ παραγγείλῃς πᾶσι τοῖς  
15 ἐκεῖ, Φιλοκύρῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ,  
παρατηρεῖσθαι αὐτὴν μὴ  
δόξῃ αὐτῷ [[λαβ]] τῇ Ἀγα-  
τείνῳ λαβῆ[σ]αι τὴν φιάλην,  
κα[ὶ] ἀντίγραφόν μοι διὰ τοῦ  
20 Ἀντινόεω[ς] περὶ οὗ σοὶ  
ἔπεμψα, καὶ [γ]ράψον ἐκεῖ  
τὸ κατ' εἶδος ὅτι τι καὶ τι εἴλη-  
φας. καὶ εἴ τινος χρῆξαι ὁ Ἀν-  
τινοεύς παρασχέσεις αὐτῷ  
25 καὶ ἐλεύσει μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν  
Τα[σ]οιτᾶν. [π]έμψον τὸν μα-

In the left margin, at right angles

φόρτην σου καὶ τὸ κεράμιον τοῦ γάρου καὶ δικότυλον ἐλαίου χρηστοῦ.  
ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχομαι.

On the verso

δέξε γ σακκούδια π(αρά) τοῦ Ἀντινο-  
30 ἔως τοῦ σοι τὰ γράμματα διδόντος.

ἀπόδ(ος) Τάορ τῇ ἀδελφῇ π(αρά) Δη[μ]άρχου.

2. χαιρεῖ Pap. 4. ο of ου corr. from τ. 5. l. Ἀγαθῆινος, and similarly in l. 17.  
8. παραγ' ἑλλω Pap.; similarly in l. 14. 10. ἵνα Pap. 17. ω of αυτω corr. from οισ.  
19. κ of κα[ι] corr. from ε. 25. υ of αυτου corr. from ν. 29. l. δέξαι.

‘Demarchus to his sister Taor, very many greetings. I would have you know that you wrote to me about what Agathinus did to me. Well, if I live and come to my native land I will have my revenge. And for the present I bid you, my dear sister, go to the street of the theatre and find out about the stone bowl in the boat and warn them all there, Philocyrus and Zosimus, to keep a watch on it, lest Agathinus should determine to take the bowl. Write me a reply through the man from Antinoöpolis about whom I sent to you, and write the list there, that you have received so and so. If the man from Antinoöpolis wants anything provide him with it, and come with him to meet Tasoitās. Send your cloak and the jar of pickled fish and two cotylae of good oil. I pray for your health. You will receive three bags from the man from Antinoöpolis who is the bearer of this letter. (Addressed) Deliver to my sister Taor from Demarchus.’

13. The papyrus has εν ω πλοιω, of which the easiest correction seems to be to write τῷ for ω. εν ᾧ πλοῖον might perhaps mean ‘engraved with a relief of a boat’, but this is less likely.

18. For λαβῇ[σ]αι cf. Bekker, *Anecd. Ox.* i. p. 268 ἐστὶ λαβῶ περισπώμενον θέμα . . . καὶ ὁ μέλλων τοῦ λαβῶ λαβήσω· καὶ παρ’ Εὐπολίδι λελάβηκα ὡς μαθῶ μαθήσω, οὗ ὁ παρακείμενος μεμάθηκα. But there is not much room for the [σ], and the β is of the cursive form like a κ, which is not used in παραβάλης in l. 10; the other letters, however, are clear. The writer began the same word after αὐτῷ in the line above.

22. τι καὶ τι is analogous to τὸ καὶ τό: this is simpler than to take τί καὶ τί as an indirect interrogative, ὅτι being redundant.

26. Τα[σ]ουτῶν: cf. P. Fay. 101. recto ii. 9 Τασύτης.

27. γάρου: the usual form is ὁ γάρος or τὸ γάρον, but τὸ γάρος occurs in *Georpon.* 20. 46 ed. Basil., and *El. Mag.* τάριχος . . . παρὰ τὸ γάρη ἔχειν.

### 938. LETTER OF DEMETRIUS.

Chicago.

8.9 × 17.8 cm.

Late third or fourth century.

A letter from a son to his father, reproaching him for his failure to send fodder for the oxen. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 161. The writing is across the fibres.

Δημήτριος Ἡρακλείδῃ πατρὶ χαίρειν.

οὐκ ἀκόλουθον πρᾶγμα ἐποίησας ἐνεδρεύσας τὰς τροφὰς τῶν κτηνῶν  
τῆς Σεναώ, ἔκπαλαι ἐπισταλεῖς δώδεκα σαργάνας χόρτου ἐκεῖ ἀποστεῖλαι  
καὶ μὴ πέμψας, ὥς ἐκ τούτου κινδυνεύειν τὰ κτήνη διαφθαρῆναι. τῶν  
5 οὖν κτηνῶν κακῶς ἐχόντων καὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ποτιζομένης ἡπέι-  
χθην καὶ νῦν σοι γράψαι ὅπως αὐτῆς ὥρας γομω[[σας]]θῆναι ἐπιτηδείως τὰς  
σαργάνας  
ποιήσας ἀποστείλῃς. τῇ γὰρ ἀσχολίᾳ μου {γαρ} ἔδοξας ἐπεγγεῖλαι.  
ἐρρῶσθαί σε πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
εὖχομαι.

γ. ἐπεγγεῖλαν Pap.

‘Demetrius to Heraclides his father, greeting. It was an unfitting act of yours to intercept the fodder for the oxen at Senao, and not to dispatch it, although you had long ago been instructed to send twelve baskets of hay thither, with the result that the oxen are in danger of destruction. Since the oxen are thus in a sorry state, and the land in consequence is not being irrigated, I hasten to write to you now once more and beg you instantly to get the baskets properly laden and send them off; for you seem to be mocking my industry. I pray for your long health.’

3. Σεναώ, which is presumably a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome, is not mentioned elsewhere.

## 939. LETTER TO FLAVIANUS.

25.3 × 17.6 cm.

Fourth century.

An affectionately worded Christian letter, apparently from a dependent to his master, concerning the illness of his mistress. The style, which shows the influence of the New Testament, is more polished than that of the average letter of the period, and the document ranks high as a specimen of epistolary composition. A strip containing the beginnings of lines is missing in the upper portion, but the sense is always clear though the restoration is sometimes quite conjectural.

[Τῷ κυρίῳ] μου	Φλαβιανῶι
[Δημήτ]ριος	χαίρειν.
[ὥς ἐν ἄλ]λοις πλείστοις νῦν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς σὲ	
[τοῦ δεσπό]του θεοῦ γνῶσις ἀνεφάνη ἅπασιν ἡμῖν	
5 [ὥστε τὴν] κυρίαν ἀνασφῆλαι ἐκ τῆς καταλαβούσης	
[αὐτὴν νόσ]ου, καὶ εἶη διὰ παντὸς ἡμᾶς χάριτας ὁμο-	

- [λογοῦντα]ς διατελεῖν ὅτι ἡμῖν ἴλεως ἐγένετο  
 [καὶ ταῖς εὐ]χαῖς ἡμῶν ἐπένευσεν διασώσας ἡμῖν  
 [τὴν ἡμῶν] κυρίαν· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ πάντες τὰς ἐλπίδας  
 10 [ἔχομεν.] συνγνώμην δέ, κύριέ μου, σχοίης μοι  
 [καὶ εὖνους] ἀποδέξει με εἰ καὶ ἐς τηλικαύτην σε  
 [ἀγωνία]ν ἄκων ἐνέβαλον γράψας περὶ αὐτῆς ὅσα  
 [ἐκομίσω.] τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐν θλίψει αὐτῆς  
 [πολλῇ οὐ]σης οὐκ ὦν ἐν ἐμαυτῷ ἀπέστειλα  
 15 [σπουδάζων] εἴ πως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δυνηθείης  
 [πρὸς ἡμᾶς] ἀφικέσθαι, τοῦτο τοῦ καθήκοντος  
 ἀπ[α]ρ[τοῦντ]ος· ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥᾶον ἔδοξεν τετράφθαι  
 ἕτερά σε γράμματα ἐπικαταλαβεῖν ἐσπούδασα διὰ  
 Εὐφροσύνου ἵνα σε εὐθυμότερον καταστήσω.  
 20 νῇ γὰρ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, κύριέ μου, ἥς μάλιστά  
 μοι μέλει, εἰ μὴ ἐπινόσως ἐσχέκει τὸ σωματίον  
 τότε ὁ υἱὸς Ἀθανάσιος αὐτὸν ἂν ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σέ  
 ἅμα Πλουτάρχῳ ἡνίκα ἐβαρεῖτο τῇ νόσῳ. νῦν δὲ  
 πῶς πλῖονα γράψω περὶ αὐτῆς ἀπορῶ, ἔδοξεν  
 25 μὲν γὰρ ὡς προεῖπον ἀνεκτότερον ἐσχέκναι ἀνακαθεσθεῖ-  
 σα, νοσηλότερον δὲ ὅμως τὸ σωματίον ἔχει. παρα-  
 μυθούμ[ε]θα δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκάστης ὥρας ἐκδεχόμε-  
 νοι τὴν [σ]ὴν ἄφιξιν. ἐρρωσθαί σε, κύριέ μου,  
 διὰ παντὸς τῷ τῶν ὅλων  
 30 δεσπότῃ εὐχομαι.  
 Φαρμουῖθι 5.

On the verso

Φλαβιανῶι  
 Δημήτριος.

7. ἴλεως Pap. 14. οὐκ' Pap. 19. ἵνα Pap. 22. νῖος Pap. 25. ἀνακαθεσθεῖσα  
 inserted later.

‘To my lord Flavianus from Demetrius, greeting. As on many other occasions so now even more plainly than ever has the regard of the Lord God for you been revealed to us all by the recovery of my mistress from the sickness which overtook her, and may it be granted us to continue for ever to acknowledge our thanks to Him because He was gracious to us and inclined His ear to our prayers by preserving for us our mistress; for in

her the hopes of all of us rest. Please pardon me, my lord, and receive me kindly, though I unwillingly caused you so much anxiety by writing to you the messages which you received. I wrote the first letter when she was in much pain, and I was beside myself in anxiety that you should come to us by every possible means in your power, for this was what duty demanded; but as she seems to have taken a turn for the better I am anxious that you should receive another letter by Euphrosynus, in order that I may make you more cheerful. By your own safety, my lord, which is my first interest, if my son Athanasius had not then been ailing, I should have sent him to you with Plutarchus when she was overcome by the sickness. But now I know not what more I am to write concerning her, for her condition seems, as I have said, to be more tolerable, as she has sat up, but she nevertheless remains rather ill. We comfort her by hourly expecting your arrival. I pray my lord, to the Master of all for your continued health. Pharmouthi 6. (Addressed) To Flavianus from Demetrius.'

11. *εὖνους*: or perhaps *ἔλεως*, which has already occurred in l. 7. *ἔλεως δέξασθαι* is a Sophoclean phrase, *Aj.* 1009, *Tr.* 763.

28 sqq. *ἐρρώσθαι κ.τ.λ.* is in darker ink, and at first sight appears to have been added by a different hand; but *ἐκδεχόμε-* presents a similar appearance, whereas the rest of the sentence *νοι . . . ἄφικεν*, which must have been written at the same time, is just like the preceding lines. It is therefore improbable that any distinction of hand should be made.

## 940. LETTER TO A CLERK.

10.7 × 30 cm.

Fifth century.

A letter containing instructions to a *νοτάριος* concerning the vintage. The writing, as is usual with Byzantine letters, e.g. 941-3, is across the fibres of the papyrus.

ΧΜΥ

Συνορῶ τέως ἐν ταυτότητι μεῖναι τὰς ῥύσεις ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας μερίδος  
ἵνα μὴ  
δόξωμεν διώκειν τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μήπω τρυγῆσαντας. τοίνυν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω  
εἴρηται,  
καταξίωσον ἐπέχειν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἕως οὗ μάθῃς τὴν τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων  
δύναμιν,  
5 καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ γράφεις μοι καὶ οὕτως σκοπῶ τὸ πρακτέον. τὸν δὲ  
Φοιβάμμωνα

τὸν φροντιστὴν μεταστειλάμενος ἔχε ἐγγὺς σοῦ μίαν μίαν.

On the verso

ἐπίδο(ς) τῷ θαυμασ[ι(ω)τάτῳ] Ἰωσήφ νοταρίῳ  
. . . λαρμόσιωνος.

2. *ἵνα* Pap.



ἐγγύς ἐστιν. ἀλλ' οὕτως λέγεις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἔὰν θέλεις παρέχόμεν σοι τὸ  
 ἐνοίκιον,  
 μόνον παρέχε μοι, τὸν δὲ θεὸν σοῦ. εὐθὺς διὰ Φοιβάμμωνος δήλωσόν μοι  
 τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπόκρισιν. εἰπὲ δὲ αὐτῷ ὅτι ὁλ[ίγη]ν μόν[ον θέλομ]εν καὶ  
 οὐ πολλήν.

10

ἐπίδ(ος) Ἰωάν[νη] π(αρά) . . . . .]ενου. +

2. υἱου Pap. 1. Νιννοῦτος ὁστρακώδη. 3. σ of πλινθευσαι corrected. υἱον Pap. 4. τοῦστου  
 Pap. 6. αλλς Pap.; so in l. 7. 7. ἐγγυς Pap. 10. ἰωαν[νη] Pap.

'Since the brickmaker says that the place of the son of Ninnous (?) is full of sherds and not adapted for brickmaking, and as he says that if you will trouble to go to the son of the steward of the monastery of St. Justus he will provide you with a small space, either opposite the martyr's shrine, or on the left of it, or on the right, vouchsafe me the favour of going to him and speaking to him now. It is likely that he will grant you this favour, for it is close by. Say to him this: "If you wish, we will pay you rent, only grant me the favour and God be with you (?)" Inform me immediately by Phoebammon of his answer. Tell him that we only want a little and not much. (Addressed) Deliver to John from . . .'

1. The meaning of this π with a dash through it, which is not uncommon at the top of letters of this period, is obscure. It is written like the abbreviation of παρά, but παρά without a following name is meaningless. Possibly, however, the custom of commencing παρὰ τοῦ δέινα, e. g. 904, led scribes to write π(αρά) even when there was no real intention of adding the name.

3. σκυλῆναι πρὸς = 'to take the trouble of going to,' as is shown by instances where ἔως replaces πρὸς, e. g. Cyrill. Scythop. *Vita S. Sabae* σκυλῆναι ἔως τοῦ οἴκου. Cf. 123. 10 (third or fourth century) ποιῆσον αὐτὸν σκυλῆναι πρὸς Τιμόθεον, which we translated wrongly, and B. G. U. 830. 25 where the active form σκυλαί τινα πρὸς is found in a letter of the first century.

4. The form ἀντίς, evidently employed in a local sense, is remarkable. It occurs at a later period with an accusative, e. g. Th. Prodromus 3. 285-6 (twelfth century) ἀντίς νερόν φαρμάκων, and is used in modern Greek.

7. The subject of ἐστιν is perhaps ὁ τόπος, the meaning being that the proposed change of locality would be slight; this seems more likely than that ἡ χάρις is the subject, and that ἐγγύς is metaphorical, 'the favour is nothing out of the way.'

8. τὸν δὲ θεὸν σοῦ: this very elliptical phrase appears to mean, 'I pray that God may bless you (if you do as I ask)'; cf. 155. 4-5 πολλοῖς χρόνοις καὶ καλοῖς τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλο-πρ(έπειαν), 'I wish long life and happiness to your magnificence.'

## 942. LETTER OF TIMOTHEUS.

Chicago.

7 x 30 cm.

Sixth or seventh century.

A letter from a man who had just arrived at Nilopolis, where he had received a letter from the addressee; in consequence of this he had resumed his journey without delay though very unwillingly. Both the writer and the person addressed

bear abbreviated titles (apparently *ordinarius* and *exceptor* respectively) which are somewhat obscure but seem to be military; cf. ll. 6-7, notes. The papyrus was briefly described in Part I. 162.

+ Κατὰ τὴν τρισκαιδεκάτην κατελάβαμεν τὴν Νειλουπολιτῶν περὶ ὥραν  
ἔκτην, καὶ μετὰ τὸ  
ἀπολύσαι ἡμᾶς τὰ ζῶα γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀπεδόθη τῆς σῆς ἀδελφικῆς  
λαμπρ(ότητος) περὶ ὀγδόην ὥραν  
καὶ ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν εἴπερ μὴ ἤμεθα ἀπολύσαντες τὰ ζῶα, εἰ δ' αὐτὰ εἴχαμεν  
ἐπαναλῦσαι. πρὸ τριῶν οὖν  
ὥρων, ὅτε καὶ δυνάμεθα ἐξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ἐξερχόμεθα ὀφείλουτες σὺν θεῷ  
παραγενέσθαι.  
5 πάνν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀήδισεν ἡ ἀδελφικὴ σου λαμπρ(ότης) μηδὲν ἡμῖν σημανάσα τῶν  
παρακολουθησάντων.

On the verso

+ ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπ(ότῃ) τῷ πά(ν)τ(ων) λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) εὐδοκ(ιμωτάτῳ) πά(ντων)  
φιλ(τάτῳ) ἀδελφ(ῳ) Πετρωνίῳ ἐξκ(έπτορι)  
π(αρὰ) Τιμοθέου ὀρδ(ιναρίου) Θεοδόδου.

4. ὥρων' Pap.

7. 1. Θεοδόδου.

'We reached Nilopolis on the 13th about the 6th hour, and after we had released the animals a letter was delivered to us from your brotherly excellency about the 8th hour; and God knows whether we had not released the animals, and whether we had any more to unloose. Accordingly before three hours were passed, as soon as we could leave the city we leave it, being obliged by the help of God to arrive. We were much displeased with your brotherly excellency for not explaining to us any of the consequences. (Addressed) Deliver to the lord my most excellent, most illustrious, and most beloved brother Petronius, *exceptor*, from Timotheus, *ordinarius* of Theodotus.'

1. ὥραν ἔκτην: about noon.

2. ζῶα: probably donkeys rather than horses; cf. 922. 17, note.

3. δ' αὐτά: or perhaps δαυτα for ταῦτα: cf. Θεοδόδου in l. 7. A better sense would be obtained if εἰσαντ(ίκ)α could be read, in which case εἴχαμεν ἐπαναλῦσαι would mean 'could have returned'.

6. ἐξκ(έπτορι): cf. the ἐξκέπ(τορες) mentioned in 43. recto ii. 26, an account of military supplies. The *exceptores* were a kind of clerks, and those in 43 were clearly connected with the army; probably Petronius too held a military position; cf. the next note. ἐξκ(ουβίτορι), as Wilcken remarks, is also possible; cf. P. Brit. Mus. I. 113 (7). 14 σκουβίτορ(ος).

7. ὀρδ(ιναρίου): we have not found another instance of this title in a papyrus, and the meaning is uncertain, but as *ordinarius* was used for a centurion and equated to ταξιάρχος, the term may well apply to some minor military officer.

## 943. LETTER OF VICTOR.

17.4 × 34 cm.

Sixth century.

A request to a *chartularius* (cf. 128. 1, &c.) that he would send three persons in order that a decision might be arrived at on the question which of them was responsible for the dues upon a bath.

+

+ Καταξιώση ἡ σὴ γνησίᾳ ἀδελφότης Μηνᾶν τὸν λαμπρότατον καὶ Σερήνον  
τὸν λαμπρότατον τραπεζίτην καὶ Μηνᾶν τὸν προκουράτορα παρασκευάσαι  
ἀπελθεῖν εἰς δίαίταν ἕνεκεν τοῦ λουτροῦ, καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ  
μειζότερος  
ἄχρι συνομολογῇ τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἰκῷ ὁ ὀφείλων ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν φόρον τοῦ  
λο(υ)τροῦ  
5 δοῦναι. Σερήνος γὰρ ὁ λαμπρότατος τραπεζίτης διὰ πίσματος γυναικὸς  
ἐδίωξεν  
Κόλλουθον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον ἐκ τοῦ λο(υ)τροῦ, καὶ ὅτε ἐποίησεν τὸ πῖσμα  
αὐτοῦ οὐ θέλει ἀποστῆναι.  
καὶ ζῆ κύριος οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι τῶν τριῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πληροῦσιν τὸν φόρον  
τοῦ λουτρο[ῦ] ἕω[ς . . .] εἰν ἀντιγεοῦχο[ν]. +

On the verso

+ δεσπό(τη) τῷ ἀπά(ντων) λαμπρο(τάτῳ) τιμαξίω(τάτῳ) σὺν θ(εῷ) ἀδελφῷ  
+ Γεωργίῳ χαρτ(ουλαρίῳ) + Βίκτωρ σὺν θ(εῷ) α . . . λ( ).

3. σ of ἀποστη corr. from ο. 4. First ο of συνομολογῇ over an erasure. 6. τον  
εὐλαβεστατον above the line in a different hand. 7. ἀλλάντοι Pap.

'May your true brotherliness vouchsafe to cause the most illustrious Menas and Serenus the most illustrious banker, and Menas the agent to come to arbitration with respect to the bath, and let not the official leave them until the one of them who owes the rent of the bath agrees with the noble house to pay it. For Serenus the most illustrious banker through the persuasion of his wife chased the most discreet Colluthus out of the bath, and having done what he was persuaded to do will not depart. As the Lord lives I do not leave the three, but they pay the rent of the bath until the deputy . . . (Addressed) To the most illustrious and honourable lord, by the grace of God my brother George, secretary, from Victor, by the grace of God . . .'

2. προκουράτορα: cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1032. 10, a letter of about the same period as this, and Gloss. Basil. προκουράτωρ ἐστὶν ὁ φροντιστὴς ἢ ἐντολεύς, ὁ πρᾶγμα ἐτέρου κατ' ἐντολὴν αὐτοῦ διώκων.

4. ἄχρι συνομολογεῖ: so probably rather than ἄχρισ ἂν ὁμολογεῖ, though *a* and *v* when written small, as here, are at this period often indistinguishable. For οἶκω cf. 126. 4, note.

6. ἀποστῆναι: sc. τοῦ λουτροῦ (?). But the connexion is not very clear.

7. ζῆ κύριος is frequent in the LXX; cf. e.g. Judges 8. 19 ζῆ κύριος . . . οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς.

8. The term ἀντιγεοῦχος, which is apparently not found in literary sources, occurs also in 153. 3 τῷ ἐνδ(όξω) ἀ., 156. 5 χαρτου(λάριος) καὶ ἀ., B. G. U. 303. 28 μεγαλοπρ(επέστατον) τριβοῦνον ἀ., and 693. 2, all of the Byzantine period. In 156 we translated the word as 'land-agent', i. e. the deputy of the owner, which on analogy should be the meaning. The γεουχοῦντες of Byzantine papyri are commonly people of importance, e. g. Flavius Apion at Oxyrhynchus (133. 4-5, &c.), whose representative would be an influential person. In the indices of the B. G. U. ἀντιγεοῦχος is classed among the officials.

The preceding word seems to be an infinitive, but there is not space for ἐλθεῖν, and ἦκειν and ἰδεῖν are not suitable. A break occurs in the papyrus after the supposed *v*, and this may have been followed by another narrow letter.

## VI. COLLATIONS OF HOMERIC FRAGMENTS

(The collations are with text of Ludwich.)

(a) *Iliad*.

- 944.** 6.1 × 6.3 cm. A few letters from the ends of ii. 436-444, with elision-marks. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.
- 945.** 13.5 × 6.5 cm. Fragment of the top of a leaf from a book, containing on the recto the ends of ii. 722-741 and on the verso the beginnings of 753-772, with occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 724 Final ε of μν]ήσεσθε corr. to αι by a second hand. 734 Ὑπέρια[ν. Fifth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.
- 946.** 5.7 × 5.3 cm. A few letters from the middles of ii. 861-867. 864 ? Μεθ]αῖς τε καὶ Ἀντι[φος. Late second or third century, written in broad, slightly sloping uncials.
- 947.** 7.5 × 2.9 cm. A few letters from the beginnings of iv. 443-452, from the bottom of a column, with elision-marks. Third century, written in a small and neat but not very regular uncial hand.
- 948.** Fr. (a) 8.9 × 4.3 cm. Two fragments containing the ends of x. 233-243 and 250-255, with stops (middle and low points) and occasional breathings, accents, and marks of quantity. Third century, written in a good-sized semi-uncial hand.
- 949.** 13 × 4.6 cm. A few letters from near the ends of x. 437-452, from the bottom of a column, with occasional accents (449 ἦε). 446 βοήν αγα]θος [Διομήδης (τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης MSS.). 451 πολέμειω[ν. Late second or third century, written in square upright uncials similar to those of 869 (Plate I).
- 950.** Fr. (b) 23.8 × 5.7 cm. Two fragments, the first containing a few letters from near the beginnings of xi. 322-329, the second the ends of 359-402 (a whole column), with stops, and occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 366 εστιν. 368 ἐξε]ναριξεν. 371 τυμβωι added by a second hand above πυργωι, which is crossed through. 375 ανειλκε. 381 απο θυμον ολεσσαι. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

951. Fr. (b) 8 × 6 cm. Part of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso portions of xx. 425-437 and on the recto portions of 470-482, with elision-marks. 473 The letter before *ous* is not *ρ* or *τ* but seems to be *α*, i. e. *παρ]α* or *κατ]α*. Fourth century, written in heavy sloping uncials.
952. 11.7 × 5.2 cm. Parts of xxiv. 74-90 from the top of a column, with high stops and occasional accents. 78 *τε* omitted. Third century, written in sloping oval uncials.

(b) *Odyssey*.

953. Fr. (d) 11 × 11.9 cm. Four fragments from three distinct columns of a MS. of iv. Fr. (a), from the bottom of a column, contains a few letters from 97-100, Fr. (b), from the top of a column, parts of 197-204, Fr. (c) a few letters from 222-224, and Fr. (d), from the bottom of a column, parts of 248-261, with high stops, and occasional breathings, accents, and elision-marks. 249 *κατεβη Τρῶων*. 251 *ανειρώτων*. 252 *εγων ελόενν* (the reading of Aristarchus?). 254 *με* for *μεν*. Second century, written in a round upright uncial hand of good size and handsome appearance.
954. 2.6 × 9.3 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a vellum book, containing on the verso the beginnings of xiv. 299-303 and on the recto the ends of 328-332, with frequent accents. Fourth or fifth century, the verso being written in lighter and more sloping uncials than the recto.
955. 7 × 2.8 cm. Fragment of a leaf from a book, containing on the verso a few letters from xvii. 601-606 and on the recto parts of xviii. 27-40, with high stops and frequent accents. 34 *ξυνε]ηκ'*. Third century, written in upright uncials, those on the recto being much smaller than those on the verso.
956. 9.6 × 14.2 cm. Ends of xxiii. 309-326 and beginnings of 342-356, from the tops of two columns. 317 *μεγαλα* for *βαρέα*. 318 *Λ]αιστυγονιην αφικοντο*. 320 omitted. 345 *ρ'* omitted. Second or third century, written in heavy square, nearly upright uncials of medium size.

## VII. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

These may be classified as follows (we call attention to the fact that the texts of 957-8, 962-7, 969-72, 974, 977-8, 980-1, 987-95, and 997 are given nearly or quite in full).

Writing Exercise 966 verso.

Magical papyrus 959.

Orders to officials 965, 969.

ἀπογραφαί 962 recto, 970.

Reports to officials 983, 989.

Declarations on oath 972, 976.

Petition 991.

Lease 975.

Wills 968, 990.

Loan 983 recto.

Deed of surety 996.

Miscellaneous contracts 977, 980 recto.

Receipts 964, 995, 1000-3.

Taxation 960, 966 recto, 979, 981-2, 997.

Census-List 984.

Land-Survey 984, 986, 988 verso.

Accounts 962 verso, 971, 978, 980 verso, 985-6, 998-9.

Orders for payment 973-4, 992-4.

Private Correspondence 963, 967.

Titles or σίλλυβοι 957-8, 987.

Demotic papyrus 961.

Arabic papyri and paper 1004-6.

957. 3.3 × 13.4 cm. A strip of leather, once glued to a papyrus, perhaps a σίλλυβος, and containing a much abbreviated official note, of which the text is (1) Φιλ(ονίκου) στρα(τηγοῦ) (cf. 898. 26) ἡ τόμ(ος) ἐξητ(ασμένων?) εἰδ(ῶν) ὅτι ἀπὸ διαλογ(ῆς?) ζ' (ἔτους) (2) Ἀδριανοῦ ὅς ἐστ(ι) τῶν πρὸς παραγγελ(ίαν) (3) ἀπὸ ιγ, below which in the right-hand corner is ἀπη( ) enclosed apparently between rounded brackets. The symbol after εἰδ(ῶν) is obscure; it resembles the sign for δραχμή or a cursive αἰ, the following letters οἰ being raised slightly above the line: perhaps (καὶ) οἰ. A. D. 122-3. Complete. 4 lines.

958. 2 × 8.4 cm. A strip of vellum, perhaps used like 957 as a σίλλυβος. It is inscribed with two lines (1) ] πρακ( ) τοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ (2) ] γ (ἔτους) Τίτου (A. D. 80). The strip is complete above and below the writing, and perhaps nothing is lost at the beginnings of lines. πρακ( ), if correct, probably refers to πράκτωρ or a derivative, but ηρακ( ) can equally well be read.
959. 7.2 × 13 cm. 8 incomplete lines containing magical symbols, interspersed with occasional Greek letters. About the third century.
960. 5.7 × 9.5 cm. Memorandum of a payment of corn by two persons, the text being Αὐρηλία Θεανοῦς Διδύμων καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίων ὁ καὶ Θεὼν Σερύφews πόλεως (ἀρτάβας) μλς'. Σερύφews πόλις seems to be identical with the known Oxyrhynchite village Σερύφis (cf. e.g. 991). Third century. Complete. 5 lines.
961. 10.2 × 12.4 cm. Demotic papyrus containing the first 15 lines of a document. First or second century.
962. 11.5 × 6.1 cm. On the recto the first 18 lines of an ἀπογραφὴ of sheep, addressed to the strategus (cf. 245-6) probably in the reign of Claudius or Nero, the writing being much obliterated. On the verso a memorandum concerning various contracts, of which the text is Πόλεως ἀγορασμὸν οἰκίας α (ἔτους) Νέρωνο(ς) Φαρμουθ(ι), καὶ διαίρεσιν τ . . . . α (ἔτους) Παῦνι, ιδ (ἔτους) Κλαυδίου μη(νὸς) Γερμανικεῖου ἀγορασμ(ὸν) οἰκίας. Probably written in or soon after the reign of Nero. Complete. 8 lines.
963. 16 × 9.7 cm. The upper part of a letter from a woman to her mother, thanking her for sending a καθεδράριον ('stool'). The text of ll. 1-11 is Ὠφελία Θεαροῦτι τῇ μητρὶ χαίρειν. ἀσπάζομαι σε, μήτερ, διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων ἐπιθυμοῦσα ἤδη θεάσασθαι. χάριν δέ σοι οἶδα, μήτερ, ἐπὶ τῇ σπονδῇ τοῦ καθεδραρίου, ἐκομισάμην γὰρ αὐτό. οὐκ ἀλλότριον γὰρ τοῦ ἡθους ποιεῖς, φιλ[τάτη μήτερ, σ]πουδάζουσα . . . Second or third century. 14 lines.
964. 13.7 × 16.3 cm. Receipt for the rent of a camel-shed, of which the text is Αὐρήλιος Θεὼν ὁ καὶ Εὐδαίμων ἐπικαλούμενος Ἀριστίων καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ Σαραποῦς ἡ καὶ Ἀγαθόκλια ἀμφότεροι Ἀριστίωνος καὶ ὡς ἐχρημάτιζεν Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰσιδώρῳ χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ τὰ ἐνοίκια οὗ ἔχεις ἡμῶν ἐν μισθώσει καμηλῶνος ἐπ' ἀμφόδου [Ἰπ]πέων Παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἀπὸ Φαμειῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ τοῦ διεληλυθότ[ο]ς ι (ἔτους) ἐν δραχμαῖς διακοσίαις εἴκοσει, μένοντος ἡμῶν τοῦ λόγου πάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς Θῶθ ἐνοικίω[ν] ἀκολουθῶ[ς] τῇ μισθώσει. κυρία ἡ ἀποχὴ καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν. (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Πουπλίου Αἰκινεῖου Γαλλικηροῦ Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Θῶθ 5. Signature of Aurelius Theon. A. D. 263. Complete. 12 lines.
965. 10.2 × 12.1 cm. An order to the collectors of corn-dues at the village of Φιλονίκου (cf. P. Hibeh p. 8) to deal gently with a certain individual.

The text is Πράκτορος[ι] σιτικῶν Φιλονείκου. μὴ παρέ[νο]χλήσητε Λουκίῳ Κερελ[. . . . .]ανιανῶ καὶ ἀπόλυσον τὴν [. . . . . αὐτ]οῦ ἕως οὗ κατασπείρωσιν [. . . . .]. Cf. P. Brit. Mus. II. 379, P. Reinach 57, and *Fayûm Towns*, Ostr. 45. Third century. Written across the fibres. Incomplete. 4 or 5 lines.

**966.** 12.7 × 10.5 cm. On the recto 7 lines of an official account, apparently giving a list of payments from different villages. The text is καὶ ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) χπθδ'κ'δ'μ'ή, λαχάνου (ἀρτάβαι) ὧξης'κ'δ'. Πούχεως· φακοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β, λαχάνου (ἀρτάβαι) ξγλ, καὶ ἐξ ἐπικρίσεως [. Third century. On the verso are two lines in rude uncials, no doubt a writing-exercise, of which the text is εν πασιw ξστ αδικτον η (corr.) γνωμη καλον (a corrupt iambic line) ε. .

**967.** 15.1 × 9.2 cm. The upper part of a letter from a man to his sister. Lines 1–11 Ἀπίων Ἐξακωνοῦτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. φασὶ τὸν κράτιστον ἡγεμόνα ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐνθάδε περὶ τὴν τριακάδα, ὃ ἔν' εἰδῆς γράφω σοι. καλῶς δὲ ποιήσεις ἐπιστείλασα εἰς ἄγρον ἄρξασθαι τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας ποτισμῶν τῇ πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς . . . Address on the verso. Second century. 18 lines.

**968.** 39.9 × 13.4 cm. Ends of lines of the will of a woman called Didyme, leaving her property to her sons by her former husband Κλάρως and her present husband Sarapion, and making provision for her τροφὸς Ἀρᾶσις. At the end are the signatures of the testatrix and witnesses, one of whom is called Ἐκάτων. Cf. 489–95. Written across the fibres, probably in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. 45 lines, including 3 lines of an endorsement upon the verso.

**969.** 8.8 × 12.4 cm. An order to an ἀρχέφοδος to summon an accused person, similar e.g. to 64–5. The text is Ἀρχεφόδωι. μετὰπεμψον Ἀπολλώνιον Γαίου, ἐντυχόντος Ἀπολλώνιου περὶ κατασπορᾶς. Early second century. Complete. 3 lines.

**970.** 8.1 × 8.7 cm. Beginning of an ἀπογραφή addressed to the comogrammateus of Σερύφης by an inhabitant of Antinoöpolis. The text is Κωμογρα(ματεῖ) Σερύφεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πάριδος τοῦ καὶ Ζευξιανοῦ Νερονιανείου τοῦ καὶ Γενεαρχείου ἀποδεδειγμ(ένου) ἀρχιερέως τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀντινοσέων πόλεως διὰ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου Ἱερακιάνης ἀπὸ Πέλα. ἀπογρά(φομαι) κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ κρα(τίστου) πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκ(εφθείσαις ?) [. Αὐρ. Ἀντωνῖνος is perhaps identical with Αὐρ. Ἀντίνοος, vice-praefect in A.D. 215–6 (cf. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti*, p. 66), unless πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκ(έψει), a new title, be read. ἐπικρ(ίσει) is unsuitable. Early third century. 12 lines. This ἀπογραφή has been glued to another, of which the beginnings of 8 lines are preserved, and which on the verso has Χαιρή(μονι) στρα(τηγῶ) and at right angles ] Σερύφ(ως).

**971.** 14.7 × 7 cm. Account of expenditure on irrigation, of which the text is Λόγο(s) ἀντλ(ήσεως) Διονυσίου. Μεχ(εῖρ) κδ ποιούσι ὕδραγω(γόν) ἐν τ(ῶ) κλ(ήρῳ) ἐργ(άταις) β ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι, κε β ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι, κς β ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι, κς α ὀβ(ολοὶ) ε, κη

ἀντλ(οῦσι) ἐργ(άταις) δ ὀβ(ολοὶ) λς, κθ ἀντλ(οῦσι) καὶ παράγ(ουσι) ὑδραγ(ωγὸν) δ ὀβ(ολοὶ) λς, λ δ ὀβ(ολοὶ) λς, καὶ ἀντλ(ώματος) ἐνοικίου κηλ(ωνείου) (cf. P. Tebt. II. 342. iii. 19) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ιη, / ὀβ(ολοὶ) ρξα. καὶ τειμ(ῆς) ἐλαί(ου?) (δυνόβολοι), / ὀβ(ολοὶ) ρξγ, οἱ (δραχμαὶ) κζ. Late first or early second century. Complete. 10 lines.

**972.** 14.9 × 10 cm. Conclusion of an oath taken by an official upon entering office, similar to **82**, a fragment of an oath by a strategus. The text is εἰς [τὸ ἐν μη]δεὶν μεμφθῆναι [ῆ] ἔν[ο]χο[ς] εἰ[ρη]ν τῷ ὄρκῳ. καὶ π[α]ρέσχον δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνγνητὴν Γάιον Ἰούλιον Ἀντώνιον παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦντα. ἔτους β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρ]ος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρον Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχούς Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῇ ἐπαγομένων α. Γάιος Πουλφέρνης Τιβερέϊνος ὥμοσα τὸν ὅ[ρ]κον καὶ ἐκτελέσω τὴν χρεία[ν] ὥς π[ρ]όκειται. (2nd hand) Γάιος Ἰού[λ]ιο[ς] Ἀντώνιο[ς] ἐννομαι (l. ἐγγυῶμαι) αὐτὸν ἐκτελοῦ(ν)τα τὴν δηλουμένην χρείαν ὥς π[ρ]όκειται. A. D. 223. 16 lines.

**973.** 8.5 × 10 cm. A notice to sitologi, similar to **516**, **619-32**, and P. Leipzig 112-117, authorizing them to pay 24½ artabae of wheat, beginning Δημητρία Ἀνδρομάχ(ον) δι(ὰ) Ἀπολ(λωνίου) βοηθ(οῦ) σιτολ(όγοις) Φοβόου τόπ(ων) χαίρειν. διαστείλατε κ.τ.λ. The Φοβόου (or Φοκόου) τόποι are clearly identical with the Φοβ. μου τόποι in P. Leipzig 116. 2. After the date, the 9th year of Aurelius and Verus (A. D. 168-9), is the signature of a certain Εὐτύχης, perhaps a σιτολόγος. Nearly complete. 12 lines.

**974.** 4.5 × 9.1 cm. An order for the payment of 2 artabae of wheat. The text is Π(αρά) Σαρᾶ Διονυσίῳ γεωργῷ χαίρειν. δὸς Ζωσίμῳ ἰδίῳ ὑπὲρ ὀψωνίων πυροῦ ἀρτάβας δύο, γί(νονται) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβαι) β. (ἔτους) δ Μεσορῇ ε σεσημί(ωμαι). Third century. Complete. 4 lines.

**975.** 19.8 × 7.5 cm. Signature to a lease of 2¼ arourae, in which the lessee agrees to pay rent at the rate of 5½ artabae per aroura and acknowledges a loan of 28 drachmae to be repaid ἅμα τῇ (ἐ)μῇ τρῶ[γ]ῃ, apart from other debts to the lessor. Written in the 2nd year of an emperor who is probably Domitian or Trajan. 20 lines.

**976.** 11.7 × 11.8 cm. Conclusion of a declaration on oath, containing the date (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκί[ου] Σεπτι[μίου] Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περίνακο(ς) Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβ[ικοῦ] Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρη(λίου) Ἀντωνίνου Κ[αί]σαρος ἀποδεδιγμένου Αὐτοκράτορο(ς) Ἀθὺρ λ (i. e. Nov. 26, A. D. 197; cf. **910**. introd.), and the signatures of Ἀντεῖς Σαραπάτος, who makes the declaration, and of a collector of corn-dues as γνωστήρ (Παυλεῖνος πρά(κτωρ) σι(τικῶν) . . . λ( ) δι(ὰ) Διονυσίου βοηθ(οῦ) γνωρίζω); cf. **496**. 16, note. 14 lines.

**977.** 18.7 × 7.2 cm. Conclusion of a document relating to a payment of 800

drachmae for the φόρος of an ἀσχόλημα (the collection of a tax ?), containing only the date and signatures. Lines 4-19 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων Γαίου Οὐβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλον καὶ Γαίου Οὐβίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλον Οὐέλδου-μιανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν Μεχέιρ ι. Αὐρή(λιος) Σαραπίων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀπείς βουλ(ευτῆς) δι' ἐ(μοῦ) Αὐρη(λίου) Διοσκόρου καὶ ὡς χ(ρηματίζω) ἀποσυστα(θεῖς) διεπύρισα φόρου τοῦ προκ(ειμένου) ἀσכולή(ματος) τὰς προκ(ειμένας) δραχ(μὰς) ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ω, ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος ὁ καὶ Ἀφροδίσιος γυν(μνασίαρχος) βουλ(ευτῆς) σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς δραχμὰς ὀκτακοσίας, / (δραχμαὶ) ω, followed by a similar signature by an exegetes. A. D. 253. 21 lines.

**978.** 4.6 × 7.5 cm. Beginning of a list of articles of furniture. The text is Κερλάρια (1. κελλάρια?), δίφρος (sic) β, λιβανοθήκη, ὄσοπτρον (1. ἔσοπτρον), τύλ[η], κ. [. Third century. 6 lines.

**979.** 7.4 × 4.2 cm. Fragment of an account of payments in artabae from the villages of Σενέπτα, Σκώ, Σενεκελ(εύ), and Μορίμ(ου). Second or third century. 6 lines, the ends of which are lost.

**980.** 14.9 × 7.8 cm. On the recto parts of 14 lines from a list of abstracts of contracts (?), the last 8 lines referring to a purchase of land. Early third century. On the verso is a short list of payments for the purchase of houses, of which the text is Κορνήλιος ποικιλτῆς τιμῆς οἰκίας ἐν πίστει ἰς ἡν τιμῆς (δραχμαὶ) 'Β, Ἀρείος ὁπωροπώλη[ς] τιμῆς οἰκίας (δραχμαὶ) φ, Δημέας κλη( ) οἰκ(ίας) (δραχμαὶ) 'Δ. ω (1. ὁ ?) μείζω(ν ?) ἐσημεί(ώσατο ?). Third century. Complete. 7 lines.

**981.** 9 × 9.5 cm. Extract from the ἐφημερίς of Apion similar to **917** and **982**. The text is 'Εξ ἐφη(μερίδος) Ἀπίωνος πρά(κτορος) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Σεντω(λενῶ) ἐπαρο(υρίου) τοῦ ἐνεσ(τώτος) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) σν (δνόβολοι), πηχ(ισμοῦ) περι-στ(ερώνων) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμαὶ) μζ (ὀβολὸς) χ(αλκοῖ) β, γ(ίνονται) κ.τ.λ. Cf. **917**. introd. Late second or early third century. Complete. 6 lines.

**982.** 6.5 × 6.5 cm. Fragment of a similar memorandum of Apion, written in the 3rd year, the ends of lines being lost. Cf. **917**. introd. 4 lines.

**983.** 24.5 × 18.7 cm. Report, similar to **896**. ii, addressed to Valerius Ammonianus, logistes, by two δημόσιοι ἰατροί, of whom the second is named Ἀπίων Ἡροδότου, concerning the injuries received by a certain Μουεῖς. The papyrus is numbered 106 in the series of which **53** is no. 105 and **896** nos. 127-8; cf. **53** and **896**. introd. Dated in the consulship of Sabinus and Rufinus (A. D. 316). Incomplete. 16 lines.

**984.** Height 18 cm. The verso of this mutilated papyrus contains the *Paeans* of Pindar (**841**). On the recto of sections A-C is a census-list of persons with their ages, parentage, abode, &c., e. g. Πανεσνε(ὺς) ἀπελ(εύθερος) Ἀπολ-

λώνιας ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) οἰκῶν ἐν ἱερῶι Ἀρεως θεοῦ μεγίστου γέρδ(ιος) ἄση(μος) (ἐτῶν) με, Ταυοῦρις γ(υνή) αὐτοῦ (ἐτῶν) λ, Θαῆσις θυγ(ατέρα) (ἐτῶν) ς, Σευπανεσνέ(α) ἄλλην (έτους) α Σευπαραίθ(ις) ἄλλη μη(τρὸς) Τατναγοῦτο(ς), δι ἧς καὶ ἐδηλ(ώθη) Πεταρποχρα(τίωνα) υἱὸν αὐτο(ῦ) ἀπογεγρα(μμένον) τῶι γ (ἔτει) Τίτου θεοῦ (έτους) α τετελευτηκέναι. Ἡρακλῆς Πτολ(εμαίου) τοῦ Ἡρακλήο(ν) μητρὸ(ς) Σευφώιτο(ς) π(ρεσβυτέρας?) Λύκο(ν) ἀφῆλ(ιξ) ἀπὸ γ(υμνασίου) ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) Εὐδ(αίμονος) Λύκου τοῦ Ὠρου φροντιστοῦ οἰκῶν ἐν μέρει (ἡμίσει) οἰκίας Σενοινώ(φρεως) Ἡρακλήου μελ(ίχρως) (ἐτῶν) ι[.]. Other entries of interest are (1) Ὀυνῶ(φρις) Ὀρσεύτου τοῦ Λυκόφρο(νος) μητρὸ(ς) Ἀνρέσιο(ς) Φατρέ[ως] ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) ἀπὸ γ(υμνασίου) οἰκῶν ἐν μάνδ(ρα) Ἡρακλήου Ἰέρακος (ἐτῶν) μ, (2) Σισύφης Σ[ι]σ[ύ]φ(ιος) τοῦ Ὀφίεως μη(τρὸς) Τερεῦτος ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) πασ(τοφόρος) Ἀπ[ό]λλωνος θεοῦ μεγίσ(του) οἰκῶν ἐν παστοφορίῳ τοῦ αὐτο(ῦ) ἱερο(ῦ) (ἐτῶν) ξ, (3) Ἰέραξ Ἡρακλεοδ(ώρου) το(ῦ) Ἡρακλεοδ(ώρου) μη(τρὸς) Ἀπολλωνία[ς] προξένου βουλ[ε]υτῶν (a phrase which recurs in another fragment . . . ἐξ ἀπογρα(φῆς) α(ὐτοῦ) πρόξενος?) βουλ(ευτῶν) οἰκῶν ἐν . . .). The following rare names occur: Ψῶις, Χεμενεῦς, Σευχεμενεῦς, Τερεχα( ) (fem.), Τευφῶς (fem.), Ταανοῦφης (fem.), Θαρίων Αἰσχυρᾶτος, Σεύφης (fem.), Ψαῦτις, Τεαῖφης (fem.), Θάλλουσα, Ποῦνσις, Παανοῦφης, Πατῆβης, Ἀτῆρις, Σαρποκρατίς (fem.), Σφραγίς (fem.), Τοῶνσις (fem.), Φιραίθης, Ψεντοῦς, Ἀρουσῶις, Πανφῶις, Ταυφῶις (fem.), Ἀβαβίκι(ς?), Σευπτόλλις (fem.), Σέντρ[ι]ς (fem.), Ταψωβάις (fem.), Ταπτίχι(ς) (fem.), Ταφίβις (fem.), Φιλοστέφ(ανος), Ἀσπιδᾶς, Παρεχάτης, Πετουφῶις. The locality is apparently Oxyrhynchus, the ἀμφοδον Κρ[η]π(ῖδος) being mentioned; cf. 714. 11 Νότου Κρηπῖδος. Written after the reign of Titus, probably in that of Domitian. On the recto of section D in a different hand (cf. Part V. p. 13) are parts of a few lines from a land-survey, mentioning various κλήροι. α (= πρότερον) κάτοι(κος) precedes some of the personal names.

985. Height 37.1 cm. The verso of this papyrus contains the fragments of Euripides' *Hypsipyle* (852). On the recto is a private account of receipts and expenditure written in the second half of the first century in a large cursive hand. Only one column has complete lines, e. g. ll. 6 sqq.: [ι]α. λήμμα(τος) Ἐρμᾶτος οἶνοπρά(του) ἀπὸ τιμῆς οἶνου γενή(ματος) η (έτους) εἰς σ(υμ-πλήρωσιν) (δραχμῶν) Ἰξη μετὰ τὰ(ς) ἐπά(νω) (δραχμὰς) Ἐτξη κατὰ μέρος (δραχμαὶ) ρ. ιβ. ἀνηλῶμα(τος) Φαύστῳ ἀντλοῦντι μηχαν(νὴν) μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ δ ε ς ἡμε(ρῶν) γ ὥς το(ῦ) μη(νὸς) (δραχμῶν) κ αἱ συναγόμεναι (δραχμαὶ) β. ἐργάτη τηροῦντι τὸν οἶνον τὸν ἐν ἡλια(στηρίῳ) Μουχινῶρ (an Oxyrhynchite village; cf. 491. 3) (δραχμαὶ) δ. . . ιγ. Σαραπίωνι Βελλ[έ]ω (so in another fragment) ἀμπελο(υργῶ) δι(ὰ) Πετεσ(ούχου) (δραχμαὶ) κ, λ σημαίνει) ὁ Σαρα(πίων) ἀνηλω(θήναι) ἐργά(ταις) δυσὶ σκάπτου(ι) χοῦν καὶ ἐπιτιθο(ῦντι) (sic) τοῖς ὄνοις εἰς τὸ ἀπηλιωτικὸν χῶμα τοῦ χωρίου ἕως κδ ἡμερῶν ια ἐργά(ταις) κβ ἀνὰ (τετράβολον) ὀβο(λοὶ) πη αἱ (1. οἱ)

(δραχμαὶ) ιβ (τετρώβολον), ὧν δο(θεῖται) α(ὕτῳ) ἐπὶ λόγ(ον) (δραχμαὶ) η. ις Ἡρακλᾶτι μῆχα(ναρίῳ) ἰσά(γοντι) μῆ(νός) Σεβα(στοῦ) ζ ἕως κ (δραχμαὶ) η. In another fragment a series of figures is summed up / εἰς τὸ α(ὕτῳ) (δραχμαὶ) Ἰγβ (τριώβολον), ὧν ἐπάνω ἀνείλ(ημμέναι) (cf. 899. 37, note) ἐν τῷ τοῦ η (ἔτους) λόγ(ω) (δραχμαὶ) ὙΒ, κα(ταλείπονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἀχβ (τριώβολον).

986. Height 20.5 cm. The verso of this papyrus contains the commentary on Thucydides (853). On the recto are three distinct documents which have been joined together to form a roll of sufficient length; cf. p. 107. The first of these, which is on the recto of Cols. xix–xiv of the commentary, is part of a list of house-property apparently in the hands of οὐσιακοὶ μισθωταί, probably at the Arsinoite village of Oxyrhyncha, in the 16th year of Hadrian (see below). Col. i (on the recto of section H) is a mere fragment and Col. ii has only ends of lines; but Col. iii is well preserved, and contains the following three entries (ll. 4–25) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁ μέρος ψειλοῦ τόπου ἀν[. . . . .] μῆν[. . . . .]. ρωι ἰμίσει (sic) ψιλοῦ τόπου ἰδιω( ) [. . .] αμο . . [οἰκία] καὶ αὐλὴ δηλ(ωθεῖσα) ἐπικεκρατῆσθαι πρὸ τῆς ἀναλήμψεως ὑπὸ Πετεσοῦχου Ἀμμωνᾶ τοῦ Παστωῦτος ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης) ἐξ οὗ περιγεγονέ(ναι) ἀπὸ ἐνοικίων (δραχμας) ιβ. γίτονες τῆς ὥλης (sic) οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς νότου τέκνων Ἡρωνος τοῦ Ζήνωνος οἰκία, βορρᾶ ῥύμη βασιλ(ικῆ), λιβὸς Ἀρμύσεω(s) Πάτρωνος διὰ κ[λη]ρονόμων οἰκία, ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἴσοδος καὶ ἕξοδος. τοῦ αὐτοῦ γ' μ[έρος] οἰκίας καὶ αἰθρίου ἐπικρατηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ξ[ε] οἷ ἐδηλ(ώθη) ιε (ἔτει) περιγ[ε]γονέ(ναι) (δραχμας) δ. γίτονες τῶν ὅλων κ.τ.λ. Ἀμμωνίου Ἀ[μ]μ[ωνίου] τοῦ καὶ Ῥοδίωνος γεναμέν[ου] οὐσιακοῦ [μισθ]ωτοῦ καὶ ἐνοφειλέσαντος ἐν τ . . [ . . .] ἁ μέρος δ' μ[έρος] οἰκίας καὶ αὐλῆς. γίτονες τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας καὶ α[ὐλῆς] νότου καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ῥύμη βασιλ(ικῆ), λιβὸς Πουήρεως [οἰκία], βορρᾶ ἐτέρων οἰκ[ι]α, οὗ τὸ περιγενάμ(ενον) σὺν τοῖς σιτ[ι]κοῖς ὑπάρχουσαι τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου ἐπάνωθε ὥρισται. In the margin against the beginning of each of these entries is κόλ(λημα) qz. Col. iv is less complete; ll. 4–7 τοῦ α[ὕτο]υ ψιλ[ος] τόπος ἀπὸ [μ]έρους ἀνοικοδομημένος ἀπὸ συν[. . .] πλίνθου (or ζ πλίνθου) οὗ μέτρα νότον ἐπὶ βορρᾶ πῆχ(εις) μ, λιβὸς ἐπ' ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τ[οῦ] πρὸς νότον μέρους πῆχ(εις) ιθζ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶ πῆχ(εις) ιβζ, [ἐ]ξ οὗ μῆδὲν περιγίνεσθ(αι). The next entry mentions τῇ γεναμ(ένῃ) τῷ ιγ (ἔτει) ἐπελεύσει [τ]ῶν οὐσιακῶν, and that following begins Φανίου Πετεσορφιώμεως τοῦ Φανίου. In Col. v, which is in the same hand as Cols. i–iv and is on the recto of Col. xiii of the commentary, begins a return of προσοδικὰ ἐδάφη (i.e. confiscated land) at Oxyrhyncha supplied by the comogrammateus. Lines 1–5 [παρὰ . . . . .] Ὑ Ἡρωνος κωμογρ(αμματέως) Ὁξυρύνχ(ων) [. . . . .] τ[ῶν] ὑπὸ [τ]οῦ τῆς μερίδο(s) βασιλ(ικοῦ) γρα(μματέως) Πτολεμαίου εἰς [ἐπίσκεψιν] μεταδοθέντ(ων) προσοδικῶν ἐδαφῶν τοῦ ις (ἔτους) [Αὐτοκράτορος Κ]αίσαρος Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (A. D. 131–2). εἶναι δέ' followed by a survey-list of holdings with rents, γείτονες,

&c., which is continued in the fragmentary Cols. vi-viii. Col. viii has been cut down the middle and joined to another document in a different hand (Col. ix), the line of junction corresponding to the margin between Cols. viii and vii of the verso. This is a return by *σιτολόγοι γ τοπ(αρχίας)* to an official of the *Πολέμωνος μερίς*, probably the basilicogrammateus, and mentions *βασίλει(ικὴν) γῆν (πυροῦ) φογὴ προσδ[ι](ου) (ἄρουραι) ?* λδ (πυροῦ) [. . . Διο]νυσσο-*δωριανῆς οὐσίας (πυροῦ) εγ'η'*, but is too much damaged to be intelligible. Cols. x-xv, corresponding to Cols. vi-i of the commentary, belong to an account of seed-corn issued at the rate of 1 artaba per aroura to various cultivators of Crown land, the rent of the holdings being described in detail. Col. xi is well preserved, but the others are more or less broken. The formula is the same throughout; e.g. xi. 7-15 *Μυσθαῖς Ἑρακλή(ο) τοῦ Δείου τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος) καὶ Δείος Δίου τοῦ Ὀννώ(φριος) (ἄρουραι) γδ'η'ίς'ξ'δ', ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛ'ίβ'μ' (ἄρουραι) βδ'η'ίς', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛκ'μ' (ἄρουραι) α, (πυροῦ) γγ'η'. Ἀγχορίμφ(ι)ο(ς) Ὀννώφριο(ς) τοῦ Δείου (ἄρουραι) ιΛδ', ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛ'ίβ'μ' (ἄρουραι) βΛ, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛδ'.' (ἀρούρας) δ'η', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛ (ἀρούρας) Λ'ίς'λ'β', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δ'ίς' καὶ ι'έ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δγ' καὶ ι'έ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) {(αρουραι)} γ'η'ίς'λ'β', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛκ'δ'μ' (ἄρουραι) βίς', (πυροῦ) ιΛδ'. 21-6 Πενεουήρις Ἑρακλή(ο) τοῦ Πενεουήριο(ς) καὶ Πενε[ο]υή(ρις) πρεσβ(ύτερος) Δείου τοῦ Ὀννώφριο(ς) καὶ Ἑρακλῆς Ἑρακλή(ο) τοῦ Πενεουή(ριος) οἱ γ (ἄρουραι) ζη'ίς'ξ'δ', ὦν ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) ε'ε' καὶ ι'έ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) γ'η'ίς'ξ'δ', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛδ'μ' (ἀρούρας) Λλ'β', καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δΛδ'ο'έ' (ἄρουραι) β, καὶ ἀ(νὰ) (πυροῦ) δδ' (ἀρούρας) δ'η'ίς'λ'β', (πυροῦ) ζς'κ'δ'. The fractions  $\frac{1}{15}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20}$ ,  $\frac{1}{40}$ , and  $\frac{1}{75}$  of an artaba are unusual; cf. 918. introd. and P. Tebt. 341.*

987. 7.7 × 9.4 cm. A piece of vellum with the name Ἄπα Βίκτωρ in uncials enclosed in an ornamental border, and below in different ink ].χρ. Fifth or sixth century.

988. 15 × 18.4 cm. On the recto is the conclusion of two copies of a χειρόγραφον concerning a loan of corn, the first copy having lost the beginnings of lines. Col. ii. 1-10 ἀποδώσω δέ σοι τὰ προκείμενα κεφάλαια σὺν τοῖς συναχθησομένοις διαφόροις τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τετάρτου ἔτους ἐφ' ἅλῳ Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ νέα καθαρὰ ἄδολα ἄβωλα κεκοσκιευμένα, τὸν μὲν πυρὸν καὶ ἄκριθον ὥς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον μετρούμενον, τὴν δὲ κριθὴν καλῶς πεπατημένην χωρὶς δίσσης καὶ ἀθήρος, πάντα μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ κ.τ.λ. Dated in the 4th year of Severus Alexander, Athur 30 (A. D. 224). On the verso is a memorandum concerning the sale of unproductive land, of which the text is Ἐγλήμ(φθὲν) ἐκ γραφῆς ὑπολόγου ιη (ἔτους) Κομόδου Ἰσίου Παγγᾶ Ἀρχεπόλιδος κλήρου μεθ( ) καὶ τῶν συνχωρουμένων εἰς πρᾶσιν οὐκ ἔλασσον διπλῆς τιμῆς μεθ( ) ἄμμου κατεξ(υσμένον) (ἀρουρῶν) δ, γέλ(ονες)

νότ(ου) βα(σιλική?) διὰ Ἀριστάνδ(ρου) Ζήνωνος καὶ ἄλλων κακοφύης, βορρᾶ Σαραπίάδος Ἡρώδου νυνὶ Ἡρώδου Διουνυσίου, ἀπηλιώτ[ου] ἢ μεγ[ά]λη διῶρυξ, λιβ(ὸς) ἢ ἐτέρα διῶρυξ, χερσάμμου (ἀρουρῶν) ζ, γείτ(ονες) πάντοθ(εν) [Σα]ραπίάδ(ος) Ἡρώδου νυνὶ Ἡρώδ[ου] Διουνυσίου. Third century, soon after A. D. 224.

989. 24 × 10.8 cm. A list of persons and ἐργαστήρια at different villages, sent apparently to some official with a view to the exaction of a contribution from them. The text is . . . Πασίων χαλκεύς. ἐν ἐποικίῳ Πτολεμᾷ ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Τήϊ ἐργαστή[ριον] Ἀμμωνίου σὺν τοῖς υἱ[οῖς] καὶ Εὐαγγέλου χαλκ[έως]. καὶ ἐν ἐποικίῳ Ταμ[πέμου] ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Ὠφί ἐργαστήριον. καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐποικίῳ ἐργαστήριον, καταμένει δὲ ἐν ἐποικίῳ Σινπέκλη καλουμ[ε]νῳ. καὶ ἐν κ[ώμῃ] Σερύφει Ψευαμούνις νίδς Διοσκόρου. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Πανέει Παγώνις. καὶ ἐν Θώσβι Σαλόβις. καὶ ἐν Χύσι ἄνω Ἰβοεῖς. καὶ Ἰσίον Τρύφωνος Πένβας. καὶ ἐν κώμῃ Ἀδεὺ Ἀμμώνιος. ἀξιούμεν τούτους συντελεῖν σὺν ἡμῖν. Late third or fourth century. Incomplete, the beginning being lost. 26 lines.

990. 9.5 × 25.3 cm. Beginning of a will of a woman. The text is Ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουλίου Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπάρχων Μεσορή κη ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυχειτ[ῶν] πόλει. Ἀνρηλία Αἰῆς θυγάτηρ Ἀγαθ[οῦ] Δαίμονος Κεκιλίου ἄρξ(αντος) γενομ[έ]νου . . . . .] τῆς λαμπ(ρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξυρυχειτῶν πόλεως τότε τὸ βούλη[μα . . . .] ἐποίησα νοοῦσα καὶ φρονοῦσα ἐπινόσως ἔχουσα γραφ[ῆν] ? . . . .] Ἐ[λ]ληνικοῖς γράμμασιν κατὰ τὰ συνκεχωρημένα ὑπ[. . .], followed by parts of two more lines. For the formula cf. 907. A. D. 331. 8 lines.

991. 8.3 × 11 cm. Beginning of a petition (?) addressed to a police official called ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης. The text is Ὑπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπ(ροτάτων) (cf. P. Cairo 10690) Φαρμουθι κ. Φλανίφ Διοσκόρφ ἐπόπτη εἰρήνης Ὁξυρυγίτου παρὰ Ἀνρηλίας Τααμμωνίου Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Σερύφεως γ' ο' (sic, not π(άγου)) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ . . . A. D. 341. 9 lines.

992. 8.6 × 16.1 cm. Order for the payment of a jar of wine. The text is Ἰουλιανὸς Δωροθέψ. παρασχοῦ Μαρίᾳ γυνὴ (sic) Πεκολαρίῳ (1. -ου) οἶνο[ν] δι(πλοῦν) α ἐν λοχίαις αὐτῆς. σεσημ(είωμαι) οἶνον διπλοῦν α. (ἔτους) πθ μη (1. νη) Φαρμουθι κβ. A. D. 413. Written across the fibres. Complete. 6 lines.

993. 6.9 × 7.3 cm. Order issued by a church for the payment of two jars of wine to a plasterer on the occasion of a feast. The text is + Ἡ ἀγία ἐκ(κ)λη(σι)α Ἀνουθίφ δι(ακόνψ?) οἰκ(ονόμφ?) τοῦ ἀγίου Γαβριήλ. παρασχ(οῦ) τῷ κοινατῇ ὑ(ἐρ) τῆς ἑορτ(ῆς) τοῦ Τῦβι β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οἶν(ου) δι(πλᾶ) β δύο μ(όνα), followed by flourishes. Sixth century. Complete. 5 lines.

994. 30.5 × 8 cm. Order for the payment of 12 artabae of corn to a monk. The text is + Φοιβά[μυ]ων κόμ(ες) καὶ Σαμουήλ περίβλ(επτος). παρασχοῦ Ἰούστψ μονάξ(οντι) λόγ(ου) ὀψωνίου κατὰ συνήθ(ειαν) καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος σίτ(ου) καγκέλλψ ἀρτάβας δώδεκα, γί(νεται) σίτ(ου) καγκέλλψ (ἀρτάβαι) ιβ

μό(ναι). (ἔτους) ρος ρμε Θωθ . . ἰνδικ(τίονος) θ. + A. D. 499. A difficulty arises, as often, in the figure of the indiction, which should be the 8th not the 9th. Written across the fibres. Complete. 4 lines.

**995.** 31 × 11 cm. An illiterate receipt for a solidus and three κόμτα. The text is χμγ + Κυρί(ω) μου ἀδελφ(ῶ) Βαριχᾶ Φοιβάμμων χερ(ιστής). ἔχω τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κυρίου μ[ου] Ἰωάννου χρισοῦ νομιματιαν ἕνα, γί(νεται) ν[ο]μισμάτιον] α μόνον. Μεσορῇ ια θ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἀρχῇ. ιε ὁμοί(ως) καὶ κόμτα (= *comita*?) τρία μόνα, χρυσίου νομ(ισμάτιον?). Written across the fibres, in the fifth century. Complete. 4 lines.

**996.** 17.1 × 29.4 cm. Deed whereby two γεωργοί become surety to the heirs of Flavius Apion that two other γεωργοί, Praous and Georgius, would remain on the estate belonging to the heirs, the formula being practically identical with that of **135**, beginning Βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπ[ό]του μελίσ[του] ἐ[ρ]εργέτου Φλαο[ύ]ου Τιβερίου Μανρι[κί]ου τοῦ αἰωνί[σ]ου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους γ, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους α Ἀθῆρ κδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) τρίτης (A. D. 584). τοῖς ὑπερφυστάτοις διαδόχοις . . . Ἀνήσιος πρεσβύτερος υἱὸς Ἀνουπ μητρὸς Τάβης καὶ Αὐρήλιος Ἀνουπ φροντιστῆς υἱὸς Ἀνησίου ἐτέρου μητρὸς Ταπάνης ὁρμώμενοι ἀπὸ ἐποικίου μεγάλου Μούχεως καὶ Γεώργιος υἱὸς Ἰωάννου ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Εὐτυχιᾶδος . . . ὁμολογοῦμεν ἐκουσία γνώμη κ.τ.λ. Nearly complete, only the last few lines, which corresponded to **135**. 28–31, being missing. Title on the verso. 21 lines.

**997.** 15.1 × 9.2 cm. An account relating to various Oxyrhynchite villages, perhaps a list of fines for arrears of taxes. The text is [? Ὑπ]ἔρ ι' (= δεκάτης?) παρολκῶν (cf. P. Amh. 126. 20 ὑπ(ἔρ) ὑπερχρονί(ας)). Νε[ίλ]ου ἐποικ(ίου) κε, Τανάεως κε, Πέτνη κ, Τακολκίλεως ι, Τεξεεῖ ι, Σεφῶ λ, Ταμπέτι λε, Ἰέμη ις, and on the verso in a different hand Νείλου ἐποικ(ίου) [.,] Τανάεως δ. Fourth century. Practically complete. 11 lines.

**998.** 32 × 45 cm. Account of allowances (?) to inhabitants of various Oxyrhynchite villages, beginning [Γν]ῶσ(ις) τῆς παραχωρήσ(εως) τοῦ δεσπό(του) ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου οὕτως· τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλώσεως Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομ(ισμάτια) ογ κερ(άτια) δ, [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Εὐαγγελείου καὶ Τίλλωνος σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) σ καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομ(ισμάτια) ις. The other payments are made to [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Νεκώνθειας ὑ(πέρ) ἀποτάκ(ων) χωρ(ίων), [τ]οῖς ἀπὸ Ταμπέτι, Σεφῶ, Πακέρκη, Μεσκανούνεως, Σκέλους, Τερύθειας καὶ Θεαγένους καὶ Νικήτου, Μελίτα, Νήσου Λαχανίας, Θαῖσιος, Παγγουλείου, Νήσου Λευκαδίου, Λουκίου, Ταρουσέβτ, Ταρουθίνου, Τακόνα, Ὀστρακίνου, Ἰβίωνος, Στεφανίωνος. The total is given in a second column, γί(νονται) σί(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι) ρατπς καὶ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) νομ(ισμάτια) τκ κερ(άτια) δ. Late sixth century. Practically complete. 24 lines. The papyrus was briefly described as **191**.

- 999.** 34 × 37.3 cm. Account of receipts and expenditure on one of the estates of Flavius Apion the younger (cf. 138. 5). Lines 1-5 Φλαουίῳ Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ) καὶ ὑπερφυ(εστάτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτω[ν ὀρδιναρί]ω(ν) γεουχούντι (καὶ) ἐνταῦθ(α) τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυργχιτῶν πόλει. λόγο(ς) λ[ημμά(των)] καὶ ἀναλωμά(των) γεν[ο]μέ(νων) δι' ἐμοῦ Στεφάνου προ(νοητοῦ) Παγγουλείου σὺν το(ῖς) ἄλλ(οις) μέρ(εσι) (καὶ) Μα[ρ]γαρίτου καὶ Ἀμβιούτος καὶ Μαιουμᾶ καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐξωτικ(ῶν) τόπων (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῆς εἰς ἰνδ(ικτίονος) (ἔτους) σγγ (καὶ) σξβ (A. D. 616-7). λίμμ(ατα) οὕ(τως)· π(αρά) κληρο(νόμων) Ἀπφοῦτος Ἐπιμάχου ἀπὸ κτήμ(α)τ(ος) Παγγουλείου σίτου κ(αγκέλλφ) (ἀρτάβαι) νε (καὶ) νο(μισμάτια) σγ . . ., followed by similar entries, one of which is π(αρά) τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν γεωργῶν ὑ(πὲρ) ἰδί(ας) γῆς. The names Σεναμοῦν and Ταπητάρ(ιος?) occur. Title on the verso. One nearly complete column, probably followed by another which is lost. 22 lines in all. The papyrus was briefly described as 196.
- 1000.** 6.3 × 26.8 cm. Receipt similar to 915 for 4 λίτραι of tin, provided by Apollos, μολυβουργός, εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τοῦ λέβυτος (l. λέβητος) τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) μακελλαρ(ίου). Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Cf. 915. introd. Nearly complete. 2 lines.
- 1001.** 8.3 × 31.2 cm. A similar receipt for 6 λίτραι of tin and 4 of lead provided by Apollos Γεωργίῳ γαστρισι( ) (? = καστρισίω, *castrensi*) εἰς μότοσι(ν) (cf. P. Brit. Mus. III. 1177. 295 μοτώματος) τῶν μαγειρικ(ῶν) [σ]κε[υ]δ[ν] τοῦ δεσπ(ότου) ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Nearly complete. 3 lines.
- 1002.** 5.8 × 31.5 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and some tin provided by Apollos εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τοῦ σωλῆν(ος) λεγομ(ένου) Σαβητ( ) τοῦ λουτρ(οῦ) τῆς μεγάλ(ης) οἰκ(ίας) εἰς ἐπιβουλ[ν]. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Incomplete. 3 lines.
- 1003.** 6.5 × 30.3 cm. A similar receipt for 8 λίτραι of lead and 4 of tin provided by Apollos εἰς διόρθωσ(ιν) τῶν χαλκίων τοῦ κτήμ(ατος) Μεσκα-νούνεως. Written across the fibres, about A. D. 572. Nearly complete, 2 lines.
- 1004.** 34.2 × 17.2 cm. Arabic papyrus containing on the recto 24 lines, of which the ends are missing, and on the verso a complete letter(?) of 9 lines in a large hand. Seventh or eighth century.
- 1005.** 18.9 × 22.1 cm. Arabic papyrus containing on the recto 8 complete lines with part of one line at right angles, and on the verso the last 10 lines of another document with part of one line at right angles. Seventh or eighth century.
- 1006.** 15.6 × 7.7 cm. A complete Arabic document of 13 lines, written on paper in the mediaeval period.



# INDICES

## I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS.

(a) 852 (EURIPIDES, *Hypsipyle*).

(Numbers in thick type refer to fragments.)

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     60. 20; 64. 68, 86, 93,  
     98.  
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 ἄγριος 60. 56.  
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 ἄγω[ 19. 2.  
 ἄγών 60. 102.  
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 ἀδέσποτος 1. i. 11.  
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     60. 80.  
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 αἰείρειν 1. ii. 39.  
 αἰήλος 61. 2 (?).  
 αἴηρ 57. 22.  
 αἶθλιος 64. 99.  
 αἶθυρμα 1. i. 2.  
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 Αἰγαῖος 1. ii. 27; 64. 103.  
 Αἶγνα 1. iii. 7.  
 αἰθήρ 57. 9.  
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 αἰτία 60. 16.  
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     60. 33, 99; 64. 90.  
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     11, 48.  
 ἄλμη 60. 13.  
 ἄλσος 1. iv. 10, 14; 60.  
     108.  
 ἀμαρτάνειν 60. 48.  
 ἀμειβεῖν 1. iii. 30; 8-9. 7;  
     60. 7.  
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 ἀμφί 60. 74.  
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     63. Ἀμφιάρεως 1. iv. 42;  
     60. 25; 63. 6.  
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 ἀμφίς 1. iii. 30.  
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     60. 19, 52; 61. 11; 62.  
     4. = εἰάν 1. iii. 32; καὶ  
     22. 7. = ἀνά 1. ii. 29,  
     iv. 14.  
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     29, iv. 14.  
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 ἀνάπτειν 1. iii. 5.  
 ἄνασσα 60. 23.  
 ἀνατιθέναι 63. 4.  
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     63. 2.  
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 ἀπολείπειν 1. iii. 34.  
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## CLAUDIUS.

Κλαύδιος 962.

## NERO.

Νέρων 962.

## GALBA.

Γάλβα 899. 28.

## TITUS.

θεός Τίτος 984. Τίτος 958.

## HADRIAN.

Λύτοκρ. Καῖσ. Τραιανός Ἀδριανός Σεβαστός 898. 40; 986.  
 Ἀδριανός 957.

## ANTONINUS PIUS.

Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσ. ὁ κύριος 899. 30.  
 θεός Ἀἴλιος Ἀντωνίνος 899. 20.  
 Ἀντωνίνος 899. 29.

## MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS.

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοί 973.

## MARCUS AURELIUS.

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Φαυστίνα Σεβαστοί 905. 1.

## COMMODUS.

θεός Κόμοδος 909. 23.  
 Κόμοδος 988.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

Imp. Caes. Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. Arabicus Adiabenicus 894. 1.

Λύτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβής 899. introd.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA.

Λύτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Σεβ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβην. καὶ Μάρκος  
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Καῖσ. ἀποδεδειγμένος Λύτοκρ. 910. 43; 976.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Σεβ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβην. Παρθικός Μένιστος καὶ Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβ. 916. 1.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβ. Περτίναξ Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβην. Παρθ. Μένιστ. καὶ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστοί 908. 40.

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 909. 34; 972; 988.

## MAXIMINUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Οὐήρος Μαξιμείνος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 912. 37.

## GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καίσαρες Γάιος Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Οὐίβιος Ἀφίνιος Γάλλος Οὐέλ-δομνιανὸς Οὐολουσιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβαστοί 977.

## GALLIENUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Πούπλιος Δικύνιος Γαλλιηνὸς Γερμανικὸς Μένιστ. Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 964.

## TACITUS.

Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσ. Μάρκος Κλαύδιος Τάκιτος Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ. 907. 27.

ὁ κύριος Μάρκος Κλαύδιος Τάκιτος 907. 26.

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN (cf. Index III).

οἱ κύριοι Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοί 888. 6.

[Αὐτοκρ. Γάιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς] Γερμανικὸς Μένιστ. Γουνθικός [Μένιστ. κ. τ. λ. Εὐσεβ.] Εὐτυχ. Νικητὴς Σεβ. καὶ [Αὐτοκρ. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς Εὐσεβ. Εὐτυχ. Σεβ.] Σαρματικὸς Μένιστ. Γερμ. [Μένιστ. καὶ Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνσταντίος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς] οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες 889. 1.

κα καὶ ιγ ἔτος (of Diocletian and the Caesars Constantius and Maximian) 895. 6.

## MAURICE.

ὁ θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος ἐνεργέτης Φλαούιος Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὐγουστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ 996.

Αὐγουστοὶ 897. 12.

## III. CONSULS, ERAS, AND INDICATIONS.

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Κωνσταντίῳ καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσιν τὸ γ' ὑπάτοις (300) 889. 11.

ἐφ' ὑπάτων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισάρων τὸ ε' (305) 895. 1.

ὑπατείας Καικινίου Σαβίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ῥουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων (316) 896. 19, 35; 988.

ὑπατείας Δικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ς' καὶ Δικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καῖσ. τὸ β' (322) 900. 1.

ὑπατείας Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλαουίου Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπροτ. ἐπάρχων (331) 990.

ὑπατείας Οὐίβιου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπροτ. (336) 901. 1.

- ἵπατείας Φλαουίων Οὔρσου καὶ Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπροτ. (338) **892. 13.**  
 ἵπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπροτ. (341) **991.**  
 ἵπατείας Κωνσταντίου τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' Αὐγούστων (346) **897. 1.**  
 ἵπατείας Φλαουίων Εὐδοξίου καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπροτ. (442) **913. 1.**  
 μετὰ τὴν ἵπατείαν Φλαουίου Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτ. τὸ β' καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου (about 465) **902. 19.**  
 τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἵπατείαν Φλαουίου Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ λαμπροτ. (486) **914. 1.**  
 ἵπατείας Φλαουίου Τιβερίου Μανρικίου ἔτους α (584) **996.**

## ERAS OF OXYRRHYNCHUS.

- ἔτος πθ νη (μη Pap.; 413) **992.**  
 „ ρξβ ρλα (486) **914. 13.**  
 „ ροζ ρμε (499) **994.**  
 „ σμθ σιη (572) **915. 4.**  
 „ σqγ σξβ (616-7) **999.**

## INDICTIONS.

- 2nd (6th cent.) **993.**  
 3rd (584) **996.**  
 5th (616-7) **999.**  
 6th (572) **915. 2, 14.**  
 9th (486) **914. 2, 14;** (499; 1. 8th) **994;** Mesore 11, ἀρχῇ (5th cent.) **995.**  
 13th (444-5) **913. 8.**

## IV. MONTHS AND DAYS.

## (a) MONTHS.

- Γερμανίκειος (Pachon) **962.**  
 Σεβαστός (Thoth) **958; 985.**

## (b) DAYS.

- |                                     |                          |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| εἰδοὶ Ἀπρίλλιου <b>899. introd.</b> | ἐπαγομένων α <b>972.</b> |
| εἰδοὶ Δεκέμβριου <b>889. 10.</b>    | τριακάς <b>967.</b>      |

## V. PERSONAL NAMES.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Ἀ[.]άπης village-elder, son of Heron <b>918. xi.</b> | Ἀγαθόκλεια, Σαραποῦς also called Ag., daughter of Aristion <b>964.</b>     |
| 12.  |  |
| Ἀβαβίκι(ς) <b>984.</b>                               | Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ἄρξας son of Caecilius <b>990.</b>                           |
| Ἀβρασάξ <b>924. 18.</b>                              | Ἀγχορίμφις father of Anchorimphis <b>918. iii. 12.</b>                     |
| Ἀγαθήμερος <b>936. 10.</b>                           | Ἀγχορίμφις son of Anchorimphis and father of Benia[.] <b>918. iii. 11.</b> |
| Ἀγαθίνος <b>937. 5, 17.</b>                          |  |

Ἀγχορίμφις son of Horus 918. xi. 20.  
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 Αὐρηλία Ἀλλοῦς daughter of Thonius 901. 4.  
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Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907.  
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Δίδυμος 907. 22; 960.

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Διονύσιος gymnasiarch 908. 11.

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Διοσκουρίδης, Οὐαλέριος Δ. also called Julianus, logistes 900. 3.

Διοφάν[ης] strategus 899. introd.

Δομιττιανός, Αὐρήλιος Δ. son of Sarapion 890. 14.

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Ἐπίμαχος father of Apphous 999.

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Ἐρμᾶς wineseller 985.

Ἐρμῆς, Ἀντίνοος also called Herm. 909. 5.

Ἐρμογένης, Αὐρήλιος Ἐ. also called Eudaemon, exegetes 907. 1, 27.

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Εὐδαίμων, Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμογένης also called Eud., exegetes 907. 1, 27.

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Εὐδαίμων, Οὐαλέριος Εὐδ. praefect 899. 29.

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Εὐσέβιος, Φλαούιος Εὐσ. logistes 892. 1.

Εὐτύχης sitologus (?) 973.

Εὐφρόσυνος 939. 19.

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Ζήνων father of Heron 986.

Ζωή 903. 5.

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Ζωίλος banker's assistant 916. 18.

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Ζώπυρος 928. 3.

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Ἡρακλᾶς 890. 17; 985.

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Ἡρακλείδης, Αὐρήλιος Ἡρ. son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 17, 19.

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Ἡρακλεόδωρος son of Heracleodorus and father of Hierax 984.

Ἡράκλῃος 934. 5; 984.

Ἡράκλῃος father of Chooos 897. 8.

Ἡράκλῃος son of Dios and father of Musthas 986.

Ἡράκλῃος son of Hierax 984.

Ἡράκλῃος also called Matreas 898. 5.

Ἡράκλῃος son of Peneoueris 986.

Ἡράκλῃος son of Peneoueris and father of Heracles 986.

Ἡράκλῃος father of Ptolemaeus 984.

Ἡρακλῆς son of Heracleus 986.

Ἡρακλῆς son of Morus and father of Apollonius 905. 4, 17.

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Ἡρων father of Heron 918. ii. 19.

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Θεογένης son of Theogenes 911. 4.

Θεογένης father of Aurelius Theogenes 911. 4.

Θεογένης, Ἀνρήλιος Θ. son of Theogenes 911. 4.

Θεόδοτος 942. 7.

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Θεόπομπος 931. 1, 16.

Θέων 899. introd.; 935. 24.

Θέων also called Antimachus, gymnasiarch  
908. 10.

Θέων, Ἀνρήλιος Θ. also called Asclepiades 912. 4.

Θέων, Ἀνρήλιος Θ. also called Eudaemon sur-  
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Θεωνῆς, Ἀνρήλιος Θ. 909. 11.

Θεωνίς 930. 24.

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Ἰερακίων ex-agoranomus, son of Hieracion  
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Ἰερακίων father of Hieracion 910. 1.

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Ἰουλιανός, Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης also called  
Jul., logistes 900. 3.

Ἰουλιανός, Φλαούιος Ἰ. acting defensor 901. 3.

Ἰούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος father of Pausanias 936. 1.

Ἰούλιος Σαραπίων 919. 2, 11 (?).

Ἰούλιος, Γάιος Ἰ. Ἀντώνιος 972.

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Ἰούστος, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰ. 941. 3.

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Καικίλιος father of Agathodaemon 990.

Καῖης 935. introd.

Καλή 934. 7.

Καλλέας 921. 8.

Καλλέας pilot 919. 3.

Κάστωρ 913. 5, 22.

Κερελ[. Δούκιος Κερελ[. . . . .]ανιανός 965.

Κλάρος 968.

Κλανδία Ἰσιδώρα 919. 7.

Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κλ. Γέμνος also called  
Gaion (?) 916. 11.

Κλαύδιος, Τιβέριος Κλ. Δίδυμος gymnasiarch  
908. 6.

Κλώδιος Κουλκιανός praefect 895. 8.

Κόλλουθος 934. 6.

Κοπρέυς 934. 7, 8, 11.

Κορελλιανός, Μινίκιος Κ. epistrategus 899. 30.

Κορνηλιανός, Ἀνρήλιος Κ. prytanis 891. 6.

Κορνήλιος son of Pekusis 899. 49.

Κορνήλιος ποικιλτής 980.

Κουλκιανός, Κλώδιος Κ. praefect 895. 8.

Κυρία 914. 3.

Κύριλλα 931. 11.

Λεωνίδης, Ἀνρήλιος Λ. strategus 890. 4.

Λούκιος 928. 1.

Λούκιος Κερελ[. . . . .]ανιανός 965.

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Ἀνρήλιος Σαραπίων also called  
Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1.

Λύκος 984.

Λύκος son of Horus and father of Eudaemon  
984.

Λυκόφρων father of Orseutes 984.

- Μακάριος, Αὐρήλιος M. son of Joseph 902. 2, 18.  
 Μαρία 992.  
 Μαρίνος tow-merchant 893. 4, 5, 8.  
 Marcus Ulpius Primianus praefect 894. 4.  
 Μάρκος μείζων 893. 2, 4.  
 Ματρίεας, Ἡράκλῃος also called Mat. 898. 6.  
 Ματρεῖνα daughter of Heracleus also called Matreas 898. 5.  
 Μηνᾶς 943. 1.  
 Μηνᾶς μειζότερος 922. 21.  
 Μηνᾶς προκουράτωρ 943. 2.  
 Μηνόδωρος son of Horus 905. 2, 15.  
 Μινίκιος Κορελλιανός epistrategus 899. 30.  
 Μουεῖς 983.  
 Μυσθᾶς son of Heracleus 986.  
 Μῶρος father of Heracles 905. 17.
- Νεπωτιανός, Αὐρήλιος N. prytanis 892. 6.  
 Νεσσηήφης father of Heron 918. iii. 12.  
 Νικάνωρ 929. 1, 26.  
 Νίνναρος οἰκονόμος 929. 1, 25.  
 Νιννοῦς 941. 1 (?).
- ἽΟνησᾶς father of Apollonius also called Didymus 909. 3.  
 ἽΟνωφρίς 918. ii. 7.  
 ἽΟνωφρίς father of Dios 986.  
 ἽΟνωφρίς son of Dios and father of Anchorimphus 918. ii. 11, 18, 23, xi. 20 ; 986.  
 ἽΟνωφρίς son of Horus 918. iii. 7.  
 ἽΟνωφρίς son of Orseutes 984.  
 Ὀρσεύτης son of Lycophron and father of Onnophris 984.  
 Οὐαλέριος Ἀμμωνιανός also called Gerontius, logistes 896. 1, 23 ; 983.  
 Οὐαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης also called Julianus, logistes 900. 3.  
 Οὐαλέριος Εὐδαίμων praefect 899. 29.  
 Οὐαλέριος, Φλαούιος Οὐ. Πομπηιανός praefect 888. 1.  
 Ὀφιεύς father of Sisuphis 984.
- Πααροῦφης 984.  
 Παβᾶνος 901. 8, 9.  
 Παγῶνις 989.  
 Παδίδυμος father of Aurelius Harmiusis 913. 5, 22.  
 Παῆσιος father of Aurelius Papnoutius 897. 6.  
 Παῆσιος father of Aurelius Patapis 897. 5.
- Παμούθιος μείζων 893. 1.  
 Πανεσνείς freedman, father of Petarporcation 984.  
 Πανεφρέμμης father of Apollonius 918. iii. 8.  
 Πανεφρέμμης father of Ision 918. ii. 19.  
 Πανῖρεν μείζων son of John 893. 1.  
 Πανοῦρις father of Aurelius Patutis 912. 6.  
 Παπινούτιος, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Paësius 897. 6.  
 Παρεχάτης 984.  
 Πάρις, Αὐρήλιος Π. also called Zeuxianus, chief-priest elect 970.  
 Παρμενίων 899. 27, 30.  
 Πασίων public banker 916. 6, 12, 15.  
 Πασίων smith 989.  
 Πασίων, Αὐρήλιος Π. senator, son of Horion 892. 2.  
 Παστωοῦς father of Ammonas 986.  
 Παραβῆς son of Aurelius Psois 895. 5.  
 Πατᾶπις, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Paësius 897. 4.  
 Πατῆβις 984.  
 Πατρίκιος (?) 922. 7.  
 Πάτρων father of Harmiusis 986.  
 Πατῦνις father of Ameous 918. ii. 15.  
 Πατῦνις son of Heron 918. ii. 11, 19, 23, iii. 12.  
 Πατῦτις, Αὐρήλιος Π. son of Panouris 912. 6.  
 Πανλῖνος collector of corn-dues 976.  
 Πανσανίας son of Julius Alexander 936. 1.  
 Πανφῶις 984.  
 Πεκολάριος (?) 992.  
 Πέλωρος 918. xiii. 13.  
 Πεκῦσις father of Κορνῆλιος 899. 49.  
 Πένβα 989.  
 Πενεοῦρις son of Dios 986.  
 Πενεοῦρις father of Heracleus 986.  
 Πενεοῦρις son of Heracleus 986.  
 Πεσοῦρις father of Theabesis 918. ii. 12, 22, 24.  
 Πεταρποκρατίων son of Panesneus 984.  
 Πετεσορφιδῶμις son of Phaniās 986.  
 Πετεσοῦχος 985.  
 Πετεσοῦχος son of Ammonas 986.  
 Πετίρις son of Aurelius Sakaon 895. 4.  
 Πετοβάστις ropemaker 934. 4.  
 Πετουφῶις 984.  
 Πετρώνιος exceptor 942. 6.  
 Πλέβ horse 922. 13.  
 Πλουτάρχη 906. 4, 7, 10.  
 Πλουτογένης 933. 27.  
 Πομπηιανός, Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Π. praefect 888. 1.  
 Πουήρις 986.  
 Πουλφέρνηιος, Γάιος Π. Τιβερίνος 972.

- Πούνσις 984.  
 Πραοῦς 996.  
 Πρεῖσκα, Ἀνρηλία Ἰσιδώρα also called Prisca 907. 4, 16, 21.  
 Πρεῖσκιλλα 935. introd.  
 Primianus, Marcus Ulpius P. praefect 894. 4.  
 Πτολεμαῖος 930. 30.  
 Πτολεμαῖος basilicogrammateus 936.  
 Πτολεμαῖος son of Dionysius 910. 56.  
 Πτολεμαῖος son of Heracleus and father of Heracles 984.  
 Πτολεμαῖος, Ἀνρήλιος Π., son of Hieraciaena 970.  
 Πτολεμαῖς, Ἀνρηλία Π. daughter of Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 11, 14.  
 Πτολεμείνος also called Sarmates, exegetes 891. 8.  
 Πτολλίων 899. 21.  
 Πτολλίων father of Aurelius Ptolion 909. 1, 37.  
 Πτολλίων, Ἀνρήλιος Π. son of Ptolion 909. 1, 37.  
 Ῥοδίον father of Ammonius 936.  
 Sabina, Ulpia S. 894. 6.  
 Σαβίνος 907. 15; 932. 9.  
 Σαλόβις 989.  
 Σαμουήλ περίβλεπτος 994.  
 Σαραπάμμων father of Teos 910. 3, 48.  
 Σαραπᾶς father of Anteïs 976.  
 Σαραπίας 912. 2.  
 Σαραπίας daughter of Herodes 988.  
 Σαραπίων 890. 1; 912. 2; 918. v. 18; 935. 14, 23; 968; 991.  
 Σαραπίων son of Belleos 985.  
 Σαραπίων ex-agoranomus, father of Apollonius and Domitianus 890. 15.  
 Σαραπίων also called Horion, son of . . . on 908. 1, 44.  
 Σαραπίων, strategus of Sebennytyus 931. 1, 15.  
 Σαραπίων, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. also called Apeis, senator 977.  
 Σαραπίων, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. also called Theon 960.  
 Σαραπίων, Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Ἀνρήλιος Σ. also called Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1.  
 Σαραπίων, Φλαούιος Σ. son of Horion 913. 24.  
 Σαραποδώρα 932. 9.  
 Σαραποῦς also called Agathoclia, daughter of Aristion 964.  
 Σαρᾶς 974.  
 Σαρᾶς, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. 921. introd.  
 Σαρμάτης, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. elder 897. 5.  
 Σαρμάτης, Πτολεμείνος also called Sarm., exegetes 891. 8.  
 Σαρποκρατίς 984.  
 Σατουρνῖνος ῥήτωρ 899. 21.  
 Σατουρνῖνος, Αἰμίλιος Σ. praefect 899. 10; 916. 9.  
 Σεβαστεῖνος 928. 10.  
 Σεναμοῦν 999.  
 Σενονῶφρις daughter of Heracleus 984.  
 Σενπανεσνεύς daughter of Panesneus 984.  
 Σενπαράθις daughter of Panesneus 984.  
 Σενπτόλλις 984.  
 Σέντρις 984.  
 Σενύφης 984.  
 Σενφῶις daughter of Lycus 984.  
 Σενχεμενεῖς 984.  
 Σεπτίμιος, Λούκιος Σ. Ἀνρήλιος Σαραπίων also called Apolinarius, prytanis 890. 1.  
 Σερήνος 935. 1.  
 Σερήνος banker 943. 1, 5.  
 Σερήνος father of Serenus 909. 10.  
 Σερήνος son of Serenus 909. 10.  
 Σερήνος, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. son of Aurelius Ammonius 909. 8.  
 Σερήνος, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. son of Daniel 914. 5.  
 Σεύθης, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. also called Horion, logistes 895. 3.  
 Σιλβανός father of Aurelius Dioscorus 900. 4.  
 Σισύφης son of Ophieus and father of Sisuphis 984.  
 Σισύφης pastophorus, son of Sisuphis 984.  
 Σοκονῶπις father of Ameous 918. ii. 14.  
 Σοφία daughter of Marcus 893. 4, 5, 8.  
 Στέφανος προνοητής 999.  
 Στέφανος, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. 934. 1, 17.  
 Στουδιώσος, Φλαύιος Σ. dioecetes 899. introd., 2.  
 Σύρος 936. 5.  
 Σφραγίς 984.  
 Σωτήριχος, Ἀνρήλιος Σ. son of Didymus 909. 12.  
 Τααμῆς daughter of Harmieus 918. iii. 8.  
 Ταμώνιος, Ἀνρηλία Τ. daughter of Sarapion 991.  
 Ταανούφης 984.  
 Τααρμύσις 909. 12.  
 Τάβη 996.  
 Ταθωνν . . . 899. 31.  
 Τακάλλιππος 905. 2.

- Τανοῦρις 984.  
 Ταόρ 937. 1, 31.  
 Ταόρ, Ἀὐρηλία T. daughter of Castor 913. 5, 22.  
 Ταπάνη 996.  
 Ταπητάρ(ιος ῥ) 999.  
 Ταπτίχης 984.  
 Τασαταβοῦς daughter of Onnophris 918. ii. 6.  
 Τασοιτᾶς 937. 26.  
 Τατναγοῦς 984.  
 Τανσορᾶπις 905. 4.  
 Τανφῶς 984.  
 Ταφίβις 984.  
 Ταψωβᾶις 984.  
 Τεαῖψις 984.  
 Τερεῦς 984.  
 Τερεχα( ) 984.  
 Τευφῶς 984.  
 Τεῶς son of Sarapammon 910. 3, 48.  
 Τιβερίνης Γάιος Πουλφέρνης T. 972.  
 Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος praefect 899. 28.  
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Γέμνος also called Gaion (?) 916. 11.  
 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δίδυμος gymnasiarch 908. 6.  
 Τίγρις 932. 1.  
 Τιθόις 929. 7.  
 Τιμόθεος ordinarius 942. 7.  
 Τωνσᾶς 984.  
 Τσενήσις 935. 28.  
 Ulpia Sabina 894. 6.  
 Ulpius, Marcus U. Primianus praefect 894. 4.  
 Φανίας father of Petesorphiomis 986.  
 Φανίας son of Petesorphiomis 986.  
 Φατρεῦς 984.  
 Φατρεῦς, Διονύσιος also called Phat., father of Didymus 898. 4.  
 Φαῦστος 900. 15; 985.  
 Φιλοδύσκορος 907. 11.  
 Φιλόκυρος 937. 15.  
 Φιλόνηκος strategus 898. 26; 957.  
 Φιλόξενος 922. 14, 16; 936. 20.  
 Φιλόξενος magistrarianus 904. 2.  
 Φιλοστέφανος 984.  
 Φλαβιανός 939. 1, 32.  
 Φλαούιος 904. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Διονυσάριος riparius 897. 3.  
 Φλαούιος Εὐλόγιος riparius 897. 3.  
 Φλαούιος Εὐσέβιος logistes 892. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Ἰουλιανός acting defensor 901. 3.  
 Φλαούιος Ἰσάκ defensor 902. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Οὐαλέριος Πομπηιανός praefect 888. 1.  
 Φλαούιος Σαραπίων son of Horion 913. 24.  
 Φλαῦιος Διόσκορος ἐπόπτης εἰρήνης 991.  
 Φλανίος Στουδῖωσος dioecetes 899. introd., 2.  
 Φοιβάμμων 941. 8.  
 Φοιβάμμων father of Apollos 893. 2.  
 Φοιβάμμων comes 994.  
 Φοιβάμμων ex-councillor 902. 4.  
 Φοιβάμμων φροντιστής 940. 5.  
 Φοιβάμμων χειριστής 995.  
 Χαιράμμων 926. 6 (?).  
 Χαίρεας 900. 15.  
 Χαίρήμων son of Anchorimphis 918. xi. 20.  
 Χαίρήμων father of Aurelius Isidorus 912. 10.  
 Χαίρήμων strategus 970.  
 Χαίρήμων, Ἀὐρήλιος X. 934. 1, 17.  
 Χεμενεῦς 984.  
 Χριστός 924. 15; 925. 4.  
 Χωοῦς 903. 26, 28, 31.  
 Χωοῦς son of Heracleus 897. 8, 13.  
 Ψαῦτις 984.  
 Ψεναμοῦνις son of Dioscorus 989.  
 Ψεντοῦς 984.  
 Ψιραίθης 984.  
 Ψῶις 984.  
 Ὀφελία 963.  
 Ὠριγένης 888. 10, 12; 918. ii. 3.  
 Ὠρίων 906. 10.  
 Ὠρίων father of Aurelius Pasion 892. 2.  
 Ὠρίων also called Berenicianus, gymnasiarch 908. 13.  
 Ὠρίων father of Flavius Sarapion 913. 24.  
 Ὠρίων, Ἀὐρήλιος Σεύθης also called Hor., logistes 895. 3.  
 Ὠρίων, Ἀὐρήλιος Ὠ. son of Aurelius Hermogenes also called Eudaemon 907. 3, 17, 19.  
 Ὠρίων, Σαραπίων also called Hor., son of . . . on 908. 1, 44.  
 Ὠρος 900. 15.  
 Ὠρος father of Anchorimphis 918. xi. 21.  
 Ὠρος father of Aurelius Amois 897. 4.  
 Ὠρος son of Auctus 935. introd.  
 Ὠρος father of Lycus 984.  
 Ὠρος father of Menodorus 905. 2.  
 Ὠρος father of Onnophris 918. iii. 7.

## VI. GEOGRAPHICAL.

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, CITIES, TOPARCHIES.

Aegyptus 894. 3, 4.

Αἴγυπτος 888. 1; 899. introd.

Αἴγυπτος Ἡρακουλία 896. 29.

Ἀλεξάνδρεια 889. 10; 899. introd.; 923. 8; 934. 3; 998.

Alexandria 894. 4.

Ἀντινοεύς 937. 20, 23, 29.

Ἀντινοίς 909. 6.

Ἀντινοῦ πόλις 970.

Ἀντινοῦ (πόλις) 903. 29, 33; 933. 32 (?).

Ἀρσινοΐτης (νομός) 919. 6; 922. 5.

Βαβυλῶν 895. 13.

Ἑλληνικός 907. 2; 990.

Ἡρακλεοπολίτης (νομός) 899. 23.

Ἡρακλέους (πόλις) 922. 17.

Ἡρακουλία, Αἴγυπτος Ἡρκ. 896. 29.

Κανωπικός 936. 15.

Κυνοπολίτης (νομός) 921. 21.

Κυνοπολιτῶν (πόλις), ἡ ἄνω 902. 1.

Κωνσταντίνου πόλις 922. 15.

Μέμφις 919. 4.

μερίς 986.

Νεϊλουπολιτῶν (πόλις) 942. 1.

νομός 899. 42; 900. 6; 913. 6; 991.

ο' (?) 991.

ᾠασίς 898. 9, 13. Μικρὰ ᾠ. 888. 8; 895. 19.

ᾠξυρυγίτης (νομός) 888. 8; 892. 1; 895. 3; 896. 1, 23; 898. 16; 899. introd., 5, 16; 900. 3; 901. 3; 905. 6; 916. 7; 923. 13; 929. 18; 991.

ᾠξυρυγιτῶν πόλις 889. 13; 890. 4; 891. 4; 896. 3, 25; 899. 3; 900. 5; 907. 1, 26; 908. 4, 17; 909. 9; 911. 3; 913. 4; 914. 4, 20; 990; 999.

ᾠξυρύχων πόλις 888. 7, 8, 11; 898. 4; 909. 1; 910. 1; 911. 12; 912. 3.

Oxyrhynchus (? Oxyrhynchorum urbs) 894. 7.

πᾶγος, δέκατος π. 900. 6. ε π. 901. 5.

Πολέμωνος μερίς 986.

πόλις, = Cynopolis 902. 2. = Nilopolis 942.

4. = Oxyrhynchus 889. 14, 15; 892. 3, 9; 896. 9, 30; 899. 6; 904. 4; 908. 6; 909. 13; 910. 3; 911. 5; 914. 6; 962. ]ιτῶν πόλις 895. 15. πόλις 902. 10.

Προσωπίτης 919. 5.

Ῥωμαῖοι 919. 7.

Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόποι 931. 15.

τοπαρχία, ἀπηλιώτου (Oxyrh.) 910. 5. γ τοπ. (Πολέμωνος μερίδος, Arsin.) 986. Σεβεννύτου ἄνω τόποι 931. 15.

## (b) VILLAGES, ἐποίκια, τόποι.

I. *Oxyrhynchite*.

Ἀδεύ 999.

Ἀμβιούτος τόποι 999.

Ἀπόλλωνος κώμη 893. 2.

Ἀσκλου 922. 1.

Εὐαγγελεῖον 998.

Εὐτυχιάδος ἐποίκ. 996.

Ζαπίτου, Ἰσείον Ζ. 897. 6.

Ἡρακλεῖον ἐποίκ. 989.

Θαήσιος 998.

Θεαγένους 998.

Θῶσβις 989.

Ἰβιῶν 998.

Ἰέμη 997.

Ἰσεῖον Ζαπίτου 897. 6.

Ἰσεῖον Παγγᾶ 899. 7; 988.

Ἰσεῖον Τρύφωνος 989.

Ἰστρον 907. 8.

Καρανεώτης 922. 24, 25.

Λαχανίας Νῆσος 998.

Λευκαδίου Νῆσος 998.

Λουκίου 922. 25; 998.

Μαιουμᾶ τόποι 999.

Μαργαρίτου τόποι 999.

Μελίτα 998.

Μερμέρθα 912. 7.

Μεσκανοῦνις 998.

Μονίμου 979.

Μουχινώρ 985.

Μοῦχης ἐποίκ. 996.

Μῶα 907. 24.

Νείλου ἐποίκ. 997.

Νεκῶνθις 998; 1003.

Νῆσος Λαχανίας 998.

Νῆσος Λευκαδίου 998.

Νικήτου 998.

᾽Οστρακίνου 998.

Οὔρειηβτ 922. 17.

Παγγᾶ, Ἰσεῖον Π. 899. 7; 988.

Παγγουλεῖου 998; 999.

Πακέρκη 910. 4, 7, 32; 998.

Παλλῶσις ὅτ Παλῶσις 922. 23; 998.

Πανεύις 989.

Πέλα 970.

Πέττη 932. 3; 997.

Ποῦχης 986.

Πτολεμᾶ ἐποίκ. 989.

Πτῶχης 913. 6.

Σαδάλου 895. introd.

Σαμβαθῶ 903. 19.

Σειλ 907. 10.

Σεναῶ 938. 3.

Σενεκελεύ 899. 7; 979.

Σενέπτα 909. 17; 979.

Σεντωλενῶ 981.

Σερῦφίς 899. 7; 970; 989; 991. Σερύ-  
φως πόλις 960.

Σεφῶ 907. 9; 997; 998.

Συνέκλη ἐποίκ. 989.

Σκέλους 998.

Σκῶ 979.

Σπανία 922. 4.

Στεφανίωνος 998.

Τααμπέμου 901. 4; 989 (?).

Τακολκίλις (?) 997.

Τακόνα 998.

Ταλαῶ 917. 1.

Ταμπέτι 895. 5; 997; 998.

Τανάις 997.

Ταρουθίνου 998.

Ταρουσέβτ 998.

Τεξεεῖ 997.

Τερῦθις 998.

Τῆις 989.

Τίλλωνος 998.

Τρύφωνος, Ἰσεῖον Τ. 989.

Φοβόου (ὅτ Φοκόου) τόποι 973.

Χιούτ (? not Oxyrhynchite) 925. 6.

Χῦσις 899. 6, 36; 934. 7. Χ. ἄνω 989.

Ψῶβθις 905. 2.

᾽Ωφίς 922. 2, 22; 989.

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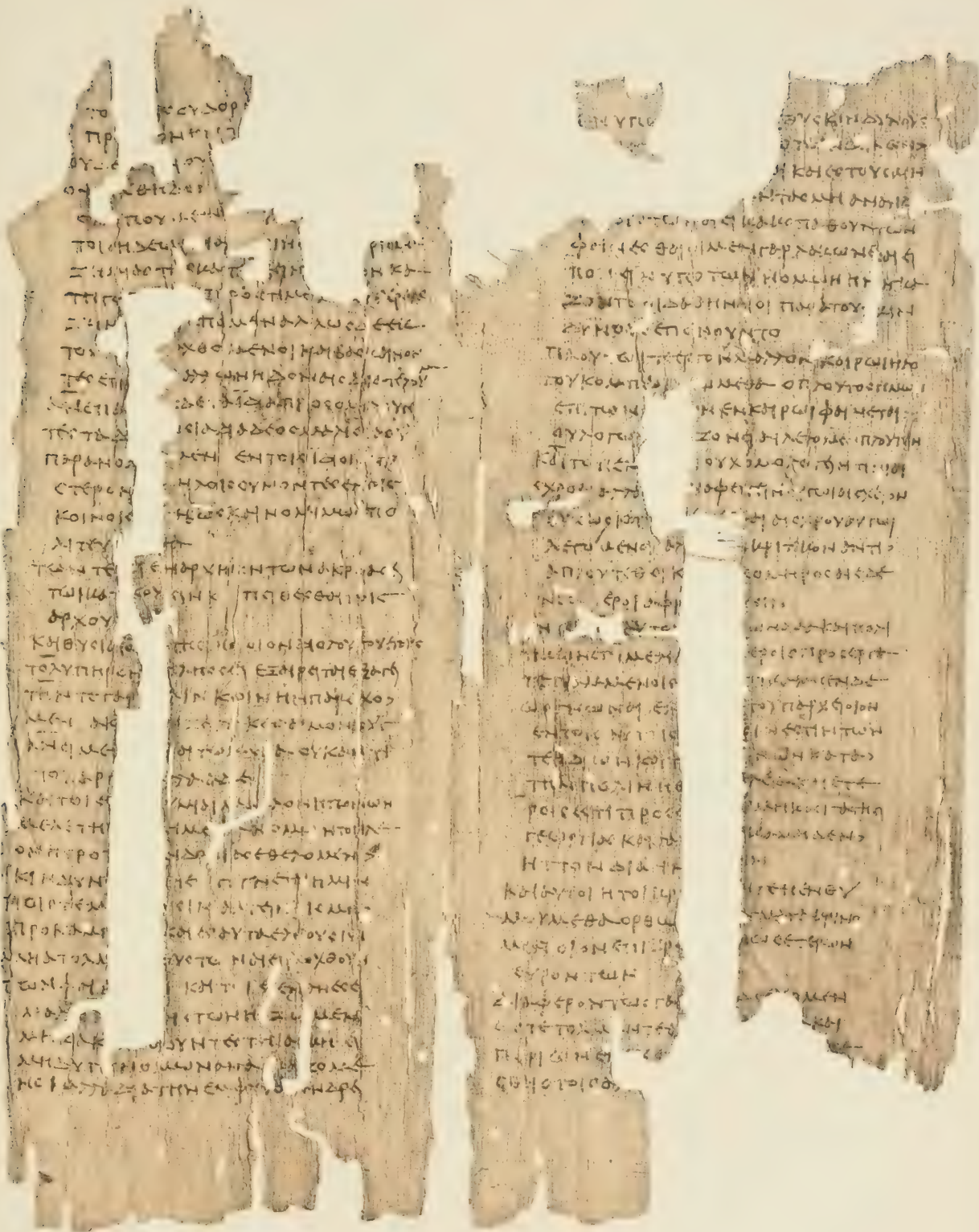




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[illegible]







The image shows a single, severely deteriorated page from an old manuscript. The paper is a mottled brown color, heavily stained with darker brown and black spots, suggesting water damage, mold, or age. The text is written in a dark ink, but it is almost entirely illegible due to fading and the physical damage to the page. The script appears to be a historical cursive, possibly from the 15th or 16th century. The page is framed by a dark, irregular border, which could be the edge of the book or the background of the scan.

1. *Quod si quis*  
 2. *in diebus suis*  
 3. *in diebus suis*  
 4. *in diebus suis*  
 5. *in diebus suis*  
 6. *in diebus suis*  
 7. *in diebus suis*  
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 9. *in diebus suis*  
 10. *in diebus suis*

No. 871

[illegible]

No. 88<sub>4</sub> *recto*



[illegible]

No. 894

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No. 847 recto



# EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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## GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH.

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